THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE

OF THE

NORTHERN GOVERNMENTS;

VIZ.

THE UNITED PROVINCES, DENMARK, SWEDEN, RUSSIA, AND POLAND:

OR,

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE NATURE, CONSTITUTION, RELIGION, LAWS, POLICY, CUSTOMS, AND COMMERCE OF EACH GOVERNMENT;
THE MANNERS AND DISPOSITIONS OF THE PEOPLE;
THEIR MILITARY FORCES BY LAND AND SEA;
THE REVENUES AND RESOURCES OF EACH POWER;
AND ON
THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONJUNCTURES WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO PRODUCE THE VARIOUS REVOLUTIONS WHICH HAVE HAPPENED IN THEM.

THE WHOLE DIGESTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS AND HISTORIES, AND FROM THE REFLECTIONS AND REMARKS MADE DURING A TOUR OF FIVE YEARS THROUGH THESE NATIONS.

BY J. WILLIAMS, ESQ.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. BECKET, ADELPHI, STRAND,
BOOKSELLER TO THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE PRINCE OF WALES, BISHOP OF OSNABRUGH, PRINCE WILLIAM, AND PRINCE EDWARD.
M.DCC.LXXVII.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TABLE of CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

BOOK IV.

OF the Conſtitution, Laws, Policy, Cuſtoms, Religion, Commerce, Revenues, Reſources, Military and Naval Forces of RUSSIA; with ſome Obſervations upon the Revolutions which have happened in this Government, and which muſt always be the Conſequence of arbitrary and deſpotic Governments.

CHAP. I. *Of the Riſe and Progreſs of the preſent Government in Ruſſia,* Page 1

CHAP. II. *Of the Form of Government at preſent eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia,* 289

CHAP. III. *Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Ruſſian Nation,* 301

CHAP. IV. *Of the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Policy of Ruſſia, reſpecting Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce,* 315

CHAP. V. *Of the Revenues and Reſources of this Kingdom, and of her Military Force by Sea and Land,* 329

CHAP. VI. *Of the Cauſes of the various Revolutions which have happened in this State,* 338

BOOK V.

Of the Conſtitution, Laws, Policy, Cuſtoms, Religion, Commerce, Revenues, Reſources, and Military Power of POLAND; with ſome particular Obſervations upon the Revolutions and Civil Wars which have always been ſo deſtructive to this Kingdom from the defects of its Government.

CHAP. I. *Of the Riſe and Progreſs of the preſent Government in Poland,* 345

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. II. *Of the Form of Government at preſent eſtabliſhed in Poland,* Page 624

CHAP. III. *Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Poliſh Nation,* — 637

CHAP. IV. *Of the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Policy of Poland reſpecting Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce,* —— —— 645

CHAP. V. *Of the Revenues and Reſources of this Kingdom, and of her Military Forces,* = = = 651

THE

THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE

OF THE

NORTHERN GOVERNMENTS.

BOOK IV.

Of the Conſtitution, Laws, Policy, Cuſtoms, Religion, Commerce, Revenues, Reſources, Military and Naval Forces of RUSSIA: With ſome Obſervations upon the Revolutions which have happened in this Government, and which muſt always be the Conſequence of arbitrary and deſpotic Governments.

CHAP. I.

Of the Riſe and Progreſs of the preſent Government in RUSSIA.

THE Ruſſian empire is one of the largeſt in the known world; it is bordered on the north by the Frozen Sea; on the eaſt by the empire of China; on the ſouth by the empire of Indoſtan, by the kingdom of Perſia, by the Caſpian and Black Seas, by part of the Turkiſh dominions, and by Poland; on the weſt by Sweden: it contains an extent of territory equal to all the other kingdoms of Europe.

The inhabitants of this vaſt empire were originally called Roxelans, afterwards Moſcovites, and now they are known by the name of Ruſſians.

To give a particular deſcription of this immenſe tract of country, as far as it is known at preſent, would ſwell this work much beyond what I intended, and would be deviating, in a great meaſure, from my plan; therefore I ſhall confine myſelf to a brief deſcription of this empire, which, comprehending all its conqueſts and acquiſitions, except what was lately ceded by the crown of Poland, is divided into ſixteen governments; many of theſe contain immenſe provinces, which, when the country is more peopled, will undoubtedly be ſubdivided.

The government which is the beſt known, and which contains the weſtern province of the empire, is Livonia, one of the moſt fertile provinces in all the North. It was inhabited by Pagans even at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Danes and the merchants of the Hanſe towns carried on a commerce there, and converted ſome of the inhabitants to Chriſtianity: afterwards the Order Teutonic ſeized upon this province, and Albert margrave of Brandenburg, grand maſter of thoſe religious conquerors, was declared prince of this country and of Brandenburg Pruſſia in the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Afterwards both the Ruſſians and the Poles claimed this province; then the Swedes took poſſeſſion of it, and it was alternately ravaged by all thoſe powers. Guſtavus Adolphus totally ſubdued it, and it was ceded to Sweden in the year 1660 by the famous treaty of Oliva. The czar Peter afterwards conquered it from Charles the Twelfth, and it was ceded to Ruſſia by the treaty of

Neuſtadt in the year 1721, and has ever ſince remained under the Ruſſian government.

The duchy of Courland, which joins to Livonia, has always been ſuppoſed to depend upon the crown of Poland; but it is at preſent much more under the influence of the Ruſſian government than that of Poland.

In proceeding north from Livonia, we enter into the government of Revel and Eſtonia. Revel was built by the Danes in the thirteenth century. The Swedes afterwards conquered Eſtonia, and it remained in their poſſeſſion from the year 1561 till the time that czar Peter conquered it from Charles the Twelfth. This province was likewiſe ceded to Ruſſia by the treaty of Neuſtadt. The coaſts of Eſtonia are waſhed by the gulph of Finland; and at the eaſtern point of this gulph, where the river Neva and the lake Ladoga diſembogue themſelves, is the city of St. Peterſbourg, one of the fineſt and beſt built cities in all the North. It was built by the emperor Peter the Firſt, notwithſtanding all the obſtacles he met with in carrying his great plan into execution. This magnificent city is defended on that ſide next the ſea by the fortreſs of Cronſtadt; which, conſidering the difficulty and danger of navigating a large naval force through the gulph of Finland, is ſufficient to guard it on that ſide from the attempts of any enemy. St. Peterſbourg is ornamented with thirty-five great churches, for in it almoſt every ſect of the Chriſtian religion is tolerated; with five palaces, ſome of which are ſuperb, particularly that which is called the New Summer Palace, near the Triumphal Port, which is an elegant piece of architecture; with thoſe ſuperb buildings that are uſed for the college of admiralty, for the cadets, for the

imperial colleges, for the academy of ſciences, for the exchange, and a great variety of other buildings, which are equally magnificent. All the neighbourhood of this city is covered with country-houſes and gardens, though in the year 1702 it was a marſhy ground, with ſome few huts of fiſhermen built here and there near the river. It is ſuppoſed that St. Peterſbourg contains at leaſt four hundred thouſand people: it is the capital of Ingria, another little province that was conquered from Sweden by Peter the Firſt, and, with Vibourg and that part of Finland which was likewiſe conquered from Sweden in the year 1742, makes another government.

To the north of theſe provinces is that of Archangel; a country very little known to the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of Europe: it derived this name from its being ſuppoſed to be under the protection of St. Michael the Archangel, ſome time after the Ruſſians had embraced Chriſtianity, which was not before the middle of the eleventh century: but it was not till the year 1533 that this country was known to other nations, when the Engliſh, in endeavouring to find a north-eaſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, diſcovered the port of Archangel, in the White Sea; but it was then only a deſart country, with a convent, and a little church dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. From this port the Engliſh ſailed up the river Dwina till they came into the middle of the Ruſſian territories, and for ſome time carried on a conſiderable commerce through this channel, as the port was open ſeven months in the year: they obtained leave to trade to this place without paying any cuſtoms, although this was the only port that the Moſcovites had at that time open to the ocean. The Hollanders ſoon after found the way likewiſe

to

to Archangel, and divided the Ruſſian trade with the Engliſh till czar Peter opened the Baltic Sea to his States.

To the weſt of Archangel, and under its government, is that part of Lapland which belongs to the Ruſſians, inhabited by the ſame ſpecies of people who inhabit the Daniſh and Swediſh parts of Lapland, which I have already deſcribed. The inhabitants of Ruſſian Lapland are ſuppoſed to be of the Greek church; but the greateſt part of thoſe who live in the northern parts, and who have little communication with the Ruſſians, content themſelves with worſhipping God according to their reſpective modes.

In going up the river Dwina, from Archangel towards the ſouth, we paſs through the middle of the Ruſſian territories; and the firſt place of any conſequence we arrive at is Moſcow, ſituated in the middle of a large and fine plain, in the latitude of fifty-five degrees and twenty minutes, upon the river Moſcow. The country about this city, which was formerly the capital of the empire, is extremely fertile and pleaſant; and if it had been ten degrees more to the ſouth, would have been one of the moſt agreeable countries in Europe.

Moſcow is a very large city, but irregularly built; all the common people live in ſmall huts made of wood: towards the end of the thirteenth century this city was nothing more than an aſſemblage of theſe cottages. The palace of the grand duke, which is an irregular Gothic building, was built in the fourteenth century; which, together with the patriarchal church and ſome palaces of the nobility, conſtitute all the magnificence of this great city, where there are more than five

hundred

hundred thouſand inhabitants, and is above twelve Engliſh miles long.

Theodore Alexiowitz, the eldeſt brother of czar Peter, was the firſt who began to embelliſh Moſcow; he built ſeveral large houſes of ſtone, but without any regular architecture, and alſo encouraged the principal nobility to build in the ſame manner, advancing them money, and furniſhing them with materials for this purpoſe. Peter likewiſe, although he built St. Peterſbourg, did not neglect Moſcow: he ordered it to be paved and ornamented with ſeveral grand edifices. There is lately an univerſity eſtabliſhed in Moſcow, and ſeveral uſeful manufactures, particularly a manufacture of table linen, which for beauty and elegance equals any thing of the kind in Europe.

To the weſt of the duchy of Moſcow is that of Smolenſko: theſe two provinces, together with thoſe of Mitziſlaw and Poloſko, which were lately ceded to Ruſſia by the Poles, form what is properly called White Ruſſia. Thoſe two, with that of Smolenſko, appertained originally to the dukes of Ruſſia, but they were afterwards conquered by the great duke of Lithuania, about the beginning of the fifteenth century; and one hundred years after were re-conquered by their ancient maſters: but Sigiſmond, the third king of Poland, re-took them in the year 1611, and Poloſko and Mitziſlaw remained in the poſſeſſion of the Poles till they were lately ceded to the empreſs of Ruſſia by the preſent king; but czar Alexis, father of Peter the Great, recovered Smolenſko in the year 1654, and it has ever ſince formed a part of the Ruſſian empire.

Between

Between Smolenſko and St. Peterſbourg is the province and government of Novogorod. It is ſaid that it was in this province that the ancient Sclavonians firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves, and built the great city of Novogorod, ſituated upon a navigable river; and that they carried on an extenſive commerce with the Hanſe towns, with which they were then in alliance. It is certain that this city was very famous in thoſe days for its great fair, and formed a magazine, not only for all the productions of the North, but for many of the commodities of the ſouthern parts of Europe. The czar Iwan Waſſiliewitſch conquered it in the year 1467, and carried off all its riches, which contributed greatly to the magnificence of the court of Moſcow, till then but little known.

To the ſouth of the province of Smolenſko is that of Kiovia Czerniko and the Ukraine, which are watered by the Dnieper, and a number of other ſmall rivers. The capital Kio, or as it was formerly called Kiſovia, was built by the ancient emperors of Conſtantinople, who made a colony of it: ſeveral Greek inſcriptions, of more than twelve hundred years old, are to be ſeen there at preſent. This is the moſt ancient town in all this country, and the only one that has been inhabited for ſo many centuries, without having been walled round and fortified: it was the reſidence of the great dukes of Ruſſia till the eleventh century, when the Tartars conquered all this part of the Ruſſian dominions. The inhabitants of the Ukraine, who are at preſent Coſacks, are a mixture of the ancient Roxelans and Tartars. This country formed a part of the ancient Scythia, and is one of the moſt fertile tracts of country in the whole world. The Coſacks united themſelves to the Ruſſians in the year 1654, but ſtill ſupported an independent government; and it was

Peter

Peter the Great who ſubjected them entirely to the Ruſſian government. However they ſtill elect a hetman, or governor, who is their chief, but he muſt be approved by the court of St. Peterſbourg. This rich and fertile country is often plundered by the Tartars, who come in large bodies and deſtroy every thing, carrying away as many of their cattle and ſheep as they can drive. In the beginning of the laſt war, while the Ruſſian troops were called off againſt the Turks, a large body of Tartars invaded the Ukraine, and carried off cattle, ſheep, and other commodities to the amount of ſeveral millions of roubles.

To the north-eaſt of the province of Kiovia, between the Dnieper and the Tanais, or Don, is the government of Belgorod, which is as great as that of Kiovia. This province is equally fertile with that of Kiovia, and furniſhes an immenſe quantity of cattle, and of ſheep, to Poland, to Courland, and even to Livonia and Riga, which are known by the name of the Ukraine cattle.

To the north of this government, after having paſſed the Tanais, is the government of Woronez, which is watered by the river of this name, that falls into the Tanais. It is ſaid that Peter the Great conſtructed the firſt fleet he had, to act againſt the Turks, in this place. Still farther towards the north-eaſt is the government of Niſchgorod, which is watered by the Wolga, and is extremely fertile in grain, as well as in cattle and ſheep.

To the ſouth-eaſt of this government is the kingdom of Aſtracan, ſituated in a delightful climate, between the latitude of forty-three and fifty degrees; and containing about ten degrees

of longitude. It is watered by the great river Wolga, and by ſeveral ſmall rivers. This kingdom is extremely fertile by nature, but very little cultivated, as it is chiefly inhabited by the Tartars, who neglect agriculture, but ſupport themſelves by hunting and robbery. The greateſt part of this kingdom is ſtill in the ſtate of nature; here are vaſt deſerts covered with paſture, and with all kinds of wild fruit and herbage; and the ſheep, cattle, and all the domeſtic animals run wild in the woods.

The kingdom of Aſtracan is a part of this country that was conquered by Gengis-Kan, and afterwards by Tamerlane: in thoſe days the Tartars puſhed their conqueſts even to Moſcow.

The czar John Baſilides, one of the greateſt conquerors who ever appeared in Ruſſia, delivered his country from the dominations of the Tartars about 1545; and, in the year 1554, he added the kingdom of Aſtracan to his other conqueſts.

Aſtracan is bordered by Europe and Aſia, and extremely well ſituated for the commerce of either; as the great river Wolga, which is navigable for more than ſix hundred leagues, and falls into the Caſpian Sea by the town of Aſtracan, is well calculated, either for tranſporting the merchandizes of Perſia and India into Europe, or for tranſporting the European merchandizes into Aſia: but if the river Wolga was joined with the lakes Ilmen and Ladoga, and with the Tanais, which I am informed the preſent empreſs ſpeedily intends to effect, there will be one of the fineſt inland navigations in the known world between the Baltic and the Caſpian Seas. This was one of the great projects of the emperor Peter, which he began to carry into execution. There is a whole ſuburb of the town of Aſtracan inhabited by

Indian merchants, and others, who tranſplanted themſelves thither for this purpoſe.

To the ſouth-eaſt of the kingdom of Aſtracan is a little government, which was lately formed, called Orembourg: the city of this name was built in the year 1734, upon the banks of the river Jaik. This country is very mountainous; in the avenues of which, and upon the banks of thoſe rivers which deſcend from them, there are chains of forts built, at proper diſtances, to defend the country from the robberies of the Tartars. Vaſt numbers of Perſians, who eſcaped from the civil wars, have taken refuge in Orembourg, with all their effects: the Indians, and great numbers of Perſians, come hither to traffic; ſo that this city is lately become the magazine of all the Aſiatic commodities.

To the north of the kingdom of Aſtracan, and the government of Orembourg, is the kingdom of Haſen, which is alſo a part of the conqueſt of John Baſilides. A great part of this country is peopled by Mahometans and Tartars: it extends even to Siberia, and was formerly very rich and flouriſhing; indeed it is ſtill in a good ſituation, being the magazine of the furs of Great Tartary, and the merchandizes of Perſia. In one of the provinces of this kingdom, called Solkamſkaja, they have ſtill the coin of the firſt caliphs in circulation; and there is ſtill found among the people ſome of the ancient golden idols of the Tartars; but at preſent there is very little commerce carried on in this province.

To the eaſt of the provinces of Archangel, and of the kingdoms of Kazan and Aſtracan, is the great government of Siberia,

with all the provinces which are annexed to it. It is bordered on the ſouth with Perſia and India; on the eaſt by Kamſkatka and China, and on the north by the Frozen Ocean. From Kazan to the frontiers of China are about twelve hundred leagues; and from India to the Frozen Sea about four hundred: this country is chiefly inhabited by Tartars, Samoiedes, and Oſtiaks, and produces the richeſt furs, with which they pay the tribute they owe to the empreſs of Ruſſia.

This country was not diſcovered till the ſixteenth century; when ſome of the inhabitants, who ſpoke a different language from that of the Moſcovites, brought ſome of their rich furs to traffic with the inhabitants of Archangel for pieces of pointed iron and glaſs. The people of Archangel followed them into their own country, and then diſcovered that they were the Samoiedes, a people who were nearly of the ſame ſtature with the Laplanders, but of a different race: they were ignorant of the uſe of bread; and, like the Laplanders, they made uſe of the rein-deer to draw their ſledges over the ice; they lived in caverns and in huts in the middle of the ſnow.

The Samoiedes are a race of men different from all the other inhabitants of the North: they have the under jaw more advanced, and their ears are larger and higher; neither the men nor the women have any hair but upon the head, and the nipple of the breaſt is as black as ink. This race of people are as ſingular in their morals, as in the formation of their bodies, which in other reſpects are not much unlike the Laplanders; they render no ſpecies of worſhip to the Supreme being, although they acknowledge a good and a bad principle: as they are almoſt with-

out paſſions, ſo they are equally without vices and injuſtice; robberies and murder are unknown among them: their extreme ſimplicity has not yet permitted them to form abſtracted notions, and to define the nature of vice and of virtue. When they were firſt conducted to Moſcow, they were ſtruck with admiration, they regarded the emperor as their God, and voluntarily ſubmitted to make him an yearly offering of rich furs. The Indians immediately eſtabliſhed colonies, and built fortreſſes beyond the rivers Obi and the Jeniſea.

Where the river Tobol falls into the river Irtiſh, in the middle of a plain is built the town called Tobolſkoy, the capital of Siberia, which is at preſent very conſiderable. Siberia was formerly more peopled than it is at this time, eſpecially the ſouthern parts of it, where the ruins of cities and colonies appear to this day. This immenſe tract of country is yet but little known, although the Ruſſians are daily making diſcoveries in every part.

To the ſouth of the country of the Samoiedes, upon the borders of the river Obi, is the country of the Oſtiaks, who are in no reſpect like the former, except that they ſupport themſelves by hunting, fiſhing, and paſturage. Some of them are without any religion, becauſe they are not combined together, but are diſperſed in the woods; the others have a kind of worſhip, but they make it ſubſervient to their wants. One of the principal objects of their adoration is the ſheep, becauſe nothing is more neceſſary to their exiſtence than this animal; its fleſh nouriſhes them, and its ſkin covers them. The Oſtiaks have likewiſe ſome other idols, but they are not worthy of our attention. Some of them were made Chriſtians in the beginning of

the

the preſent century; but through their extreme ignorance they are Chriſtians without knowing why.

To the ſouth of the Oſtiaks, upon the borders of Perſia, are the Burates, another herd of thoſe people, who are ſtill idolaters, and who are not yet intirely ſubjected to the Ruſſian government. None of theſe herds have any knowledge of the calendar, they keep their accounts by falls of ſnow, as there is a long and regular deſcent of ſnow every winter. All the ſouthern parts of Great Tartary are inhabited by different herds of Tartars. The ancient Turks were inhabitants of this part of Tartary before they ſubdued the country of which their deſcendents are at preſent in poſſeſſion. Thoſe called Calmouks and Monguls are the deſcendents of the Scythians, whom Gengis-Kan and his children led even into Germany, and who formed the empire of the Mogul under Tamerlane.

The moſt eaſtern province of the Ruſſian dominions is Kamſkatka; the inhabitants of which, when it was firſt diſcovered, were without any ſpecies of religion. The northern part of this province furniſhes the richeſt and fineſt furs, with which the inhabitants cloath themſelves in the winter, but go intirely naked in the ſummer. In the ſouthern parts of this province the men have long beards; but, in the northern parts, as in the country of the Samoiedes, and of the Laplanders, they have no beards at all; ſo that it may juſtly be ſaid, that there is as great a variety of people, and as different manners and cuſtoms in the Ruſſian empire, as there are in any country of the known world.

It will be ſeen that all the territories which compoſe the Ruſſian empire, from Finland to the borders of China, have been united at different times. Originally the inhabitants of this immenſe country were Scythians, Sclavonians, Celts, and Huns; to whom were added Coſacks, Calmouks, and the different herds of Tartars, with the origin of which we are intirely unacquainted.

A great part of this empire is ſtill covered with immenſe foreſts and marſhes; indeed it may be juſtly ſaid that not one twentieth part of it is cultivated: it is extremely well watered with large navigable rivers; and if there had been a communication between them, which might be eaſily effected, this country would be the beſt calculated of any we know for an inland commerce and navigation. The Dnieper and the Don, or Tanais, are navigable between two and three hundred leagues each, run ſouthward, and fall into the Black Sea: the Wolga, which is increaſed by the Oka, and a variety of other little rivers, is navigable above ſix hundred leagues, running firſt towards the eaſt, and afterwards ſouth, and falls into the Caſpian Sea at Aſtracan: the Dwina is navigable near two hundred leagues, runs weſtward, and falls into the ſea at Archangel: the Irtiſh and the Obi are navigable near three hundred leagues each, and fall into the Northern Ocean. Peter the Great had undertaken to make an inland navigation from St. Peterſbourg to the Caſpian Sea, by cutting canals to join the lake Ladoga with the river Wolga; which plan I hear the preſent empreſs is about to carry into execution.

When we take a view of the Ruſſian empire, even in its moſt early ages, when it was divided into principalities, it appears

pears that its government was always deſpotic, rather than monarchical. The ſovereign of the Ruſſians was never under the direction of any laws; it was he alone who had the right to make and to break them at his ſole pleaſure; he was always maſter of the lives and properties of his ſubjects, and lands could not paſs from father to ſon without his approbation. The government has always been hereditary; and daughters had a right to ſucceed to it as well as ſons: but the father was at liberty to name either of his children whom he ſhould think proper to ſucceed him in the government.

The Ruſſian annals give no account of their government before the year 860; when, it is ſaid, one of the principal men of the ſtate, called Goſtomiſſel, ſeeing the chiefs of the people in a ſtate of uncertainty whom they ſhould chuſe for their maſter, adviſed them to confide the ſupreme dignity to ſtrangers, who had no intereſt among them, rather than to any of their own people. Struck with the ſeeming juſtneſs of his opinion, they followed his plan, and unanimouſly elected Rurick and his two brothers, princes of the nation which then inhabited Ingria, to be their governors: but they reigned together only two years, and Rurick remained ſole ſovereign of the country, by the death of his two younger brothers, who died without children; he united under his dominion the provinces which had been governed by his brothers, and formed a ſtate; which contained only Novogorod, Ingria, and two or three ſmall provinces which lay contiguous to the lake Ladoga.

Soon after two chiefs of the people of Ingria, who were attached to the fortune of Rurick, the one called Skold, the other Dire, demanded liberty to retire to Conſtantinople, which they

they eaſily obtained; but, on paſſing along the Dnieper, the people of Kiovia, who had been ill treated by the Khoſares, or Tartars, who inhabited the banks of the river Don, to whom they paid tribute, put themſelves under their dominion, on which they began immediately to diſcipline their new ſubjects; they afterwards not only reduced theſe Tartars to their obedience, but puſhed their conqueſts even into Poland; and in the year 865, formed the ſiege of Conſtantinople, having firſt laid waſte all the country round it.

Rurick died in the year 878, and left his ſon Igor under the guardianſhip of his uncle Oleghe, who, ſhocked at ſeeing Skold and Dire in quiet poſſeſſion of Kiovia, which, he pretended, ought to appertain to his pupil, aſſembled a very conſiderable army of all the people under his government, and marched to diſpoſſeſs them of their acquiſition: in his paſſage he beſieged and took Smolenſko and Labez, and encamped his army near to Kiovia, under pretence of demanding a paſſage into Greece. He carried the young prince Igor with him, and when he came near to the town, he deſired an interview with Skold and Dire; who not ſuſpecting his intentions, came into his camp unattended, without any apprehenſion of danger; when Oleghe reproached them with having uſurped the patrimony of the ſon of Rurick, ſole ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, ordered them to be ſlain in his preſence; and then eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Kiovia; where all the people of Ruſſia were to bring the tributes which they were ordered to pay. Novogorod, which was till this time the capital of the Ruſſian government, was now taxed in common with all other parts of their dominions.

About the year 898 the Hungarians, a nation that inhabited the eaſtern ſide of the Wolga, made a deſcent upon the Ruſſian provinces, which they ravaged; and after having demanded an annual tribute, and taken hoſtages for the payment of it, they continued their progreſs, and eſtabliſhed themſelves upon the banks of the Danube.

About this time, according to the Ruſſian annals, writing was firſt introduced into Ruſſia. The Bulgarians, ſay they, who inhabited the northern parts of Bulgaria on the banks of the Danube, were a colony of Sclavonians, and were baptized into the Chriſtian faith about the year 867, when their chiefs demanded of the emperor of Conſtantinople ſome Eccleſiaſtics to teach them the doctrines of the Chriſtian religion in the Sclavonian language, as they were then intirely ignorant of Greek and Latin. Some time afterwards the emperor ſent them two brothers, who were well verſed in their language, and who taught them to write, and to tranſlate the New Teſtament into their native language. Theſe miſſionaries, with the aſſiſtance only of two Sclavonians, ſoon made a tranſlation of the New Teſtament; which is the ſame tranſlation they uſe at preſent in Ruſſia.

As ſoon as the young prince Igor had attained manhood, he married a young woman of Pleſkow, called Olgha; and his example has been conſtantly followed by his ſucceſſors, who have generally choſen their wives from among their ſubjects. It was the cuſtom in thoſe days, when the ſovereign had formed a reſolution to marry, to publiſh an edict, enjoining all thoſe fathers, whoſe daughters were marriageable, and who were handſome enough to be the choice of their ſovereign, to bring them to

court, when the prince examined them, in a diſguiſed habit; and to the lady he preferred, he immediately made a preſent of a wedding ſuit, and ſent the others home with rich preſents.

In the beginning of the tenth century the Ruſſians, under the conduct of Igor and of his uncle Oleghe, laid ſiege to Conſtantinople: the emperor was obliged to ſubmit, and to give hoſtages for the payment of a conſiderable annual tribute; for the better ſecurity of this contract it was accompanied with an oath reciprocally ſworn; the Chriſtians ſwore upon the Croſs, and the Ruſſians before the idol of their god Penune; whereupon thoſe victorious princes, after having hung their bucklers upon the gates of Conſtantinople, returned to Kiovia, laden with the ſpoils of the timid Greeks.

In the year 938, Igor, ſuppoſing that he had ſome cauſe of complaint againſt the Greeks, aſſembled a powerful army and ravaged all Aſia Minor and the coaſts of the Black Sea; but afterwards he was defeated, and almoſt all his army deſtroyed: the few Ruſſians who eſcaped the maſſacre, rather than the battle, deſcribed this terrible ſcene to their compatriots in the following manner. The Greeks, ſay they, are enchanters; they threw fire into our veſſels like flaſhes of lightning, which obliged our ſoldiers to throw themſelves into the ſea to avoid being burnt. This is the deſcription which the Ruſſians have left us of the famous Gregorian fire, which made the Greeks ſo formidable by ſea in thoſe days. However, Igor ſome time afterwards, to revenge the affront which he ſuppoſed had been done to his honour and to his arms, raiſed another very great army and marched directly to Conſtantinople, which he laid under contribution, and the

emperor

emperor was obliged to purchaſe a peace by the payment of a yearly tribute. This peace was concluded in the year 945, with the ſame formalities as the former, only the Ruſſians as well as the Greeks ſwore now upon the Croſs, as the former were become Chriſtians as well as the latter.

The following year Igor made war upon the Drewlians, a powerful people, who were then eſtabliſhed in Lithuania; but he was killed in an ambuſcade of the enemy, and left his dominions to his young ſon Swatoſlaw, under the guardianſhip of his mother Olgha, who no ſooner took the reins of government into her hands than ſhe reſolved to revenge the death of her huſband; a bloody war enſued, in which the Drewlians were always defeated, and at laſt obliged to make peace with the Ruſſians, by paying them a conſiderable tribute yearly.

Soon after this Olgha undertook a journey to Conſtantinople, and was baptized in this capital into the Chriſtian faith, and changed her name for that of Helen. Through her means, and by her authority, the Chriſtian religion was ſpread throughout all the Ruſſian dominions; ſo that the Ruſſian church has placed her among the number of the ſaints, and they celebrate her feſtival on the 11th of July.

When her ſon Swatoſlaw grew up, he became alſo a formidable warrior, and conquered a very great extent of territory. It is ſaid that he made ten nations tributary to his crown, particularly the Bulgarians, from whom he took near fourſcore towns upon the banks of the Danube. He changed the ſeat of his empire from Kiovia to Pereſlwale, where, ſay the Ruſſian annals, the Greeks furniſhed him with gold, wine, fruits, grain,

and ſtuffs; the Hungarians and the Bohemians with horſes and with ſilver; while, at the ſame time, he drew from Ruſſia honey, wax, hydromel, and men: but his great conqueſts and his bad policy ruined his empire. He was killed in the year 972, upon the banks of the Dnieper, after having concluded a peace with the Greeks, and divided his dominions among his ſons. He gave Kiovia and its diſtricts to Jaropolk; the country of the Drewlians to Oleghe; and the diſtrict of Novogorod, and the ancient Ruſſian dominions of Rurick, to his natural ſon Wladimir: which diſpoſition prevented the Ruſſians for a long time from making any figure among the powerful ſtates. However, from the natural ſtrength and ferocity of the old Sclavonians, after ſome years this natural ſon united all the dominions of his two brothers to his crown, and became the ſole ſovereign of all the Ruſſias.

Wladimir was an idolater, and gave himſelf up to the moſt ſcandalous exceſſes: he had ſeveral lawful wives of different nations in his palace, and more than ſix hundred concubines; but although he appeared to be plunged in all kinds of exceſſes and debauchery, he was not the leſs formidable to the neighbouring princes, every one of whom ſought his alliance. As he was undetermined what religion he ſhould embrace, all the prieſts of the different religions eſtabliſhed in Europe and in Aſia endeavoured to draw him over to their party: the Jews were not without ſome hopes of making him a convert to the Moſaical inſtitutions; the Pope ſent him ſeveral eccleſiaſtics of the Latin church; and the Greeks ſent him a learned prelate of their communion to explain to him the hiſtory and the doctrine of the Old and New Teſtament. Wladimir at laſt reſolved to chuſe one of theſe religions; but, not to be made the dupe of artful and

deſigning

deſigning men, he diſpatched emiſſaries ſecretly into all theſe countries, who were to make themſelves fully acquainted with their different forms of worſhip as well as their morals, and to make a report to him at their return: at length from theſe accounts, and the perſuaſions of his mother Maluſka, he determined in favour of the Greek church; in which communion he was baptized, and afterwards married Anne the ſiſter of the emperors Conſtantine and Baſil. Wladimir himſelf viſited all his provinces, accompanied by a Grecian Biſhop, and with an uncommon ſhare of zeal perſuaded all his ſubjects, who were not yet Chriſtians, to embrace the Chriſtian faith; ſo that the Ruſſians have likewiſe placed him among the number of their ſaints, and celebrate his feſtival on the 15th of July. He made a collection of all the different laws and regulations of his kingdom, and publiſhed the firſt code that was ever publiſhed in his ſtates in the year 1017.

Wladimir reigned till the year 1035; and when he died divided his dominions among his twelve ſons, who by an almoſt uninterrupted ſcene of wars, cruelties, and bloodſhed deſtroyed each other and their reſpective territories, till Jaroſlaw now only remaining, united to his dominion all the provinces which had been under his father's government, and aſſumed the title of ſovereign of all the Ruſſias. He ſoon after made war upon the Lithuanians, who being a warlike people during the civil wars of Ruſſia had revolted from his government, and obliged them to ſubmit and become tributaries to his crown. He married his eldeſt daughter to Caſimir king of Poland, and his ſecond daughter to Henry the Firſt of France, grandſon of Hugh Capet.

Jaroſlaw

Jaroſlaw took every prudent ſtep to eſtabliſh the Chriſtian religion in Ruſſia, by founding and endowing ſeveral churches, by tranſlating ſeveral Greek books into the Sclavonian language, and by cauſing the firſt code of eccleſiaſtical laws to be publiſhed in his country. He died in the year 1054, and, by the bad policy which then prevailed, divided his ſtates between his five ſons, whom he exhorted above all things to live in peace with each other: but no ſooner was he interred than his four younger ſons made war againſt their elder brother, and forced him to fly into Poland for refuge.

Some time after Boleſlas king of Poland reconducted him into his dominions with a powerful army, where he aſſumed the title of Grand Duke of all the Ruſſias; but he died ſoon after, and his brother Uſevolod ſucceeded him in the dignity of grand duke, who likewiſe added the title of Jaroſlawitz to his name, that is, ſon of Jaroſlaw. After a reign of fourteen years, in which nothing remarkable happened, this prince died at Kiovia, the 13th of April 1093. According to the Ruſſian annals, the memory of this prince was dear to all his ſubjects: he loved juſtice, ſay they, and in this corrupted century had a ſingular averſion for all kinds of debaucheries.

He was ſucceeded by Wladimir the Second, who, after the example of his grandfather Jaroſlaw, was abſolute and even deſpotic in all his dominions, and aſſumed the title of Sovereign of all the Ruſſias. His reign was glorious, carrying his arms into Hungary, where he gained great advantages over that country; he was the terror of the Tartars; made a cruel war on the Bulgarians upon the banks of the Danube; and in the

year

year 1125 threatened the Greek emperor, who, to keep him off his frontiers, ſent him ſeveral rich preſents by ſome biſhops, who gave him the title of Czar or Emperor. He carried away immenſe riches which the merchants of Genoa had depoſited at Caffa, where they had a great trade in thoſe days, with which he made the ſuperb ornaments that were uſed for the coronation of the ſovereigns of Ruſſia, and which his ſucceſſors employed at their reſpective coronations till the laſt century. From this time till the year 1156, the Ruſſian annals give us only an unintereſting hiſtory of wars againſt the Tartars, and of civil commotions.

In the year 1127 Wladimir the Second died, and divided his dominions among his ſons, ſo that we find nothing but confuſion till the year 1157, when George duke of Suſdale, and afterwards of Moſcow, laid the foundation of the city of Moſcow. The territory of Moſcow now became an independent principality; the title of Great Duke was given to its dukes, and its capital was regarded as the capital of all the Ruſſias: Kiovia was no longer eſteemed as the firſt city of this empire.

George was acknowledged as great duke of all the Ruſſias; but as he, as well his as children, were oppoſed in their pretenſions by a variety of the princes of the blood-royal, who were poſſeſſed of little principalities in this extenſive empire, we find nothing but a continued ſcene of civil wars, confuſion, and bloodſhed, which greatly weakened the empire, till the memorable year 1237; when a great army of the Mogol Tartars entered Ruſſia under the command of Bathow Kan, grandſon of the famous Gengis Kan, and laid waſte all the country though which they paſſed: they took all the conſiderable places in

the

empire, and the whole country was expoſed to rapine and plunder. The great duke George the Second was killed in battle, and the whole empire obliged to ſubmit, and become ſlaves and tributaries to the Tartars.

Ruſſia continued in this abject ſtate for near two hundred years, during which interval the little princes of this country, always jealous of each other, conſtantly endeavoured, without policy and even without ſhame, to gain the protection of their tyrants; ſo that, inſtead of ſhaking off their yoke, they took every method to rivet it the more firmly.

Maſters of the whole empire, the Tartars depoſed ſeveral of the little princes and dukes, whom they afterwards maſſacred and pillaged, and at length, about the year 1262, they placed Alexander Newſki upon the throne, to whom they gave the title of great duke: this prince, although he was tributary to the Tartars, was warlike, enterprizing, and poſſeſſed many good qualities. He beat the Swedes and the knights of the Teutonic order; and for his great virtues, love of juſtice, and ſtrict adherence to religion, the Ruſſian Church has placed him among the number of her ſaints; but he had not forces ſufficient to ſhake off the dominion and yoke of the Tartars.

In the year 1715, the emperor Peter the Great built a ſuperb monaſtery near St. Peterſbourg in honour and under the invocation of this ſaint; and the empreſs Catherine the Firſt, in the year 1725, inſtituted to his honour the order of St. Alexander Newſki.

This

This prince made Moſcow the capital of his ſtates, and died in the year 1270, leaving his dominions to his brother Jaroſlas, who reigned only ſeven years, and left the government to Daniel, who built the citadel of Moſcow, which is commonly called the Kremelin, and which was in after-ages the reſidence of the great dukes; but he was afterwards depoſed by the Tartars, and the government given to his brother Baſil, who was the favourite of the Kan of the Mogol Tartars, at this time the real ſovereign of all the Ruſſias. This prince had likewiſe the title of great duke; and, agreeably to the policy of theſe times, divided the provinces of the empire among his relations, the princes of the blood, after having received an oath of fidelity from them: he paid a conſiderable tribute to the Kan of the Tartars, and impoſed one upon all the little princes in his dominions. Baſil was ſucceeded by his couſin Demetrius, ſon of duke Alexander; but he was ſoon depoſed by his brother Andrew, who reigned in 1282.

The Ruſſians now began to recover ſtrength, and to make head againſt the Tartars, who perceived that they could not govern any longer in Ruſſia, but by dividing the forces of this country; and therefore they furniſhed troops to Andrew to divide the government with his brother.

About the year 1319 George the ſon of Daniel, duke of Moſcow, was acknowledged as great duke of Ruſſia; but he was ſoon afterwards aſſaſſinated by the grandſon of Jaroſlas. George particularly protected by the Kan of the Tartars, who, when he heard of his aſſaſſination, became furious, and reſolved not to name another Ruſſian to the dignity of grand duke, but to divide this empire into principalities, and to eſtabliſh Mogol

princes in the different governments: and for this purpoſe he ſent one of his lieutenants, at the head of a powerful army, with orders to ſeize upon the duchy of Iwere, and to make himſelf be proclaimed duke of it: this Kan afterwards pretended to give laws to all the other provinces of Ruſſia, and to force all the inhabitants to change their religion; but Alexander duke of Iwere, who was driven out of his capital by this Tartar duke, attacked the enemy's army with ſuch fury, that he deſtroyed the greateſt part of them: thoſe who eſcaped took refuge in the citadel of Iwere, and were burnt by the conqueror.

If the Ruſſians had not been divided among themſelves, and, by the bad policy of their former great dukes, the empire had not been parcelled out into little principalities, they might now have eaſily thrown off the Tartar yoke: on the contrary, Iwan Danielowitz, or the ſon of Daniel duke of Moſcow, was named great duke of Ruſſia by the Kan of the Tartars, on condition that he joined his forces to the Tartar army, to deſtroy Alexander and the inhabitants of Iwere. This prince mounted the throne by the maſſacre of his ſubjects, and ſupported himſelf on it by ſhedding their blood: he augmented the town of Moſcow, and formed a rampart of wood about it; he built the cathedral church of St. Michael, which for 400 years has been the ſepulchre of the great dukes.

During this and the preceding reigns there was no form of government in Ruſſia: the country was almoſt deſtroyed by the continual inroads of the Tartars; and, when theſe Barbarians were retired with their plunder, it was ſtill more depopulated by the wars which thoſe little ſovereigns waged among themſelves, in diſputing the extent of their reſpective dominions and authority.

The

The Ruſſian hiſtory is full of confuſion, diſorder, and fable, till the year 1380, when we find Demetrius the Third, a warlike prince, upon the throne of this empire, who, ſoon after his advancement to this dignity, was attacked by the kan of the Tartars, who entered his dominions at the head of a formidable army, over whom he gained ſo complete a victory, that the field of battle was covered with dead bodies for fourteen werſts or ten Engliſh miles.

The Ruſſian annals moreover inform us, that the following year Tocatmiſch, great Kan of the Tartars, who was afterwards conquered by Tamerlane, marched againſt Demetrius with all his forces, took the cities of Wladimir and Moſcow, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword; ravaged the whole country, and carried away an immenſe plunder.

From this time the Ruſſian annals are again full of confuſion and obſcurity till the year 1462. We only ſee that the Tartars, though divided among themſelves, were abſolutely maſters of Ruſſia, and created and depoſed the little ſovereigns of this country as they thought proper, till the reign of Iwan Baſiliewitz, who mounted the throne this year, and ſoon afterwards reconquered ſeveral of the provinces which the Tartars had before unjuſtly ſeized.

He afterwards married the grand-daughter of Emanuel the Second, emperor of Conſtantinople, who excited her huſband to ſhake off the ignominious yoke of the Tartars, and to begin with laying ſiege to the caſtle of Moſcow, where they ſtill ſupported a garriſon, under pretence of a dream, in which, ſhe ſaid, that God had commanded her to build a church in that place: her

invention ſucceeded, and the Tartars were driven out of Moſcow, on which Iwan puſhed his conqueſts ſtill farther, and in leſs than two years drove the Tartars out of the Ruſſian dominions.

The great city of Novogorod was in thoſe days the magazine of all the merchandizes of the North, and become very rich and powerful: the inhabitants had formed themſelves into a republican government, after the example of the Hanſe towns, with whom they were in alliance, and were in a ſituation to bring 200,000 men into the field. However, notwithſtanding this formidable power, and the alliance of the Hanſe towns, Iwan reſolved to attack them, and to bring thoſe republicans under his dominion; with this view he laid ſiege to the town with all his forces. The citizens defended themſelves through a ſeries of ſeven years, but at length were obliged to ſubmit, and to ſurrender all their treaſures to the conqueror.

Afterwards Iwan reduced all the little principalities of the Ruſſian empire under his obedience, and then by an expreſs law, which has ſince been regarded as a fundamental principle of the ſtate, he aboliſhed all thoſe little ſovereigns in the empire; aſſumed the title of ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, and of grand duke of Moſcow, Wlamidir, Novogorod, &c. He next turned his forces againſt the Tartars, from whom he conquered the kingdom of Kaſan, and then added the title of czar, or king of Kaſan, to his other dignities.

This prince, after having reigned forty-four years as an abſolute and deſpotic ſovereign, and vanquiſhed all his enemies, died in the year 1505, and left his crown to his ſon Baſil; who had

had no ſooner mounted his throne, than he ſent an ambaſſador to Mendi-Geri, Kan of the Crim Tartars, to renew the treaty of peace, which had been ſigned between the two nations during his father's reign: but the Kan was by no means diſpoſed to conſent to theſe conditions, from a ſuppoſition that Baſil was not ſo formidable an opponent as his father had been; and, after having kept the ambaſſador at his court for ſeveral months, ſent him away with two deputies, who preſented ſome new articles for Baſil to ſign, with which they demanded a prompt compliance. Aſtoniſhed at receiving ſuch a mark of haughtineſs from a little prince from whom he had nothing to fear, Baſil immediately ſent away the Tartars with orders to inform their Kan, that he wiſhed to have the treaty ſigned immediately, as it had been in his father's life-time, without any alteration whatever, otherwiſe he would come himſelf at the head of 100,000 men, and let the Kan know that he was not to be treated in ſuch a manner; whereupon Mendi-Geri ſigned the treaty without any heſitation.

During the reign of this prince, ſome Engliſh veſſels, ſent out by Edward the Sixth to make diſcoveries in the North, found themſelves imbayed in Archangel Road, and ſoon afterwards, by little preſents, made themſelves acquainted with the inhabitants of the country.—When it was known at the court of Ruſſia that theſe ſtrangers were at Archangel, Baſil immediately ſent orders to conduct them to Moſcow; then it was that the firſt treaty of commerce between England and the Ruſſian empire was agreed upon.

The Engliſh give a magnificent deſcription of the court of Baſil, and of his power. It is ſaid that this emperor could then

bring 900,000 men into the field; notwithſtanding it was not permitted to enrol either merchants or labourers. Out of 900,000 men they choſe 300,000 who formed the army; and the reſt were diſperſed in the different parts of the empire. They received no pay, and ſupported themſelves at their own expence, and by plunder: there is ſome part of the irregular Ruſſian troops upon the ſame footing even to this day; theſe troops, as well as thoſe of the Tartars, with whom they were chiefly engaged in war, conſiſted more in cavalry, than in infantry; the former were covered with iron-armour, and had helmets upon their heads; and no ſoldiers were more enured to fatigue, or could tolerate hunger and cold with more patience; they were often obliged to feed their horſes with the leaves and barks of trees. The prince's tent was ornamented with magnificent tapeſtry both within and without. The Ruſſians had very little military diſcipline in theſe days; they ſeldom gave the enemy battle in a regular form; but either formed their attacks in a diſorderly manner, or endeavoured to draw their enemies into an ambuſcade. The emperor recompenſed generouſly thoſe who performed any ſignal acts of bravery.

At this time all the lands in Ruſſia were fiefs, and thoſe who cultivated the earth were ſlaves, upon the ſame footing that they are at preſent. Whenever theſe warriors diſtinguiſhed themſelves, the emperor made them preſents of fiefs, in proportion to their ſervices, and then all the farmers who lived upon their fiefs became the ſlaves of their new lord. When the poſſeſſors of theſe fiefs died without male heirs, the land returned to the ſovereign, excepting that, as a particular favour, he continued the daughter of the late proprietors in the poſſeſſion, on condi-

tion

tion that they ſupported a certain number of ſoldiers. When the emperor was informed that he had any ſubject in his ſtates who was very rich, and who did not ſerve in his army, he ſent for him immediately to court, and of his own authority ſtripped him of the greateſt part of his treaſures, leaving him only a moderate ſubſiſtence for himſelf and for his family: this treaſure conſtituted a part of the fund which was deſigned to recompenſe officers of merit. Nothing gives us a clearer idea of the deſpotiſm of the ſovereigns of Ruſſia in thoſe days; and yet it is generally agreed that no people were at this time more ſubmiſſive, and with more reſignation ſacrificed their lives and properties in the ſervice of the ſtate.

In the year 1514 Baſil was attacked by the Tartars, the Poles, and by the Teutonic order, and found himſelf greatly embarraſſed; on which he ſent an ambaſſador to Maximilian emperor of Germany to deſire his alliance and aſſiſtance, which was ſoon granted; and as this treaty will inform us of the idea which Maximilian had of Baſil's power, I will exhibit it at large, as tranſlated from the original copy at Moſcow.

"According to the will of God and our own affection, we "Maximilian, by the grace of God elected emperor of the "Romans, for ever auguſt, king of Hungary, Bohemia, &c. &c. "We have eſtabliſhed an affection, eternal alliance, and brotherly "friendſhip with our brother the great lord Baſil, by the grace "of god emperor and ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, grand duke, "&c. &c. We will live in brotherly love, union, and friendſhip "with him during the whole courſe of our lives; and our "deſcendents ſhall live in the ſame brotherly love and friendſhip "with his deſcendents as long as it ſhall be pleaſing to God.

"And

" And he who is the friend of us Maximilian king of the " Romans, of Hungary, and of Bohemia, &c. &c. and of our " imperial majeſty, ſhall alſo be the friend of you Baſil, by the " grace of God emperor and ſovereign of all the Ruſſias;—and " whoever ſhall be our enemy ſhall alſo be your enemy: and if " any one is your friend, he ſhall alſo be our friend; or if he is " your enemy, he ſhall alſo be our enemy. If you our brother " are in want of our aſſiſtance againſt your enemies we will act " ſincerely and give you aid, according to the tenor of our agree- " ment, if God aſſiſt us; and in caſe we ſhall be in want of " your aſſiſtance you ſhall give us aid with equal ſincerity. And " as your enemy, as well as our enemy, Sigiſmond king of " Poland and grand duke of Lithuania has done us as well as " you great injuſtice, and has been no leſs oppreſſive of the " Teutonic order, unjuſtly retaining under his dominion ſeveral " caſtles in Pruſſia, and has formed a deſign to deſtroy all that " part of Pruſſia which belongs to that order; and, with equal " injuſtice, retains under his dominion the caſtle of Kiow, part " of your territories, as well as ſeveral other caſtles belonging " to your ſubjects; we will be united againſt our ſaid common " enemy Sigiſmond, and we will do ourſelves juſtice againſt our " common enemy as far as God ſhall enable us. We Maximilian, " &c. will act for this preſent time againſt Sigiſmond as much " as God ſhall aid us; and we will endeavour, in the firſt place, " by negociations, which ſhall be carried on ſincerely and " without fraud, to make him reſtore thoſe caſtles, &c. which " he retains ſo unjuſtly under his dominion. And you, great " prince Baſil, ſhall act ſincerely againſt your enemy the king of " Poland; but, in the firſt place, you ſhall endeavour by " negociation to make him reſtore your paternal inheritance. " And in caſe that either of us ſhall be obliged to attack our

" ſaid

" ſaid common enemy, we will give intelligence of it reciprocally " to each other, and we will make a common cauſe againſt our ſaid " enemy. We Maximilian, &c. if we march to attack the ſaid " king of Poland, we will make it known unto you; and if " you, our brother, ſhall go to attack our common enemy, you " will make it known unto us, and you will make a common " cauſe with us by giving us information, and we will imme- " diately go againſt him likewiſe. And if it ſhall ſo happen " that, becauſe of the great diſtance between us, we cannot " immediately adviſe you of our intentions, and that we are " obliged to attack the king of Poland with promptitude, " you, Baſil, ſhall equally be united with us, whether you " go yourſelf againſt him, or whether you ſend your captains " with your forces; and the ſame ſhall be ſaid on our part. " And if God the Lord of his great mercy aſſiſts us againſt our " common enemy the king of Poland, ſo that we may be able " to retake our caſtles, we will however be always united againſt " our ſaid common enemy; and if our attempt ſhould not " ſucceed, we will ever be united againſt our enemies during " our lives. Our meſſengers and merchants ſhall always be free, " and paſs without any interruption in your country; and your " meſſengers and merchants ſhall always be free, and paſs with- " out any interruption in our country. Signed in our city of " Brundenau, Auguſt 4th, in the year 1514, and in the " twenty-ninth year of our reign as king of the Romans, and " in the twenty-fifth as king of Hungary, &c.

" MAXIMILIAN."

This treaty not only ſhews us the high idea which the emperor Maximilian entertained of Baſil's power, but will alſo

ſhew us the ſimplicity, and at the ſame time the expreſſive ſtyle which they uſed in thoſe days.

In the year 1521, the Kan of the Crim Tartars entered the Ruſſian dominions at the head of a powerful army, and after having eſtabliſhed his brother in the kingdom of Kaſan, which had been under the Ruſſian dominion, he laid ſiege to Moſcow; and Baſil, who ſome years before was judged to be ſo formidable, in order to prevent the entire deſtruction of this city and of his country, was forced to ſign a treaty, by which he acknowledged himſelf to be tributary to the Tartars; whereupon the Kan retired with the teſtimony of the abject condeſcenſion of that very prince who had menaced him ſome years before: but being deſirous of obtaining poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Rezan, he ſent an order to the governor to deliver it up to his troops, under pretence that Baſil, as his tributary, was obliged to give him free entry into his fortifications; on which the governor anſwered imperiouſly, That his maſter was neither a ſlave nor tributary to any perſon. The Kan, to convincet he governor of the truth of what he had advanced, ſent him the original treaty: the governor was at firſt ſurprized; but, after ſome reflection, kept the treaty, and immediately diſcharged all his artillery among the Tartars, who by this means were thrown into the greateſt confuſion, and retreated precipitately without daring to demand the treaty. Before they had time to return into the Ruſſian territories, Baſil was ready with an army to receive them.

This prince died in the year 1534, and was ſo much eſteemed, that all the orders of the ſtate took an oath of fidelity to his ſon

ſon Iwan, though he was then only four years of age, and proclaimed Helen his mother regent during his minority.

Towards the end of this year ſeventy ambaſſadors arrived at the court of Moſcow from as many princes or chiefs of reſpective nations of Tartars; they had in their train 700 military perſons and 4000 merchants, who conducted 50,000 horſes to ſell. Helen adminiſtered the affairs of government during the minority of her ſon with great firmneſs and courage; and though her enemies often attacked her ſon's dominions during her regency, ſhe always diſconcerted their projects.

Iwan took the reins of government into his own hands in the year 1545; and, as ſoon as he had eſtabliſhed his authority in his own ſtates, reſolved, after the example of other kingdoms, to wear a crown, as an external mark of the ſupreme authority with which he was inveſted: he took the title of czar, or king of the Ruſſias; for though ſome of his predeceſſors had aſſumed the title of czar or king of Kaſan, he was the firſt who was proclaimed czar of the Ruſſias.

In the year 1548, Iwan formed the deſign of re-conquering the kingdom of Kaſan, which the Kan of the Crim Tartars had taken from his father: for this purpoſe he led a formidable army into this kingdom, and laid ſiege to the capital, from a perſuaſion that on the reduction of this town depended that of the whole country; but the Ruſſians, accuſtomed to make war only for the ſake of plunder, ſoon grew tired of the exact diſcipline which their ſovereign made them obſerve; they immediately began to complain, and from complaints they proceeded to menaces, and at length were about to abandon their

camp and return into their own country. Iwan ſaw with indignation, that through the revolt of his ſoldiers he ſhould loſe the conqueſt which ſo much flattered his ambition: however he diſſembled his reſentment, and re-conducted his troops to Moſcow. When he arrived here, he aſſembled all the chiefs of the people, and after having given them an exact account of his unhappy expedition, he ordered, according to common cuſtom, a public entertainment; all the officers of the army, and particularly thoſe who were the principal authors of the revolt of Kaſan were invited, to whom were diſtributed robes of black ſattin; but all the reſt of the aſſembly had robes of red ſattin. When the entertainment was finiſhed the emperor made a public oration, in which, after he had praiſed the fidelity of ſome of his officers, he exclaimed againſt the inſolence and diſobedience of others, and concluded by declaring, that he would take ſuch vengeance as ſhould ſtrike terror in thoſe who ſhould ever think of perpetrating the like crimes; whereupon, without any other ceremony or form of trial, all who were in black robes were delivered to executioners, who waited without to ſeize them, and immediately put to death.

This, with ſome other acts of ſeverity, though they were juſt requitals for crimes actually committed, induce the Ruſſian writers to place this prince among the number of the moſt cruel tyrants; but this does not at all appear to have been his character. It is certain that he was very ſevere in the execution of juſtice; but conſidering the barbarity of thoſe times, and of the people of whom he was ſovereign, there was a neceſſity for his treating delinquents with rigour, otherwiſe his government would have ſoon been at an end.

Having

Having been informed that one of his judges had received a gooſe full of pieces of gold from one of the parties who had a law-ſuit before him, he appeared for ſome time to be ignorant of this tranſaction; but afterwards, when he ſaw the effects which this gooſe had produced, he ordered the executioner, without any ceremony, to give this judge the knout (a ſevere flagellation with a whip formed of very hard and thick thongs) and to aſk him at every laſh how the fleſh of the gooſe taſted?

In the moſt barbarous ages, hoſpitality was regarded as one of the principal moral virtues by the Ruſſians as well as by the Tartars; and as this prince would often diſguiſe himſelf, and mingle among all ranks of people to hear what his ſubjects ſaid of him, he one day feigned himſelf to be extremely fatigued, and demanded hoſpitality in the evening in a village not far from Moſcow; but all the inhabitants of the village ſhut their doors againſt this ſuppoſed ſtranger, except one, who was poorer than all his neighbours, who received him into his hut, where his wife was ready to be delivered of a child, which happened indeed while the emperor was preſent. Very early next morning he quitted the hut, and promiſed his hoſt to return ſoon with godfathers and godmothers for the child; and he kept his word; for the farmer the next day ſaw the emperor with all his court arrive: he ordered the child to be baptized immediately, and then made it a conſiderable preſent; he likewiſe ordered all the houſes in the village to be razed to the ground, except the houſe of him who had ſhewed him hoſpitality. This is, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the inhabitants, to engage you to be hereafter more charitable to ſtrangers; undoubtedly you will become ſo when you yourſelves have felt how diſagreeable it is to lie in the open air during the inclemency of the ſeaſon.

In

In the year 1552, this prince led another powerful army againſt the Tartars, to re-conquer the kingdom of Kaſan, over whom he gained a complete victory. The next morning Iwan gave orders to decamp, and to purſue the remains of the enemy's army; but the ſoldiers mutinied, and declared, that if he did not give them ſome reſt, and every thing they wanted, they would immediately quit their ſtandards and return to their own homes. The emperor, very far from ſhewing any act of violence, or appearing ſhocked at this indiſcreet menace, diſmounted immediately from his horſe, and walked through all the ranks to obtain information from every ſoldier what were his wants; and having learnt that it was violent fatigue alone that produced theſe murmurs, he gave orders that they ſhould have ſome days of reſt. When the ſoldiers had reſted only ſome hours, and refreſhed themſelves, they ſurrounded the czar, and deſired him to lead them on againſt the enemy. Such condeſcenſion is not the characteriſtic of a furious perſon or of a tyrant, as ſome of the Ruſſian authors have repreſented this prince.

This year he re-conquered the kingdom of Kaſan; and the following that of Aſtracan, in which he eſtabliſhed a tributary king.

Theſe anecdotes of the life of Iwan, although they are otherwiſe of no great importance, ſerve to elucidate the character of this prince much better than the partial hiſtories which are written of him by the Ruſſians; at the ſame time they give us an idea of the barbarity in which the inhabitants of this nation, although they called themſelves Chriſtians, were plunged.

The

The emperor had a great eſteem for queen Elizabeth of England, who ſent an ambaſſador to his court at Moſcow. This miniſter, at his firſt audience, appeared covered before the czar, who, ſurprized at this act of boldneſs, aſked him, If he was ignorant of the manner in which he treated inſolent ambaſſadors? to which the miniſter replied, I know, prince, what you would ſay; but I am the ambaſſador of queen Elizabeth, who never takes off her cap nor uncovers her head before any prince in the world; and, if her miniſter is inſulted, ſhe knows how to revenge herſelf as a great queen. Upon which the emperor turned to his courtiers, and ſaid, This is a man of reſolution and bravery, who dares ſpeak and act in this manner for the honour and intereſts of his ſovereign; which of you, cowards as you are, would dare do the ſame thing for me? This anecdote gave riſe to that abſurd ſtory which was afterwards told of this prince's having nailed an ambaſſador's hat to his head.

In the year 1556, upon a quarrel which aroſe between two governors upon the frontiers between Ruſſia and Sweden, Guſtavus Vaſa, then king of Sweden, ſent an army into Ruſſia, with orders to lay waſte all the country with fire and ſword: Iwan prepared to receive him; but before he offered him battle, he wrote to his general Paletſki to inform Guſtavus, that he would be the author of all the cruelties which ſhould be committed, as well as the cauſe of ſhedding a ſea of Chriſtian blood, if he did not accept an interview which he then offered him to ſettle their differences; conſequently this cannot be ſaid to have been the language of a tyrant or of a barbarian.

When

When the czar had conquered the kingdoms of Kaſan and Aſtracan, he received ſome deputies from Edigieri, prince of a part of Siberia, who propoſed to the czar to pay him an yearly tribute of ſome rich furs, and to take an oath of fidelity to him, if he would grant him his protection, which the czar readily accepted: then it was that he ſaw his authority extend from the Frozen Sea to the borders of Perſia; and from the Mountains of the Eagles, the country of the Calmoucks, and the Caſpian Sea in the Eaſt, to Livonia, Courland, Pruſſia, and Poland in the Weſt; but his ambition was more extenſive than this tract of country; he wanted the rich province of Livonia, and declared war againſt the knights of the Teutonic order, under whoſe dominion it was at that time. The chief of this order, ſeeing the ſtorm ready to break upon his head, ſent a public miniſter to Iwan to adjuſt their differences; but this prince would not hear any of their propoſitions, and told the miniſter, that the order was totally degenerated from the valour of their anceſtors; that they had neither laws, honour, or honeſty; that they were no longer Chriſtians, but prophane wretches, ready to follow the firſt barbarous opinion that was propagated among them.

This war was very bloody, and Livonia was almoſt ruined; but by the aſſiſtance which they received from the king of Poland, Iwan could not gain any great advantage over them.

In the year 1563, Iwan demanded the princeſs Catherine, daughter of Sigiſmond king of Poland, in marriage; but inſtead of accepting this advantageous propoſition, which would have eſtabliſhed peace in the two kingdoms, the Poles, in the place of

of the princeſs, ſent the czar a mare finely cloathed. This terrible affront, which was unpardonable in the Poles, was followed with the moſt dreadful conſequences. Iwan entered Poland at the head of a powerful army, laid waſte all the province of Lithuania, and gave the palatinate and town of Ploczko to be pillaged. This is often the deſtiny of a people, whoſe blood is ſpilt to expiate the injuries which are ſuppoſed to have been received from their maſter.

As Iwan had ſo often made the province of Livonia the theatre of war, the inhabitants had expreſſed an invincible hatred againſt him; ſo that he perceived that he ſhould never be able to make them ſubmit, and acknowledge him for their ſovereign; he propoſed therefore Magnus duke of Holſtein, the king of Denmark's brother, to be their king, gave him his ſiſter Mary in marriage, and reſerved only a ſmall tribute for himſelf from the kingdom which he had created. Supported by the czar, part of the Livonians acknowledged the new king; but the inhabitants of Riga and of Revel choſe rather to put themſelves under the protection of the Swedes and of the Poles; whereupon this country was again made the theatre of war, which was carried on with various ſucceſs; but at length Magnus, tired of being a king only by the appointment of the czar, received the crown from the hands of the Livonians, who took an oath to obey him as their legal ſovereign.

As ſoon as Iwan was informed of this ceremony, which was performed at Venda, he immediately led an army againſt that city: at his approach the inhabitants ſhut their gates; and, while Iwan made preparations to beſiege the town, the citizens held a counſel; being convinced that they had not any mercy to hope

from an offended monarch, and conſcious that they were not in a ſituation to make any long reſiſtance, as their magazines and ſtore-houſes were almoſt empty, their conſternation became general, and was very ſoon ſucceeded by deſpair: they all ſaw, and felt themſelves guilty, and ſoon acquieſced in the terrible reſolution of ſetting fire to the town, and burying themſelves under its ruins, rather than ſubmit to the puniſhment which they ſuppoſed Iwan would have inflicted upon them. Magnus declared that he would ſacrifice himſelf for his people; and immediately diveſted himſelf of all his royal ornaments, cloathed himſelf in mourning, and went into the camp of the czar, where he threw himſelf at the feet of that prince, and implored his mercy for the unfortunate citizens; but Iwan in a fit of choler loaded Magnus with the moſt outrageous language, ſtruck him, and ſent him out of his preſence chained as a criminal. The Livonians ſeeing from their towers what paſt in the camp of the czar, and certain of the puniſhment they were to receive, as they had all lighted torches in their hands, they ſet fire to the town, which ſoon after communicated itſelf to ſome gunpowder which they had placed in divers parts, whereby the town was ſoon deſtroyed, and all who were in it.

The ravages which the Ruſſians committed in Livonia were almoſt beyond all deſcription; ſo that when the king of Poland declared war againſt the czar, two years afterwards, he reproached him with having committed ſuch acts of barbarity in Livonia, and in the northern parts of Poland, as were unworthy even of the moſt uncivilized Pagan; "And, added the king of Poland, "if you will not immediately make reparation of the wrongs "you have done, I ſhall have a greater deſire to deſtroy the "Ruſſians, than zeal to revenge the Poles."—However Iwan

was

was now become ſo powerful, that the king of Poland and his allies could gain but few advantages over him, and they were obliged to conſole themſelves with the loſſes they had ſuſtained. The reconquering Livonia, which the Ruſſians had almoſt converted into a deſert, was all the victory that they could boaſt of having obtained over this prince, though he was now ſhaken with age and infirmities.

In the year 1580, when the czar Iwan was grown old, and his army had been ſeveral times worſted by the Poles and their allies, ſome of the principal perſons of his kingdom ſpirited up the people to ſend a deputation to the czar, to intreat him to place the prince Iwan, his eldeſt ſon, at the head of the army; which, in fact, according to the cuſtoms of this country, was to diveſt himſelf of the royal dignity in favour of his ſon. The czar, enraged at this propoſition, ſent away the deputies with indignation, and the next day preſented himſelf in the great parade without guards, where he threw down his crown in the middle of the people, and ſtript himſelf of the imperial robe. "Give "this robe, ſays he, to any one who knows how to command "better than I, and to whom you will be more obedient. I have "conquered the kingdoms of Kaſan and Aſtracan; I have van-"quiſhed the Turks; and I have always ſupported the glory of "my kingdom: during my reign, the Ruſſians have never been "inſulted with impunity; and, in gratitude for all I have done "for you, you want to dethrone me, and to give my crown to "another." The people immediately burſt into tears, and kept the profoundeſt ſilence, waiting the concluſion of this ſingular ſcene; when ſome courtiers cried out, You are our czar, and we will have no other but you. Whereupon all the people fell upon their knees, and his courtiers took up the crown and the robe,

and intreated Iwan to inveſt himſelf again with his regal ornaments. " I ſhall not take them, ſaid the czar, but to puniſh " thoſe who have been the authors of this infamous plot: " then, turning himſelf towards his ſon, he ſaid, Is it " thou then, unhappy wretch, who wouldſt make my people " riſe in rebellion againſt me? Is it thou who wouldſt make " thyſelf be proclaimed ſovereign, to bereave me of my crown? " Certainly thy project was not only to make me deſcend to the " ſtate of a private perſon, but alſo to cut ſhort my days. " Since therefore thou haſt forgotten that I am thy father, and " thy ſovereign, in puniſhing thee I ſhall forget that thou art " my ſon, and only remember that ſtrict juſtice which a ſovereign ſhould employ againſt a rebel ſubject: the puniſhment " thou ſhalt receive, ſhall be a leſſon for ſons to reſpect their " fathers, even when they are under misfortunes." Young Iwan endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, but he had not the time to do it; his father, to impoſe ſilence upon him, gave him a blow upon the head with his cane, which made him ſtagger, and at length he fell at his father's feet, and appeared to be dead: when the emperor ſaw what he had done, his great wrath was inſtantly ſucceeded by deſpair and tenderneſs; he called him his dear ſon, threw himſelf upon his body, and bathed it with his tears: the young prince opened his eyes, and ſeeing his father in that ſituation ſaid, " I die content, as your tender- " neſs for me has made you ſhed tears; I call heaven to witneſs, " that I was not the author of the project of which you accuſe " me; it is God's will that I ſhould periſh in this manner, but " I ſhould be much better ſatisfied if it had been in the midſt of " our enemies." The prince died five days after, and left his father in the greateſt trouble and deſpair: he would have given his crown cheerfully to have recalled him into life, but it was

now too late; he never rejoiced afterwards, but died the ſame year.

Almoſt all the hiſtorians who have written the account of theſe times, have repreſented this prince as the greateſt tyrant and barbarian, and have not endeavoured to ſeparate thoſe parts of his character which were formed by the manners of the country: certainly Iwan would have had an amiable character, if he had been born and educated in any other country, and among a civilized people. He was naturally generous, and a lover of gratitude. All the places and employments during his reign were given to men of merit: he loved juſtice; but, from the barbarity of the country and of the age, he had no idea of mercy, although he pretended to be very pious: he had ſtrong paſſions, which, as they were never corrected by education or by reaſon, led him to many acts of violence, of which he ſoon afterwards repented: he was the firſt who called learned men and artiſts into Ruſſia, but the people then were too barbarous to be improved by their means.

He cauſed a new code of laws to be publiſhed in the Ruſſian language; and as they tend to caſt ſome light upon the manners and cuſtoms of the age, I ſhall tranſlate ſome of the principal regulations ſpecified in them.——"When a man ſhall be "condemned to pay a fine of a rouble (which is about four ſhil- "lings ſterling) he ſhall pay to the judge two copicks and half "(a copick being the hundredth part of a rouble) and one copick "to the attorney.——If two perſons who are at law with each "other, ſhall agree between themſelves, before the judge has "pronounced ſentence, they ſhall, notwithſtanding, pay the "ſums above-mentioned.——If the judge ſhall condemn an accuſed

" accuſed perſon to juſtify himſelf by arms, and ſhall appoint " the time and place, which he alone has the right to do, ſuch " accuſed perſon ſhall pay him fifty copicks, and the attorney " two copicks and half, even ſuppoſing that the parties ſhall " agree between themſelves without fighting.——If the accu- " ſer and the accuſed ſhall fight, the vanquiſhed perſon ſhall " pay to the vanquiſher the ſum that is demanded of him; and " ſhall give ſixty copicks to the judge, together with his arms, " and fifty to the ſecretary of the court.——A man who is ac- " cuſed of having ſet fire to a houſe, of having committed mur- " der, or of having committed a robbery, muſt always juſtify " himſelf by a duel; and if he is vanquiſhed, his accuſer may in- " ſiſt upon having the moſt valuable things he poſſeſſeth: the " judges ſhall levy the ſums abovementioned upon his goods, " and ſhall, moreover, order him a corporal puniſhment, pro- " portioned to the crime which he has committed.——Mur- " derers muſt always be puniſhed with death.——Spies, blaſ- " phemers, thoſe who retain freemen in ſlavery, thoſe who " place ſecretly in the houſes of particulars ſuch goods as be- " long to themſelves, and afterwards ſay that they have been " robbed; and, in fact, thoſe who ſhall be convicted of magic, " or of ſorcery, muſt be puniſhed with the moſt cruel death.— " A man who ſhall be condemned of a robbery, for the firſt " time ſhall receive the knout, and pay a fine: thoſe who " ſhall be catched in the act of robbery, for the ſecond time " ſhall be puniſhed with death, if he has not property ſufficient " to pay the value of what he would ſteal, and, at the ſame " time, to pay the judges.——A man who is accuſed of a rob- " bery ſhall juſtify himſelf by arms; and, if he is vanquiſhed, " his property and his perſon ſhall appertain to his accuſer. " If a man ſhall be ſurprized in the very act of robbery, who

is

" is ſuſpected to have robbed before, he muſt immediately bring
" two perſons of known property to atteſt that he has never
" robbed before, and that he has always behaved himſelf ho-
" neſtly; otherwiſe he ſhall be puniſhed with death, and his goods
" ſhall be given to his accuſer. The ſentences that ſhall be taken
" in writing ſhall pay one rouble each; beſides the judge ſhall
" receive thirteen copicks for his fee, and the attorney three;
" and the perſon who is appointed to put the czar's ſeal to it ſhall
" receive a copick and half. The inferior judges have only the
" power to condemn a man to pay a conditional fine, but they
" muſt always ſend the caſe to the ſuperior judges to be finally
" decided.——When any man would accuſe another of a capital
" crime, he muſt come to Moſcow, and preſent himſelf before
" the judge, and tell him that he deſires that ſuch a perſon
" ſhould be cited before the juſtice; on which the judge ſhall
" immediately ſend a ſerjeant to ſearch after the accuſed; and
" if he does not confeſs his crime, the judge ſhall demand what
" evidence the accuſer has to ſupport his charge; and then both
" the accuſer and the accuſed ſhall produce all the witneſſes
" they can; the former to ſupport the accuſation, and the latter
" to contradict it. The accuſed has likewiſe the liberty to ar-
" raign any of the witneſſes, and demand the deciſion of a duel;
" and the judges ſhall be obliged to grant it him. Both the
" parties may ſubſtitute others to fight in their place; but they
" ſhall not be permitted, in this combat, to make uſe of the
" bow and arrow: their offenſive arms ſhall be the javelin, the
" lance, the ſabre, and the poignard; their defenſive arms ſhall
" be the coat of armour, the ſhield, and buckler.——The teſti-
" mony of a nobleman ſhall have more weight than that of ſix
" perſons of a mean ſituation in life.——Every perſon ſhall
" plead his own caſe.—The judges are obliged to render juſtice

" gratis

" gratis.—Thoſe who think that their caſes have been inade-
" quately judged, may appeal to the prince."

Nothing can give us ſo clear an idea of the ignorance and barbarity of the inhabitants of this nation in thoſe days, as the laws abovementioned; where both the accuſer and his witneſſes were obliged to ſupport their charge by force of arms; if the accuſed was bold and enterprizing, and ſkilled in the uſe of arms, which thoſe people generally were who would run the riſk of their life for the ſake of bringing a criminal to juſtice.

After the death of Iwan, the people turned their attention towards his ſon Theodore to ſucceed him in the government; but this young prince, whom his father had always kept at a great diſtance, was very little acquainted with the adminiſtration of publick affairs; and being naturally weak and timid, Iwan, when he ſaw his end approaching, appointed Bogdan Bielſki, one of the noblemen of his court, to be regent of the kingdom. But Bielſki no ſooner ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter of the government, than he formed a reſolution to mount the throne, and to ſacrifice the young Theodore to his ambition: in order to ſucceed in this enterprize, he endeavoured to gain over the nobility to his party by promiſes, and the ſoldiers and people by preſents; but his plot was diſcovered, and he was obliged to abandon the reins of government.

The people, as ſoon as they had recovered themſelves from the terror, preſſed Theodore to be crowned, in order to prevent the like attempt in future. No ſooner was this ceremony performed, but this prince received a very advantageous propoſition from

from a Coſack, who had made ſome conqueſts in Siberia. I have already obſerved, that a little prince of Siberia had put himſelf under the protection of the czar Iwan, and had paid him tribute; but from the continual wars which this monarch had to ſupport, he had not any opportunity of turning his attention towards this country: in the beginning of the reign of Theodore, a Coſack, called Jermak, eſtabliſhed himſelf, with about 1000 ſoldiers of his nation, between the rivers Wolga and Oka, where he robbed all the veſſels which paſſed thoſe rivers, and ſometimes laid the neighbouring towns under contributions. The governor of Moſcow, informed of theſe depredations, ſent a body of troops againſt this robber, who killed 400 of his men, and forced him to fly with the other 600 into Siberia, where he pillaged all the villages, and penetrated even to the town of Sibir, or Tobolſkoi, which was then the reſidence of the Kan of this country. The Kan immediately betook himſelf to flight, but his wife and children fell into the hands of the Coſack, who proſecuted his conqueſts in Siberia; and to obtain his pardon, offered the czar the ſovereignty of the country. Theodore readily accepted the propoſition of the Coſack, and created him prince of Siberia; and ſoon after a large body of forces was ſent to his aſſiſtance, who not only proceeded to cultivate the country, but built ſeveral towns in it.

In the year 1589, the patriarch Jeremiah of Conſtantinople arrived in Ruſſia to collect the alms which he was to employ in order to gain the favour of the grand viſir, who had depoſed him, and appointed another in his place. This political prelate, who was perfectly well acquainted with the art of managing his friends in a court given up intirely to ambition, ſoon diſcovered that the primate Job had a great aſcendency over the clergy, and that

the czar alſo ſubmiſſively followed the advice of this metropolitan; he therefore propoſed to conſecrate the Ruſſian primate a patriarch, and to inveſt him with the ſame authority in Ruſſia which the patriarch of Conſtantinople had over the Chriſtians in Turkey. The propoſition was accepted: Job ſoon obtained the conſent of Theodore, and was conſecrated; and from that moment he nominated the metropolitans and archbiſhops of Ruſſia, and ceaſed to be dependent upon the patriarch of Conſtantinople.

This patriarch holds the fifth rank in the Greek church, Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jeruſalem, and Ruſſia. They preſerve the anniverſary of this famous æra in all the Ruſſian churches to this day, where theſe patriarchs are exhibited under the ſymbol of the five ſenſes.

Theodore, as hath been already obſerved, was not only weak and timid, but indolent, and with great difficulty ſupported the weight of the government; he therefore, to extricate himſelf from the embarraſſment of it, choſe Boris Godunow to be his favorite: this new miniſter, whoſe ſiſter Theodore had married, ſoon uſurped the ſupreme authority; and not being content with governing his maſter in a deſpotic manner, like a heathen tyrant, wanted to deſtroy him, and to aſcend the throne himſelf. Certainly there is not perhaps in the known world a country where thoſe who call themſelves nobles, are and have always been ſuch inſufferable tyrants, ſo void of humanity, of all the the ſocial virtues, and of all the attributes of a reaſonable being, as they are in the Ruſſian dominions. But the czar had a younger brother, who was preſumptive heir to the crown, and who was an obſtacle to his ambitious career, and therefore

Godunow

Godunow perſuaded Theodore to ſend his brother Demetrius at ſome diſtance from the court to the town of Uglitz, with his mother, his nurſe, and all his mother's relations. This point being gained, the favorite no longer kept any meaſures with the reſt of the nobility; he ſhut up ſome in priſon, poiſoned others, and for the moſt trifling offences deſtroyed others by the hands of the common executioners. The more obſtacles Godunow encountered, the more his ambition was inflamed: he could not come near the object of his ambition while young Demetrius lived; he therefore reſolved to poiſon him; but all his attempts were fruſtrated: the people now began to take the alarm, and to watch over the precious days of this child: however at length he procured two aſſaſſins to murder him in his own houſe at Uglitz; and this villain, ſuppoſing that he ſhould be able to impoſe upon the whole kingdom by the reſearches which he made after the authors of this crime, immediately deſtroyed the town of Uglitz, and the greateſt part of its innocent inhabitants periſhed by the hands of the executioners.

But theſe bloody acts did not make the people leſs clamorous; the inhabitants of Moſcow in particular, notwithſtanding the frequent executions which they every day ſaw among themſelves, did not ceaſe to talk publicly againſt the tyranny of this miniſter; he therefore ordered ſome of his dependents to ſet fire to that part of the town where they lived; and while their buildings were deſtroying by the flames, his guards, and thoſe who were under his direction, cut the throats of all thoſe who had held any diſcourſe againſt him.

Nothing was heard of in Ruſſia at this time but executions, murders, poiſonings, and other infernal acts of this nature: hu-

humanity, juſtice, religion, and every other ſocial virtue were now baniſhed from this unhappy country.

Towards the end of the year 1595, Boris Godunow advanced by great ſtrides towards the throne; but an event happened at this time which accelerated his progreſs. The Kan of the Crim Tartars made an excurſion into the Ruſſian dominions at the head of a great army; Theodore ſent a conſiderable army againſt him, and, for the firſt time, ſhewed his firmneſs by giving the command of it to Michael Bezin, againſt the advice of his favorite.

Bezin gained a great victory over the Tartars, and when they came to inform the czar of it, he turned towards Boris, and ſaid, "It is my will that my orders ſhould be executed; I would "have you remember that I am king."

Theſe words coſt him his life:—Boris, fearing to loſe the aſcendency which he had gained over his maſter, employed two whole years to form a party in the kingdom, and when he thought himſelf properly ſupported, he poiſoned Theodore; who, when he was ready to expire, ſent for the patriarch, who was alſo ſecretly in the intereſt of this infernal wretch, and expired with great reſignation in his arms.

Thus periſhed the czar Theodore, the laſt of the Rurick race, who had occupied the throne of Ruſſia ſince the year eight hundred and ſixty; a prince who was equally without virtues and without vices; he ſuffered himſelf, through puſillanimity, to be directed by one of the greateſt villains that ever diſgraced the human race. During his reign the moſt atrocious and

barbarous

barbarous ſcenes of villainy were countenanced and protected among all orders of men, and every thing that was virtuous and praiſe-worthy was diſcouraged. Theodore was content with the the title of ſovereign, which, in fact, he was very unworthy to bear; there was not any thing that pleaſed him ſo much as being in the monaſteries, where his moſt ſerious occupation was that of tolling the bells.

When Boris had ſtained every ſtep leading to the throne with blood, he burnt with a deſire to aſcend it; but the only means he had by which to ſucceed in his ſcheme, was to ſeem indifferent about it.

As ſoon as the death of Theodore was made known in Moſcow and in the provinces, all the principal perſons in the ſtate convened together to proceed to the election of a new czar. The ancient royal family was totally extinct, and there was no perſon then exiſting in the kingdom to direct them in their choice; every one of them thought himſelf worthy of the crown, and for this ſole reaſon opinions and votes were greatly divided. Godunow appeared to be very indifferent with regard to every thing that paſſed, but with ſecret joy ſaw the diviſions and irreſolution of the electors; nevertheleſs the tumult increaſed, and they were ready to decide this momentous affair, as they decided moſt of their little law-ſuits, by force of arms, when the patriarch Job roſe up in the aſſembly, and turning himſelf towards Boris, as they had before agreed, and raiſing his voice ſo as to be heard by all the aſſembly, ſaid, "We are ſearching at a diſtance "for him who alone is worthy of the throne of Ruſſia, and "who is preſent among us; his air of candor, his air of "diſintereſtedneſs, clearly point him out to me; it is Boris "Godunow

" Godunow; the nobility of Ruſſia will remember the prudence " and wiſdom with which he conducted himſelf in the govern- " ment which Theodore entruſted to him. The fear of chaſtiſe- " ment prevented diſturbances, the laws were duly obſerved, " the unhappy were relieved from their unhappineſs, and merit " was recompenſed."

Theſe words of the patriarch, whoſe hypocriſy had made the greateſt part of the kingdom believe that he was very pious, filled the aſſembly with aſtoniſhment. There were very few preſent who were not convinced in their minds that Boris was one of the greateſt villains in the Ruſſian dominions, and that Job was not as great a hypocrite, and at the bottom of his heart perhaps as great a villain, as Boris; but there was no perſon preſent who had reſolution enough to contradict the opinion of Job, knowing that their deſtruction would be the immediate conſequence, if the others ſhould not immediately accede to their opinion; they therefore all cried out, God bleſs the King, Boris Godunow.

Boris triumphed ſecretly; but he would make the aſſembly believe that he had modeſty and virtue; he refuſed; he left the aſſembly and ſhut himſelf up in a convent, and gave out that he would turn Monk if they offered any violence to him, while, at the ſame time, his emiſſaries perſuaded the people to preſent themſelves at the convent, and upon their knees to beg of him to accept the crown.

Boris, who penetrated thus to the crown through a continued ſcene of infamy and bloodſhed, ſupported himſelf on it for ſome time by thoſe infernal arts which brought him to it. Under the

the government of a political tyrant, baſeneſs and treachery generally become the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the nation: all kinds of accuſations, and even informations, were authorized and commanded among every order of men; it was very common now to ſee one brother accuſe another, and a ſon give information againſt his father.

In the midſt of an aſſembly of judges at Moſcow, who had ſold themſelves to infamy, they led a venerable old man, whoſe head was covered with white hair, and whoſe hands were loaded with heavy chains: he was accuſed of publiſhing ſome injurious ſtories againſt the czar; he demanded his accuſer, upon which his ſon appeared: filled with aſtoniſhment, this troubled parent, after a moment's ſilence recovering his ſenſes, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and then let them fall on his unworthy ſon, he ſhook his irons, and ſaid, "If thou haſt not ſold thyſelf to infamy, anſwer me, my ſon, if thou canſt, or if thou dareſt." Although the whole aſſembly, at the head of which was Godunow, were abandoned to infamy, they were ſo aſtoniſhed at beholding this ſcene, that they could not pronounce judgment, but ordered the accuſer and the accuſed to retire.

That great Being who directs all human affairs, although he ſuffers ſuch acts of inhumanity and barbarity to paſs unpuniſhed for ſome time, has told us that they ſhall meet their reward even in this world; and if we look through the hiſtory of all nations, we ſhall always find his declarations verified.

About the year 1604, the time arrived when Godunow was to receive the reward for all the murders and ſcenes of infamy of which he had been the author. A bold, enterprizing, and ambitious

ambitious cheat was the perſon who appeared to chaſtize the villainy of the tyrant Boris: he was called Griſeza Utrepiou, grandſon of Gregory Utrepiou, a gentleman of the county of Alicia, and ſon of Bogdan Utrepiou; educated at Moſcow, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſchools, and was made deacon of Czudou. He was often at the houſe of the patriarch Job, who ſhewed him great civilities: the ſervants of the patriarch often heard him ſay, when he was ſpeaking of the aſſaſſination of the young Demetrius, I ſhall one day be czar. Theſe diſcourſes were collected together, and came to the hearing of Godunow, who ordered Griſcza to be arreſted; but the impoſtor, as he was called, was adviſed of it, and ſaved himſelf in a convent of Novogorod, from which it would have been ſacrilege for Godunow to have removed him by force.

When he relinquiſhed this retreat, he left a writing in his chamber in the following words: "I am the czarowitz Demetrius, ſon "of the czar Iwan! When I am ſeated upon the throne of "my fathers I will generouſly repay you for the meat and drink "that you have had the goodneſs to give me in this convent." Griſcza was convinced, that after having publiſhed a thing of this kind there was no ſafety for him in Ruſſia, and therefore he entered into Poland, and became a page of the court to prince Adam Viſnioveſki, where he wrote the following letter, which was given to a clergyman while Griſcza feigned himſelf ſick: "He who at preſent does the offices of a page of the court to "prince Adam, under the name of Griſcza, is Demetrius, ſon "of the great czar Iwan. My ſecretary Galkaloui, whom the "Eternal gave me to preſerve my life, kept me hid for a long "time, fearing that the tyrant Boris ſhould diſcover the place "of my retreat, and then ſent me into Poland: he was the

" ſon of a prieſt who was maſſacred at Uglitz, and not Demetrius.
" I have till now led a wandering and miſerable life, from one
" ſcene of unhappineſs to another, and at preſent I am reduced
" to the ſtate of a ſervant. I hope that God will have pity
" upon my ſufferings, and permit me to enjoy the rights of
" my anceſtors, to which my birth gives me a juſt title: but
" if by the decrees of the Eternal I am condemned to die in
" the ſtate that I am in, this letter will at leaſt make it known
" who it is that, through a torrent of blood, is mounted upon
" the throne of the czars."

The pretended ſecret being now divulged, they conducted Griſcza to Warſaw, where, the diet being then aſſembled, they queſtioned him; and after the anſwers which he returned, they had no longer any doubt but that he was the true Demetrius.

The news of this extraordinary affair was ſoon ſpread into all parts. The Coſacks of the Ukraine, who were diſcontented with the government of Godunow, ſent Griſcza immediately a ſupply of money, and informed him that they had arms and men to ſuccour him. The prince Adam promiſed to ſacrifice all his fortune for him; ſo that he already acted the part of a king.

A Jeſuit, who was an emiſſary of the court of Rome, inſinuated himſelf into his familiarity, in hopes that if ever he aſcended the throne of Ruſſia, he might be able to re-unite the two ſeparate churches. Griſcza promiſed a great deal, but with the moſt politic reſtrictions; ſo that he was even too deep for the Jeſuit, who thought himſelf much too ſhrewd for the ſuppoſed Demetrius, and brought him to engage that the whole Ignatian ſociety

ſhould ſupport him. By the intrigues of the Jeſuit he likewiſe flattered himſelf to obtain the princeſs Mary, daughter of Viſnioveſki, palatinate of Sendomir, in marriage, and even concluded a treaty with his future father-in-law, by which he obliged himſelf to marry his daughter when he mounted the throne, and alſo to introduce the Roman Catholic religion into Ruſſia.

The prince Viſnioveſki levied troops, and entered Ruſſia with Griſcza, where he was joined by 8000 Coſacks, and the whole country declared for this ſuppoſed impoſtor. The army which Boris ſent to oppoſe him was immediately defeated, the towns opened their gates to him, and he now ſaw but a little ſpace interpoſing between him and the throne.

The reigning czar, who was hated by all his ſubjects, and haunted by a guilty conſcience, inſtead of heading his army, and dying ſword in hand, ſhut himſelf up in his palace, gave way to all the frightful ideas which his infamous conduct ſuggeſted to him, though the ſtorm was ready to fall upon his head; and at laſt took a doſe of poiſon, which put an end to his miſerable life.

This blood-thirſty tyrant ſeems to have degenerated ſo far from the nature of a human being, that merit and virtue were always crimes in his eſtimation. With all his other vices, he was avaricious to the laſt degree, and employed every baſe and inhuman method to amaſs vaſt treaſures; he was always ſurrounded with executioners, and no perſon was guarded againſt his infamous practices but thoſe who who were his aſſociates; moreover,

over, except the patriarch Job, there was not a greater hypocrite in all the Ruſſian dominions.

Boris was no ſooner dead, than his ſon Theodore was proclaimed czar of all the Ruſſias, and the czarina, his mother, regent of the kingdom. The accomplices of the father were obliged to raiſe the ſon to the throne; and ſoon after to turn their attention towards Griſcza, who made a great progreſs in the kingdom.

At that time the czar's army formed the ſiege of Krom, and the forces of Griſcza took every method to preſerve the town; ſo that the two armies came into ſight of each other; when a general officer of Theodore's army, who was diſcontented with the behaviour of the court towards him, in the midſt of his brother officers declared in favour of Griſcza, gained all his comrades over to his party, and the ſoldiers followed the example of their officers; whereupon the two armies immediately united, and cried out, Long live the czar Demetrius.

As Griſcza approached Moſcow, his partizans hired three aſſaſſins, who butchered the emperor Theodore and his mother, and conducted the princeſs Theodora, his ſiſter, to a convent: the people were made to believe that theſe unhappy victims, who now ſuffered for the huſband's and the Father's wickedneſs, had poiſoned themſelves.

Griſcza made his entry into the capital with great pomp, and nothing was heard but a repetition of the following words: "Long live Demetrius, who is the ſun, and the bright ſtar of "the morning, which gives light to the Ruſſian empire." He

was ſoon afterwards crowned, and ſeated upon the throne of Ruſſia; but a moment might precipitate him again from his elevated ſtate of grandeur, and diſcloſe his impoſture, if he could not procure the czarina Mary, the mother of Demetrius, to acknowledge him for her ſon: he was too good a politician to omit this part of the ceremony; he therefore ſent for her to the convent where the tyrant Godunow had confined her, went out of Moſcow to meet her, threw himſelf at her feet, and called her mother. But whether through fear, from a deſire of vengeance, or as ſome have ſuppoſed from a real effort of maternal love, Mary threw herſelf into the arms of Griſcza, and called him her dear ſon.

From this time there appeared no longer any doubt among the people, but that Griſcza was the ſon of Iwan, and that Demetrius, ſaved from the hands of his aſſaſſins, was now the true czar of all the Ruſſias.

No ſooner was Griſcza mounted upon the throne of Ruſſia, and attempted to fulfil the engagements which he had made with the palatinate of Sendomir, than the Ruſſian nobility entered into a conſpiracy to dethrone him; they feigned, as it is ſaid, at firſt to believe him to be the true Demetrius; but they ſoon afterwards changed their opinion, and regarded him as an impoſtor, who preferred the Poles to the Ruſſians, the church of Rome to that of Greece, the Jeſuits to the prieſts of this nation, and the daughter of the palatinate of Sendomir to all the beauties of Ruſſia.

Theſe complaints were ſoon ſpread abroad, and the people began to murmur: in this government, as in almoſt all deſpotic governments,

governments, there is only one ſtep between the murmuring and the revolting of the people; the firſt audacious perſon will always find accomplices.

Baſil Suiſki, of the ancient family of Rurick, the firſt ſovereign of Ruſſia, in a few days aſſembled a great body of troops; but his intentions were diſcovered, and he was going to ſuffer the puniſhment which he merited, when Griſcza pardoned him.

Though this czar had policy enough to make his way to the throne, he was ſo little acquainted with the character of his countrymen, that he could not ſupport himſelf on it. To ſhew mercy to a Ruſſian was juſt the ſame as if a man ſhould attempt to careſs a tyger, after he had given him a piece of raw fleſh: as theſe people had no idea of gratitude, or of humanity; educated in all the ideas of ſervitude and barbarity, like ſlaves become maſters, they thought themſelves inſulted when they received any mark of mercy or favour. This act of mercy was the cauſe of Griſcza's deſtruction. Suiſki, humbled and mortified to the laſt degree, repented that he had condeſcended to give his life to the czar; and as ſoon as ever he was diſcharged, began to renew his rebellion. "The czar, ſaid he, is an impious perſon, who "appears to make it a piece of luxury to eat veal, becauſe it is "forbidden by the laws of the church; and who will ſcarcely "give himſelf the trouble to ſalute St. Nicholas." Theſe were ſuch terrible crimes in Ruſſia, that nothing leſs than a torrent of blood could make an atonement of them.

The party of Suiſki now became formidable, determined to ſtrike a great blow on the laſt day of an entertainment which the

czar

czar gave to all his court. The nobility, the people, and even the guards, were ſunk into a moſt profound ſleep, cauſed by the debauchery and riot in which they had lived for ſome days before, when the party of Suiſki aſſembled in the great ſquare at Moſcow; from thence they divided themſelves into the different quarters of the town, where they maſſacred all the Poles whom they met without diſtinction; whilſt Suiſki in the mean time, with the ſabre in one hand, and a crucifix in the other, animated the aſſaſſins, by crying out, That the Poles had ſworn to deſtroy all the Ruſſians.

On hearing the cries of the dying, the czar awaked out of his ſleep, but the gates of his palace were already forced, and his guards deſtroyed; to ſave himſelf he was obliged to leap out of a window; but he was ſoon taken by the party of Suiſki, who loaded him with the moſt opprobrious language. The czar, as ſoon as he had recovered himſelf from the fright, began to expoſtulate with him in the following terms: "You know, ſaid "he, that I am your legal king, the ſon of Iwan the Fourth, "and that I was crowned in the preſence of the whole nobility "of the kingdom, and if you will not believe me, call upon "my mother, and ſhe will tell you the truth."

On this, ſome of the leaſt violent among them, went and brought the czarina Mary, who again informed them, that Griſcza was her ſon, and the legal heir of the czars; but ſhe had ſcarcely pronounced theſe words, when they began to ſtrike him with their ſabres, and in a few minutes he was cut in pieces before his ſuppoſed mother.

Thus

Thus fell the man, whoſe great talents brought him to the throne, and whoſe humane diſpoſition, and want of proper precaution, precipitated him from it.

Mankind are greatly divided with regard to the origin of this extraordinary perſon; ſome aſſert poſitively that he was the real Demetrius, whilſt others exhibit his hiſtory in the manner before related.

A ſovereign who pardons a ſubject who is the author of a rebellion in a deſpotic government, and at the ſame time ſets him at liberty, will always, ſooner or later, feel the bad effects of his imprudence; becauſe, as the ſame rebellious diſpoſition ſtill continues, he will now become more hardened, and carry on his rebellious deſigns with more precaution. If Griſcza had ſhut up his enemy in a convent after he had pardoned him, and ſent the principal of his aſſociates into the remote parts of the empire, in all probability he and his deſcendents would have occupied the throne of Ruſſia to this day; but by not taking this precaution, he has been the cauſe of all the ſcenes of barbarity and bloodſhed which have ſince happened in that kingdom on account of the ſucceſſion: for when once a people have been accuſtomed to embrue their hands in the blood of their legal ſovereigns, the crown will always be the prey of the firſt bold and audacious villian who has intrigue and cunning enough to draw the deluded rabble into his meaſures. In a deſpotic government there is no barrier between the ſovereign and the impetuoſity of the people; who, upon the leaſt murmur, turn their attacks upon the ſource of power.

This fact is ſtrongly verified in the example of Suiſki; who no ſooner eſcaped out of the hands of the executioner, than he mounted the throne; and though he was covered with the blood of his legal ſovereign, to whom he had ſworn obedience, he was regarded by the deluded rabble as the deliverer of his country, and was immediately proclaimed czar.

He was the firſt ſovereign of Ruſſia who entered into a contract with his ſubjects before he was crowned. The oath which he took upon this occaſion was conceived in the following terms: "I ſwear to all the people of Ruſſia, that I will not "condemn any perſon to be puniſhed till after he has been judged "and convicted by the laws and by the ſenate; that the father "ſhall not be anſwerable for the faults of the ſon; and that I "will not take vengeance for any of the outrages that I have "received under the reign of Godunow." After he had pronounced theſe words, he kiſſed the croſs, and the patriarch immediately placed the crown upon his head.

No ſooner had Baſil Suiſki mounted the throne, but he ſent to Uglitz, took up the body of the real Demetrius, as he is ſaid to be, and brought him in proceſſion to Moſcow; and though he had been buried ſeventeen years, the Ruſſian authors aſſure us, that neither his body nor cloaths were in the leaſt decayed; and that during his removal his relicks worked many miracles. The venerable patriarch of the Ruſſian church eſtabliſhed a feſtival of three days to his honour: the firſt, the day of his birth, the ſecond, the day of his death, and the third, the day of his tranſlation from Uglitz to Moſcow: ſuch were the barbarity, ignorance, and ſuperſtition of the Ruſſians in thoſe days.

Baſil Suiſki had ſcarcely finiſhed theſe ceremonies, before a report was ſpread that Demetrius had not been aſſaſſinated, and that he kept himſelf concealed in ſome part of Ruſſia. This report alone made ſeveral provinces revolt; and on the other hand, another impoſtor called Peter, who ſtyled himſelf the ſon of the czar Theodore the Firſt, excited a rebellion, but he was ſoon afterwards taken and hanged by the czar at Moſcow.

Scarcely was this execution ended, before another appeared at Starodul, in Severia, who took the following method to gain credit among the people. Two men, who were unknown, appeared one day in the market-place, one under the name of Andrew Nogoy, and the other under that of Alexis Rukin, who gave himſelf out to be ſecretary to the former: theſe two men immediately ſpread a report that Demetrius was not dead, but would immediately appear, if he could find friends to undertake his defence. The people whom Rukin harangued in this manner, were extremely curious to be better informed, and preſſed him to explain himſelf; but he ſaid no more at that time. The magiſtrates, informed of this fact, ſent and arreſted Rukin, and after having received ſome blows of the knout, they drew from him the following declaration: "The perſon whom I "have brought hither, and who has taken the name of Andrew "Nogoy, is Demetrius himſelf." He had no ſooner pronounced the name, than the whole town was filled with cries of joy; all the inhabitants aſſembled themſelves together, and fell at the feet of this impoſtor. This was not in conſequence of a political contrivance, but it was the effect of the love which the common people bore to the progeny of their maſter; and a certain proof of their ignorance and ſimplicity of manners. The people collected from all parts on hearing the magic ſound

of Demetrius pronounced; they did not give themſelves time to enquire whether this Demetrius were an impoſtor, or the real ſon of Iwan the Fourth; ſo that Nogoy very ſoon found himſelf at the head of a formidable army.

His ſucceſſes were rapid, which is generally the caſe at the beginning of a revolution; and the number of his troops increaſed in proportion as he approached to Moſcow: the czar already trembled upon the throne; and till now had kept the widow of Griſcza, and the palatine of Sendomir her father, priſoners; but ſeeing this ſtorm ready to break upon his head, he releaſed them, and ſent them back to Poland, hoping that this generous act would hinder the republic from declaring againſt him: but at the ſame time one of Nogoy's party informed him of this affair, and of the road which they had taken, on which Nogoy ſent 2000 horſe to ſtop the priſoners, and to conduct them to his camp; and at the ſame time let the widow of Griſcza know, that if ſhe would acknowledge him to be her huſband, that ſhe ſhould be the partaker of his honours when he came to the throne, from which at that time he appeared to be not very diſtant.

The palatine's daughter was now extremely embarraſſed; if ſhe did not acknowledge Nogoy for her huſband, ſhe loſt all hopes of a throne, and of revenging herſelf; but on the other hand, by confeſſing him to be Griſcza, ſhe abandoned herſelf to an unknown perſon, who, in all probability, would ſoon return to the mean ſituation from whence he ſprung: however the ambition of her father decided in favour of Nogoy; ſhe ran and threw herſelf into the arms of this impoſtor. This ſcene, which paſſed in the midſt of a multitude of officers, deceived ſome, and

fixed

fixed others in the deſign which they had formed of continuing inviolably attached to Nogoy, whom they knew, notwithſtanding all theſe tricks, not to be the real Demetrius.

The party of this impoſtor continued ſtill to augment; and the earth, in moſt of the provinces of the empire, was ſtained with the blood of her citizens; the towns were pillaged alternately by the different parties, and many of them reduced to aſhes. The Swedes ſent an army to ſuccour the czar Suiſki, and the Poles took the party of Nogoy: the Ruſſian empire, thus divided, appeared to be approaching to the ſtate of total ruin.

In this extremity ſome of the nobility aſſembled themſelves at Moſcow, then cloſely beſieged by the troops of Nogoy, and declared to the people that they deteſted the adminiſtration of Baſil Suiſki, who had been the cauſe of all the miſeries which overwhelmed the empire; on which the crowd ran with great fury to the imperial palace, at the head of whom was the prince Iwanvorotinſki, a very near relation of Baſil's, dragged the czar and the czarina out by force, and brought them before the people: when they had taken this ſtep, the nobility publiſhed an edict, which declared the throne to be vacant, and conducted Baſil Suiſki into the convent of Czeudou. When he was arrived there, the prior of the convent, according to the cuſtom which generally obtaained in the examination of thoſe who wanted to lead a religious life, aſked him, "What he would have?" I "will not have any thing here, ſaid the czar." And, according to the regulations of their convent, they could not legally aſk him any more queſtions.

Basil himself was one of the first who contributed to destroy all kinds of law and order in the empire, and now he felt the effects of his iniquity, though not so severely as he merited: however the prince Basil Tinsoekin, who was present, answered the prior for the czar, "And said, he sincerely wished to become a "monk;" on which they immediately shaved Suiski, and made him take the dress of a monk. The same day they conducted the czarina into a convent of nuns, and forced her to take the vow.

After Suiski was deposed, the party of the nobility, fearing to fall under the efforts of the party of the impostor Nogoy, resolved to offer the crown to Uladislas, son of Sigismond king of Poland, if this prince would consent to be rebaptized according to the rights of the Grecian Church. Sigismond received the ministers whom they deputed to make him this proposition with great satisfaction; but before he would determine this important negotiation, he sent the prince Soulgauski with a great body of troops into Poland; who, under pretence of succouring the town of Moscow, seized upon it; on which Sigismond, as soon as he received this news, declared to the ministers that he would permit his son to accept the crown of Russia, but he insisted, as the first proof of their submission, that they would open the gates of Smolensko, one of the strongest fortified towns in the empire, to his army, which he had besieged without any success for two years: to which the archbishop of Resan, who was at the head of this deputation, answered the king with great firmness, "When your son shall have been rebaptized at Moscow, when "he shall have promised the Russians upon oath to govern them "according to their laws and customs, and, in fact, when he "shall be crowned, we will not only open to you the gates of

"Smolensko,

"Smolenſko, but alſo of all the towns of Ruſſia, and immedi-
"ately take an oath of fidelity to Uladiſlas. The Ruſſians are
"ready to acknowledge your ſon for their ſovereign, and you
"are ſtill treating them as enemies; take care, prince, you are
"making war againſt your own ſon."

Sigiſmond ſuſpected the Ruſſians of acting falſely, and was moreover jealous that they gave the preference to his ſon.

He was afraid of Baſil Suiſki, though he was become a monk, took him out of his convent, and conducted him into his camp. When this unhappy prince was preſented to him, Sigiſmond was highly offended at his reſolute appearance, and ordered him immediately to kneel down before him; whereupon Baſil anſwered with great reſolution; "My unhappy ſituation will
"not make me forget that I am ſovereign of all the Ruſſias,
"and that I ought not to kneel before any mortal: it was not
"thy valour which made me thy ſlave, it was the perfidy of
"my ſubjects, and the will of the Eternal. In ſeeing me fallen
"to the ſtate where I am, thou ſhouldſt tremble for thy own
"ſafety, becauſe thou haſt never been in that elevated ſphere in
"which I have been."

Sigiſmond, who was as great a tyrant as his priſoner, and a much greater villian in many reſpects, had not a ſoul ſufficiently great to admire the reſolution and firmneſs of Baſil; but ſent him, with his wife and his brothers, into Poland; where all theſe illuſtrious captives died ſoon after by poiſon. The tyrant and murderer of Griſcza, after the latter had pardoned him for his rebellion, now received the puniſhment due to his crimes. Sigiſmond ordered them to be buried near the high road, and in

the

the middle of their graves erected a column of marble, on which was written the following inſcription: "Under this ſtone reſts "Baſil Suiſki, emperor of Ruſſia; his body lies among ſome of "his principal ſlaves."

There is no greater mark of a baſe, mean, and ungenerous ſoul, than that of inſulting over the remains of the dead. Sigiſmond thought that Baſil had behaved ill, and that he was little better than a barbarian; but the Ruſſians had much greater reaſon to ſay that Sigiſmond, the king of a civilized nation, behaved in a baſe and ſhameful manner, and merited a more ſevere puniſhment than he had inflicted upon Baſil, who, at leaſt, had done him no wrong.

The Poles having gained a conſiderable party in Ruſſia, attempted to write to Uladiſlas that he had only to preſent himſelf in Ruſſia, and they would leave it to his choice, after his coronation, to accept or to refuſe the conditions which had been propoſed to him; but to render this writing authentic, the ſignature of the patriarch was neceſſary, which this prelate refuſed, and even threatened to excommunicate thoſe who ſhould ſign ſuch a letter. Sulkowſki, a Poliſh officer, being preſent, fell into the greateſt rage, drew his ſword, and preſented the point to the breaſt of the venerable patriarch; but, without ſhewing any mark of conſternation, the latter drew out a crucifix which he carried under his robe, and preſented it to the Pole, telling him at the ſame time, "To behold the arms he oppoſed to "his; ſtrike me, ſays he, if thou dareſt, and I will curſe thee "to all eternity." The Pole, tranſported with rage, attempted to pierce the patriarch, but the prince Miſtilauſki checked him, and informed him that ſuch efforts of bravery were not properly directed,

directed, for that thoſe who attempt to militate againſt the religion of a nation were generally in the wrong.

While the Poles were carrying fire and ſword through ſeveral provinces of the Ruſſian dominions, as well as in and about Moſcow, under pretence of exterminating the party who were oppoſing their prince Uladiſlas, and another faction were ſupporting prince Philip of Sweden; another impoſtor exhibited himſelf under the name of Demetrius, ſo often uſurped. This cheat called himſelf Matuiſka, and had been a deacon. Several towns and provinces immediately declared in his favour; and in all probability he would ſoon have changed the face of affairs, if the governor of Plaſcou had not arreſted him by a ſtratagem, and ſent him bound to the camp which was before Moſcow.

The Poliſh garriſon, which was in the caſtle of Moſcow, preſcribed no bounds to their licentiouſneſs; it would be horrible to recite all the cruel and barbarous enormities which they committed; and it is with pleaſure we find the oppreſſed Ruſſians ſoon after rouſed from their lethargy, purſuing theſe tyrants, attacking them in their fortreſs, and forcing them to ſurrender at diſcretion, after having being obliged to eat their dogs and horſes. The Poles, among ten thouſand other acts of barbarity, ſet fire to the town of Moſcow, in which at that time there were more than 180,000 houſes, moſtly built of wood, and maſſacred more than 10,000 of the inhabitants, who were endeavouring to ſave their families and their goods from the flames: this infernal act was projected with no other intention than to cauſe confuſion among the people, that they might ſeize the opportunity of robbing the czar's palaces: but the greateſt number of the Poliſh army was maſſacred, and the

reſt ſold for ſlaves into the different parts of the Ruſſian dominions.

The king of Poland, who was advancing at the head of a great army to conquer the kingdom, and ſeize upon the crown by conqueſt, hearing of the fate of his troops, and of the degree of fury to which the Ruſſians were raiſed, reſolved to return into Poland, and wait a more favourable opportunity of carrying his great plan into execution.

Notwithſtanding the barbarities which the Poles had committed about Moſcow, and in other provinces of this empire, there was ſtill a party among the Ruſſians who ſupported the cauſe of Uladiſlas, to whom the crown had been offered; a ſecond faction were inclined to favour prince Philip, the brother of Guſtavus Adolphus; ſo that the pretended rights of theſe two powerful princes might again ſpread the fire of civil war in the kingdom: whilſt a third party endeavoured to ſave their country.

Theſe laſt aſſembled all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and repreſented to them the calamities they had ſuffered, and the dangers which even then threatened the ſtate, if ſome remedy could not be found to prevent them: they immediately declared the throne vacant, and the election which had been made of Uladiſlas three years before to be null.

Ruſſia, as has been always obſerved, was not an elective kingdom; but the race of their ancient ſovereigns was extinct, and five czars, or pretenders, having periſhed in the late troubles, and almoſt brought the kingdom to its final ruin; there was therefore

therefore an abſolute neceſſity for this election, to ſave the ſtate from total deſtruction.

Some of the nobility propoſed Michael Jædorowitz Romanow, ſon of Theodore Romanow, archbiſhop of Roſtow, who was immediately elected, by the voices of the whole aſſembly being united in his favour. This young prince was only fifteen years old, and lived very quietly in a convent at Uglitz with his mother, whom the tyrant Boris Godunow had forced to take the religious order, whilſt his father was at the ſame time obliged to enter into the ſacred order. The news of his election gave him the greateſt concern; and his mother even fell down on her knees before the deputies of the ſenate to deſire them not to force her ſon from her, begging them with tears to proceed to ſome other choice. The fate of the preceding czars alarmed them; and it was not without the greateſt efforts that ſhe at laſt conſented to the preſſing ſolicitations of her brother the prince Scheremerow.

The archbiſhop, father of the new-elected czar, was at this time detained a priſoner in Poland by Sigiſmond; but as ſoon as the news of his ſon's election reached Warſaw, he was immediately ſet at liberty; and as the patriarch of Ruſſia died ſome time after, he was nominated by his ſon to this illuſtrious place.

Before Michael Romanow was crowned, he was obliged to ſign a kind of capitulation, by which he engaged to protect the Greek religion, to adminiſter juſtice according to the laws of Ruſſia, the principal of which have been before deſcribed, and not to make peace or war at his own arbitration. Four of the

principal nobility were named to form his council, by whoſe opinion he promiſed to govern till he came to a more advanced age.

Michael being now ſeated upon the throne, through the interceſſion of England and Holland, made a peace with Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, and ceded to him Kexholm, Notebourg (ſince called Schluſſelbourg) Iwanogorod, and Koparo, with their ſeveral diſtricts, ſituated in Carelia and Ingria. By this treaty Sweden made a conſiderable barrier againſt Ruſſia; but the Ruſſians, at this time, were not informed enough of the value of what they loſt, and of the ill conſequences of loſing all communication with the Baltic ſea: the miniſtry of Moſcow, who were not inſpired with the genius of Peter the Great, nor with the knowledge of the true intereſts of the empire, contented themſelves with the commerce which the Engliſh and Dutch carried on at Archangel.

No ſooner was this peace concluded, and the czar had begun to eſtabliſh order and tranquillity in his empire, than Uladiſlas, prince of Poland, entered Ruſſia at the head of a great army, with an intention to ſupport his ancient election. Great bodies of Coſacks pillaged and laid waſte all the open country, while the regular troops penetrated even to Moſcow, and laid ſiege to this capital: but Uladiſlas ſoon perceived, by the reſiſtance which he met with every where, that the Ruſſians were now rouſed from their lethargy; he therefore abandoned his project, and a peace was ſoon after concluded between the two nations, by which the Poles obtained the duchies of Smolenſko, of Severia, and of Czerniechow; they reſtored all the reſt of their conqueſts,

and

and the king of Poland renounced for ever all his pretenſions to the crown of Ruſſia.

Michael Romanow, after having concluded this peace, reigned with great tranquillity, and made no changes in his kingdom which either prejudiced or advantaged the adminiſtration; happily for him, during his youthful days he was under the tuition of a very ſenſible and benevolent father, who watched over his intereſts, and, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, trained him up regularly in the ſcience of government, as far as it was then known in this country.

But that I may give my readers a proper idea of the intentions and conduct of this worthy man, I will inſert the diſcourſe that he addreſſed to his ſon when he was advanced to the dignity of patriarch: "When you mounted the throne, ſaid he to his ſon, "the rights and authority which the laws of Ruſſia gave me "over you, as being your father, became extinct; you are at "preſent my king, and I muſt obey you: however, I hope you "will permit me once more to ſpeak to you as a father, and as "a tender father, who has your intereſt and welfare at heart. "When I learned in my priſon that you had been proclaimed "czar, I regarded this event as the greateſt unhappineſs that "could befall my houſe; I thought the Eternal was irritated "againſt my family, and that he would deſtroy us totally from "the face of the earth; I regarded you as the laſt victim that he "would ſacrifice to his vengeance: however, I was ſomething "ſatisfied when I was informed, that it was by his divine will "that you were upon the throne, and that he had manifeſted "it to the metropolitan of Moſcow. I now flatter myſelf, that "he will finiſh his work, that he will deliver you from your

" enemies, and that he will make your reign proſperous. It is
" with ſatisfaction that I ſee my hopes were well founded. The
" Swedes and the Poles have laid down their arms, and the rebels
" are returned to their duty; hence then, my ſon, it will be
" your fault if you are not one of the moſt powerful princes
" upon earth; therefore be a little upon your guard: the Ruſſian
" nation is naturally inconſtant; you have had ſeveral recent
" examples of it; and if they ſee the ſon ſeated upon the throne,
" and the father at the head of the clergy, they will ſee too
" much power united at once in the ſame houſe. If the people
" ſhould not regard ſuch an event, they will ſoon be adviſed
" of it by malicious and envious men, of whom there are
" always a great number in every court: their eyes are fixed
" upon you, therefore be upon your guard, as every one believes
" that your elevation to the throne is an act of injuſtice done
" to his right and to his merit. The dignity of patriarch is
" deſired, and even envied, by every one of thoſe who are at
" the head of the clergy; if you force me to take it, the houſe
" of Romanow will be hated by all the nobility and the clergy.
" Are you very ſure that you will not ſee another impoſtor riſe
" up from among the dregs of the people, under the borrowed
" name of Demetrius, and diſpute the empire with you? then
" your enemies will declare themſelves, then they will lend
" their arms to precipitate you from the throne. Do not
" miſtake me, my ſon, kings have rarely any ſincere friends;
" they are never pardoned for being raiſed ſo high above their
" fellow-creatures; their actions are examined with the greateſt
" ſcrutiny, and they are generally found to be bad, becauſe
" they were determined to find them ſo. He who makes his
" court to you to-day would not regard you to-morrow, if
" you deſcended from the throne. Be always upon your guard

" againſt

"againſt flatterers; their praiſes are only addreſſed to your "power; they are ſo baſe, that they only ſtudy your foibles to "take advantage of them." This worthy man would not have yielded to the intreaties of his ſon, if the ſenate and the clergy had not gone in a body, and intreated him to comply with the united deſires of the nation.

Nothing remarkable reſpecting the government of this empire happened after this during the whole reign of Michael Romanow, who died in year 1645, and left the crown to his ſon Alexis Michaelowitz, then only ſixteen years of age, on whom it devolved by hereditary right. The prince Boris Iwanowitz Moroſow, who had been his governor, fearing any new troubles which might have been excited, convoked all the nobility who were in and about Moſcow the day after the death of Michael; and, without waiting for the neceſſary preparations which were formerly employed in reſpect to theſe ceremonies, he immediately procured his pupil to be crowned. There were a number of ceremonies uſed before this time at the coronation of a czar, but they have ſince been entirely changed by Peter the Great.

Moroſow having gained a certain empire over Alexis when he was a child, continued the ſame over him afterwards when he had him for his maſter. Attached in appearance to the young czar, Moroſow ſoon became his miniſter, and in a very able manner diſmiſſed all thoſe perſons from the court who were in a ſituation to give him any umbrage; ſo that by his dexterity and addreſs he very ſoon held the reins of abſolute power: the people murmured, but the cries of the diſcontented did not come to the ears of the emperor; all the perſons who were about the throne were devoted to the miniſter.

Alexis

Alexis followed the example of his anceſtors, and choſe himſelf a wife among the moſt amiable of his ſubjects; he married Mary Ilychna, daughter of Ilia Miloſlawſki; and in eight days afterwards Moroſow had the ambition to marry her ſiſter; but alas! he puſhed his ſyſtem a little too far upon this head; he was old and full of infirmities; his lady was young, lively, and handſome, and ſoon after formed an intrigue with a young Engliſhman, which Moroſow diſcovered, but dared not attempt to puniſh the guilty perſon; all he could do was to exile his rival from the court.

The tyranny however of Moroſow over the Ruſſians was almoſt without example; he was abſolutely maſter of the government, and might juſtly be compared to the grand vizir at Conſtantinople: all the people in place under the government were his creatures, and he rendered juſtice in what manner he thought proper. He loaded the people with new taxes, though, had he been a great politician, he would have concluded that to touch the property of a people in an abſolute government is to excite them to a revolt. The miniſter laid a new tax upon ſalt, which drove the inhabitants of Moſcow to deſperation: they met in a body, and ſtopped the czar oppoſite to the palace as he was mounting his horſe to attend a ſolemn proceſſion, and intreated him to hear their juſt complaints againſt his miniſters. Alexis, though ſurprized at this boldneſs, was not at all diſconcerted, and informed the people that he would have the matter examined into, and that they ſhould have juſtice done them: but, unhappily, ſome of the courtiers had the imprudence to force their horſes among the people, when they were retiring very peaceably, and ſtruck ſeveral of the citizens with their whips; whereupon the populace became furious, took up ſtones,

and

and threw them at the horſemen, on which the tumult became general; ſo that they followed the attendants of the czar into the palace, and it was with great difficulty that the guards could check the impetuoſity of the multitude, who now loudly demanded the head of Moroſow, as well as the heads of thoſe who by his orders tyrannized over the people. His houſe was immediately pillaged and ſet on fire, and the houſes of ſeveral of his partizans were alſo rifled. The chancellor Narari Iwanowitz Tziſtou was maſſacred; and the czar was obliged to abandon Pleſſeow and Trachaneſtow to the rage of the people to ſave his governor Moroſow. The humility which Alexis ſhewed on this occaſion, the zealous intereſt which he appeared to take for the life of the miniſter, whoſe faults he did not endeavour to hide, the promiſes which he made to reform the abuſes, to diminiſh the taxes, and in future to have a watchful eye over every part of the adminiſtration, and the good nature with which he promiſed upon his honour that Moroſow ſhould behave better for the future, affected the populace at length to ſuch a degree, that they burſt into tears, and cried out, "That the will of God and of the "czar ſhould be done." Every thing was immediately quieted. Soon after Moroſow appeared in the train of his maſter, who went in proceſſion to the convent of Troitza; when his humble air, and his honeſt and obliging behaviour, made the people forget every thing that had paſſed.

The danger which he had juſt eſcaped was an inſtructive leſſon to him, of which he made a good uſe, for from that time he adminiſtered juſtice to every perſon with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs: the people were no more loaded with taxes; the rich were no longer ſuffered to oppreſs the poor, nor the nobility to inſult the common people: the czar moreover immediately

publiſhed

publiſhed an edict which contained in ſubſtance the following laudable regulation: "That when any nobleman ſhall commit "a crime, all his family ſhall be regarded, in ſome meaſure, as "being culpable, for not having watched over his conduct; "and if the crime ſhall be capital, the relations of the criminal "ſhall loſe twelve degrees, or quarters, of their nobility."—In any other country this would have been regarded as a moſt barbarous and tyrannical law, but in Ruſſia, where all the nobility are and have always been tyrants, it was at that time very juſt and reaſonable; for their honour and intereſt compelled the individuals of a family to watch over the conduct of each other.

The reign of Alexis was much troubled by ſeditions, and by inteſtine as well as by foreign wars. A chief of the Coſacks, who lived upon the banks of the Tanais, intended to make himſelf king of Aſtracan, and for a long time ſpread terror in all the neighbouring country; but at laſt he was taken priſoner, and finiſhed his life upon a ſcaffold: the Ruſſians ſay that more than 10,000 of his partizans were hanged in the high roads of the kingdom of Aſtracan. But this is a part of the world where the people, having no ideas of the moral virtues, are not reſtrained and governed by ethics, and much leſs ſo by ſuch ſevere puniſhments; which ſeldom produce any other effects than rendering the people more barbarous, and inſpiring them with a ſecret deſire of vengeance.

In the year 1649, the death of Uladiſlas king of Poland rendering the throne vacant, Alexis informed the diet, who were then aſſembled for the election of a new king, that he would enter Poland at the head of 20,000 men, if he was not elected king: but his menaces made very little impreſſion upon the

Poles, who were extremely afraid that their nation would become a province of Ruſſia; they therefore amuſed Alexis for ſome time by vague promiſes, and placed John Caſimir upon the throne, who had been a jeſuit and cardinal. Enraged that the Poles had refuſed him to be their ſovereign, Alexis reſolved to revenge himſelf by arms, and immediately entering Poland at the head of a large army, very ſoon conquered Smolenſko, Kiovia, and all the Ukraine, which were ceded to him by a peace: but he was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the Swedes, who conſtantly gained ground upon him.

The Turks were at that time very formidable: the grand viſir entered Poland at the head of a powerful army, and likewiſe threatened the Ruſſian dominions: they took Kaminiek, and all the Poliſh provinces bordering on it. The Coſacks of the Ukraine, who would never have any maſter, now ſaw themſelves ſurrounded with Turkiſh, Ruſſian, and Poliſh armies, ſo that they knew not to which of theſe three powers they ought to ſubmit.

The Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, who had vanquiſhed the Poles, and made them his tributaries, demanded, with all the pride of an Ottoman conqueror, that the czar ſhould immediately cede the Ukraine to him, which was refuſed with the ſame degree of haughtineſs: theſe ſovereigns did not even ſtudy to keep up the external appearance of decency. The ſultan in his letter gave Alexis no other title than that of hoſpodar of the Chriſtians, and called himſelf his moſt glorious majeſty, king of all the univerſe; to which the czar anſwered, That he had never been taught to ſubmit to a Mahometan dog, and that his ſcimetar was equal to the ſabre of the ſultan.

The Turks however now threatened to ſubdue all Poland which had refuſed to pay them the tribute. The czar Alexis ſuccoured them on the Dnieper; and John Sobieſki, general of the crown, retrieved the honour of his country by the celebrated battle of Choczim, which opened the way for him to the throne. However he met with a powerful opponent in the czar Alexis, who put his ſon upon the liſt of candidates, and propoſed to unite Poland to his own empire: he made very large offers to the diet; but the greater they were, the leſs they were accepted. The Ruſſian authors ſay, that he was worthy of this new kingdom by the manner in which he governed his own.

After the ſedition of Moſcow, he cauſed juſtice to be adminiſtered with great impartiality in all his dominions; he introduced the manufactures of ſilk and of linen into his kingdom; he peopled the almoſt deſert country upon the banks of the Wolga and of the Kama with Lithuanian families, and with Poles and Tartars, who were taken in the war: before his time all the priſoners were ſlaves to thoſe to whoſe lot they fell in dividing the ſpoil: Alexis, on the contrary, gave them their liberty, and land to cultivate. He endeavoured as much as poſſible to introduce military diſcipline in his army; but the Ruſſians were not yet ſufficiently prepared for this great change, which was effected by his ſon Peter the Great. He was carried off by an acute diſeaſe in the year 1677, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and left his crown to his ſon Theodore Alexiowitz.

The czar Alexis was humane and good-natured; and though he was ſometimes haſty and paſſionate, his good ſenſe generally engaged him to make reparation for any injuſtice or ſeverity which he might have occaſioned in the firſt tranſports of paſſion.

He

He never ſigned any ſentence of death but with reluctance; and the frequent executions which drenched the ſcaffolds in blood during his reign, ſhould rather be attributed to the ferocity and barbarous character of the Ruſſians, than to the natural ſeverity of the czar: in fact, all the authors who have given the character of the czar Alexis, concur in ſaying that he was a good huſband, a good father, a good friend, and worthy of the throne which he occupied.

When Theodore mounted the throne, he was not quite ſixteen years of age, but the czar had the precaution the preceding year to nominate him to be his ſucceſſor, and to announce him in this capacity to all the ſtates of Europe.

This prince, who had a tender and delicate conſtitution, ſhewed a greatneſs of ſoul that was capable of forming and executing the boldeſt projects. All the family of Romanow were deſirous of making a reformation in this kingdom, and of poliſhing the Ruſſians; Theodore was very deſirous of carrying this great plan into execution; but he was not ſufficiently qualified to attempt this general and neceſſary reform.

Alexis had made peace with Sweden, with Poland, and with the Turks, and his ſon ratified the treaties, ſo that he had only a trifling war to ſupport againſt the Kan of the Crim Tartars who invaded the Ruſſian dominions ſeveral times, but was always repulſed with loſs. Fixed on his throne, and now at peace with all his neighbours, the czar Theodore directed his attention towards poliſhing his people, and embelliſhing his country: he convened a general aſſembly of all the firſt claſs of the nobility of the empire; and, after having ordered them to

produce their titles of nobility, he threw them into the fire, telling them that in future he ſhould only regard thoſe as noble who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their merit. This act of authority has been regarded by many as praiſe-worthy, conſidering the ſtate of the Ruſſians at that time; but I can by no means regard it in this light; it certainly broke down that barrier, which, even in an arbitrary government, ſhould always ſubſiſt between the people and the throne; and which, in a ſtate already civilized, would have overturned the whole ſyſtem of government.

This czar, it is certain, introduced ſeveral uſeful regulations in his dominions, particularly the building of houſes with ſtone, which before were only conſtructed with wood, and the eſtabliſhing a night watch in all the great towns in Ruſſia; he likewiſe introduced ſeveral general as well as uſeful regulations in the police; but after a reign of ſix years he was carried off by a lingering diſorder, which many attributed to poiſon: it is certain that the meaſures he employed to reform the nobility rendered the greateſt part of them his enemies: the Ruſſians feel the effects of them to this day, as there are no regular titles of honour at preſent in Ruſſia, but thoſe which are gained by military rank; ſo that a great civil officer is not regarded, if he has not the rank of general or field marſhal.

When Theodore found himſelf drawing near his end, he named his younger brother Peter to be his ſucceſſor, in prejudice to his next brother John, who was ſo diſfigured by nature, that he was incapable of reigning. The vivacity and ſtrong conſtitution of Peter, who was only ten years old at this time, procured him the crown, which John, who was almoſt a ſpectacle of deformity, could not obtain.

Soon

Soon after the death of Theodore the ſenators aſſembled and proclaimed Peter czar of all the Ruſſias. This ceremony was regarded as the ſignal of a moſt horrible ſedition. The princeſs Sophia, ſiſter of Peter and John, who had an ambition and a boldneſs beyond all expreſſion, no ſooner heard of Peter's advancement to the throne, than ſhe fell into the greateſt rage; ſhe governed her eldeſt brother John, and hoped during his reign to hold the reins of government; ſhe therefore began clandeſtinely to tempt the fidelity of the Strelitzs, a turbulent body of troops, who in thoſe days occupied the ſame poſt in Ruſſia, as the Janiſſaries have always done in the Turkiſh dominions; this ſeditious corps ſeconded the furious ambition of Sophia with the greateſt alacrity.

Two days after the czar Theodore was buried, they took up arms, and ran ſeditiouſly to the imperial palace, where they complained that their colonels had retained their pay: the miniſter diſmiſſed the colonels from the imperial ſervice, and paid the Strelitzs the money they demanded. But theſe barbarians, excited by Sophia, ſeeing the weakneſs of the government, became ſtill more enterprizing, and inſiſted that the court ſhould give them up their officers; the miniſters were obliged now to comply with their demands, and theſe unfortunate officers were condemned to undergo the diſcipline of the battocks, which was to receive a certain number of laſhes by the common executioners. During this interval, Sophia aſſembled at her houſe all the princeſſes of the imperial Family, the principal of the nobility, the patriarch, the biſhops, and the principal merchants, where ſhe painted in the blackeſt colours the injuſtice which was done to her brother Iwan or John by excluding him from the empire, notwithſtanding his birth-right. As ſoon alſo as the aſſembly

was

was diſperſed, ſhe immediately promiſed the Strelitzs an augmentation of their pay and preſents; while at the ſame time her accomplices excited this ſeditious ſoldiery againſt ſeveral of the principal nobility, whom ſhe imagined would oppoſe her deſigns. Some were accuſed of one miſdemeanor, and ſome of another, ſo that at length there was a liſt of more than forty perſons who were to be maſſacred and cut in pieces; and after having glutted themſelves with the blood of theſe unhappy perſons, not one of whom eſcaped, as they guarded the gates, and threatened to ſet fire to the town if any one of them was ſecreted, and eluded their fury; I ſay, after this horrid carnage was finiſhed, the Strelitzs proclaimed the princes Iwan and Peter joint czars, and aſſociated their ſiſter Sophia with them as co-regent.

Without being declared czarina, Sophia, in fact, mounted the throne; as all the power of the ſtate now centered in her, ſhe began the exerciſe of her authority by publiſhing an edict, which indemnified all thoſe who had been concerned in the maſſacre abovementioned, which approved their conduct, and which recompenſed them by the confiſcation of the eſtates of all who had been maſſacred: Sophia likewiſe publicly thanked the murderers for the barbarous zeal which they had ſhewn, and raiſed a monument in Moſcow, on which was engraved the names of theſe unhappy victims, to perpetuate the memory of this horrible event. The nobility who had ſaved the czars from the beginning of theſe ſeditions, in the ſtrong convent of the Trinity, about twelve leagues from Moſcow, by the ſolicitation of the people, and the conſent of Sophia, now brought them back again to the capital.

Chief

Chief of the council, and co-regent of the kingdom, Sophia now dictated all the laws and orders of the ſtate, and ſigned all the edicts. This ambitious and politic woman, who had an active, penetrating, and elevated genius, kept all the nobility in awe, and made herſelf beloved by the people: her beauty inclined every body to favour her; her eloquence was perſuaſive, and her reſolution impoſed upon the boldeſt and moſt audacious perſons. The great deſire ſhe had to reign, made her barbarous and cruel towards all whom ſhe imagined would oppoſe her in her deſigns, and made her conceive an implacable hatred againſt her brother Peter, whom ſhe would likewiſe have deſtroyed, if ſhe could have effected this without kindling a rebellion in the ſtate. Her intrigues with the prince Baſil Galitzin, and afterwards with the ſecretary Scheglowitow, were known to the principal part of the nation; ſo that to the greateſt ambition and paſſion for governing, Sophia joined all the weakneſſes and ſenſibility of an amiable woman.

Galitzin no ſooner became the favourite of the co-regent, than he ſaw himſelf inveſted with the chief command of the troops, and with the offices of adminiſtrator of the empire, and of keeper of the ſeals. Having a genius ſuperior to all the Ruſſian nobility of his time, this great miniſter applied himſelf to make a reform in the diſcipline and regulations of the troops: he ſent a great part of the corps of the Strelitzs, who were now become dangerous even to thoſe who employed them, into the Ukraine, into Kaſan, and into Siberia, and for ſome time every thing was conducted in peace and tranquillity.

The following year 1684, Sophia married the czar Iwan to the daughter of Soltikoff, governor of the town of Jeniſeſkoi in Siberia:

Siberia: but ſhe left her younger brother Peter ſurrounded with a troop of flatterers, who drew him into all kinds of exceſs and debauchery, calculated to ruin his health, and injure his underſtanding.

One officer only who was about the perſon of the young czar, overturned all the projects of the co-regent. Lefort, a native of Geneva, and an experienced officer, inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the czar Peter, and often drew him from the danrous ſcenes of debauchery into which he was plunged: he gave him the firſt leſſons of the military art.

While the court of Moſcow gave themſelves up to the amuſements and ceremonies which were the conſequences of the marriage of the czar Iwan, the Strelitzs excited a new ſedition; and, to the aſtoniſhment of all mankind, religion was the motive. A man called Abokam, an archdeacon, who had before publiſhed a new ſpecies of doctrine in Moſcow, proving the equality of the firſt Chriſtians, which was founded upon the words of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſays, "That one of you ſhall not "be greater than another," now renewed this diſpute, and was joined by another called Raſpod, whoſe ignorance could not be equalled but by his enthuſiaſm. Theſe two men put themſelves at the head of ſeveral fanatics, who were ſoon afterwards joined by many of the citizens and by ſeveral of the Strelitzs.

Theſe ſectaries, when they found their party conſiderably increaſed, entered into the cathedral, while the patriarch and his clergy were officiating, and drove them out of the church, ill treating thoſe who made any reſiſtance, and arranged themſelves in their places, to receive the Holy Spirit. Sophia, hear-

ing of this tumult, ſent immediately to the reſt of the Strelitzs that the czars and the church were in danger. On this the other party of this ſeditious militia, joined by the reſt of the citizens who were in the patriarchal intereſt, flew immediately to the church, and fell upon theſe unhappy fanatics, who defended themſelves with great bravery; and had it not been that a perſon among the crowd cried out, that it was neceſſary that a council ſhould be held, the cathedral would have been filled with blood and dead bodies: in conſequence of this, a council was immediately held in the great hall of the palace, where the patriarch and another Biſhop diſputed againſt Raſpod and his companion; but on pronouncing the ſecond ſyllogiſm, they threw ſtones in the patriarch's face. The council finiſhed with the execution of Raſpod and ſeveral of his companions, the order for which was the only one that was ſigned by the three ſovereigns, Sophia, Iwan, and Peter.

During this confuſion, there was one of the nobility called Kovanſki, who was at the head of the Strelitzs, and who had contributed much to the elevation of the princeſs Sophia, and as a reward for his ſervices demanded a part in the adminiſtration of the public affairs; but finding himſelf deſpiſed by Galitzin, who in fact was now maſter of the government, he ſeized this moment of trouble and confuſion to revenge himſelf by feigning a devotion, and expreſſing a deſire to ſupport the perſecuted Raſpodites; under the cloak therefore of a hypocritical zeal, he raiſed a new rebellion of the Strelitzs, and of a great number of the enthuſiaſtical Raſpodites, which threatened more danger to the ſtate, than the fanatic zeal of Raſpod and his adherents.

An ambitious hypocrite is much more dangerous than a ſimple enthuſiaſt: Kovanſki was determined to ſeize upon the government; and, that he might have nothing afterwards to oppoſe his deſigns, he reſolved to maſſacre the two czars and Sophia, with all the reſt of the royal family, together with Galitzin, and ſuch of the nobility as he had moſt reaſon to fear. The czars and the princeſſes, and all who were attached to their intereſt were obliged immediately, on hearing this revolt, to retire to the convent of the Trinity, which was ſurrounded with a ſtrong fortification, where they found themſelves ſecure, not only on account of the reſpect which was always ſhewn to this holy place, but alſo becauſe it was capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege of ſix months. Sophia attemped to enter into a negociation with the rebel Kovanſki, and propoſed to meet him half-way for this purpoſe; as he knew therefore all her ſecrets, and ſuppoſed that he had nothing to riſk from this interview, he accepted the propoſition; but before he arrived at the place appointed, he found himſelf ſurrounded by a body of troops, and both he and his ſon, and thirty-ſeven Strelitzs who were his guards, were immediately beheaded without any ceremony. This diſtinguiſhed ſtroke of policy, as it was deemed, very far from calming the troubles of the ſtate, opened the door to a civil war. The whole body of the Strelitzs armed themſelves immediately, and threatened to ſet fire to the convent of the Trinity: all the nobility and gentry armed their vaſſals, and flew to defend their princes: bodies of troops arrived from all parts, and every thing ſeemed to menace a bloody civil war. On this occaſion the patriarch entered into the camp of the Strelitzs, and endeavoured to make them remember what they owed to God, to their king, and to their country; but this ſeditious corps were leſs intimidated by this diſcourſe, than by the great bodies of troops which they ſaw

arrive

arrive from all parts, which made them abandon their former reſolutions; their fury changed into fear, and from thence into the blindeſt ſubmiſſion; in fact, they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and with cords about their necks they were led in proceſſion to the convent of the Trinity, where they cried out, "We pre-"ſent our heads to our ſovereigns, the czars are maſters of our "lives:" but they were all pardoned. However, to puniſh this ſeditious body ſtill more, Galitzin diſperſed them into the different provinces of the empire, and placed Jekelawitz, a man who was entirely dependent upon him, at their head: moreover this artful and able miniſter had at different times diſplaced all the friends and relations of the czar Peter by his mother's ſide, and now made great preparations for the revolution which Sophia and himſelf for ſome time before had reſolved to effect.

In the year 1686 and 1687, Ruſſia engaged herſelf in the alliance which the emperor Leopold formed againſt the Turks, by the advantageous offer which John Sobieſki king of Poland made her, to abandon to her all his pretenſions upon the Ukraine, and upon Smolenſko, and agreed to carry the war into the Crim. On this occaſion Boris Galitzin, a relation of the miniſter, and his enemy, ſeized an opportunity to ſeparate the favourite from the co-regent: he had ſuſpicions of the deſign this ambitious favourite had to marry Sophia, and he foreſaw the conſequences which this union would produce. Attached to the czar Peter, of whom he was governor, he named his couſin Baſil general of the army which was to be ſent againſt the Crim Tartars. Either from vanity or neceſſity, Sophia conſented to the departure of her favourite miniſter; who being obliged to march his army through a country which was almoſt a deſert, and not having

formed any magazines, found himſelf greatly embarraſſed, loſt a great number of his troops, and returned to Moſcow in great diſgrace. Samoclewitz, hetman of the Coſacks, was accuſed of holding a correſpondence with the enemy, and fell a ſacrifice for Galitzin's faults.

The following year this general, who was deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing his reputation, marched again into the Crim with a new army; but an army without any diſcipline or regularity; ſo that this expedition did not ſucceed any better than the former. The Kan, informed that the Ruſſians intended to beſiege his capital, threw a numerous garriſon into it, who were well provided with every thing, and then marched out at the head of 30,000 men, and attacked the Ruſſian army with great impetuoſity. The Ruſſians, though they advanced in very good order, loſt a great number of men, and could gain no advantage over the enemy; and as the general had now expended all his proviſions, and had no hopes of taking the Kan's capital, he returned into Ruſſia, after having employed 30,000 men to build a town upon the river Samare, to ſerve as a magazine for the following year. This town, it is true, was only built of wood, and ſurrounded with ramparts of earth, but it was well provided with artillery, and was in a ſtate of defence.

During the abſence of the miniſter Galitzin, and againſt the conſent of his ſiſter Sophia, the czar Peter married Eudovia Jœderowna Lapukin, daughter of Jœdor Abramowitz, one of the moſt ancient families in Ruſſia: he received the general on his return with all the indignation which he ſuppoſed his conduct merited. Galitzin was ſo much the more humbled by this bad reception which he met with, as he had no excuſe to make to palliate his faults; however he ran immediately to Sophia to

give her an account of the ignominious treatment which he imagined he had received; and from this moment the deſtruction of the czar Peter was determined upon. Jekelawitz, chief of the Strelitzs, who owed all his fortune to Sophia and her favourite, charged himſelf with the execution of their will: he corrupted 600 ſoldiers, and conducted them to the caſtle of Obrokenſko, where the czar was aſleep; he preſented himſelf under pretence of relieving the czar's guard, but he was refuſed; two Strelitzs, who were ſcandalized at the crime of which they were to be made accomplices, came during the night and informed the czar of the danger which threatened him. Jekelawitz retired with the remorſe of having attempted ſuch an odious project; and with the fear of being immediately puniſhed.

The czar Peter eſcaped from this danger, retired again to the convent of the Trinity, with his mother, his wife, and all his faithful friends; from whence he ſent letters to all the nobility, the ſenators, and to thoſe of the Strelitzs who were not of the conſpiracy againſt his perſon. A council was immediately aſſembled, and orders were diſpatched to all the governors of the provinces to ſend troops to his aſſiſtance with the greateſt expedition. Sophia and Galitzin attempted in vain to exculpate themſelves from the projected aſſaſſination, but the proofs were too clear: the chief of the Strelitzs was put to the torture, and confeſſed every thing; the other accomplices had part of their tongues cut off, and were ſent into Siberia; Sophia was ſhut up in the convent of Dewitz, which ſhe had built herſelf in the neighbourhood of Moſcow; and Galitzin, with his ſons and his neareſt relations, were exiled to Kargapol; the treaſures of the former, which were immenſe, were confiſcated; and from this moment

moment Peter found his legal authority eſtabliſhed, and he began to reign.

About this time the Ruſſians made a treaty with the Chineſe: they had conquered the province of Dauria, which is ſituated between Siberia and Great Tartary, in the 130th degree of longitude, and in fifty-two degrees of latitude, where they had built the town of Albazin; but the Chineſe had reconquered it in the year 1684. The plenipotentiaries of the two empires held a congreſs in the neighbourhood of Nerſchinſkoi under tents; where it was agreed that in future the river Gorbitza, which falls into the Silka, ſhould be the boundary of the Ruſſian empire towards the north-eaſt, and towards the eaſt the river Amur ſhould ſeparate the two empires. Moreover a free commerce was likewiſe declared between the two nations by the ſame treaty. Two jeſuits were the mediators of this peace, which the miniſters of the two powers ſwore to obſerve in the following terms, in their reſpective languages: "If any one ſhall hereafter think "or endeavour ſecretly to rekindle or to blow up the fire of "war, we pray the great God, who is Sovereign of all things, "and who knows the ſecrets of all hearts, to puniſh ſuch "a traitor by a ſudden death."

The articles of this treaty were engraven upon two tables of marble, which were ſet up in the places that were to ſerve for the boundaries of the two empires.

No ſooner had the czar Peter eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his ſtates, than he directed his thoughts towards carrying into execution what his anceſtors, of the Romanow family, had projected; namely, the reforming the Ruſſian nation, and drawing the inhabitants

habitants out of that ſtate of barbarity into which they were plunged. He gave great encouragement to foreigners who had abilities to come and ſettle in his dominions; he permitted the young Ruſſian nobility to travel, and to inſtruct themſelves in the manners and cuſtoms of foreign nations, which they were not ſuffered to do before; and he publiſhed ſeveral new edicts, which tended to ſoften the barbarous manners of the Ruſſians.

Lefort, the Swiſs officer beforementioned, who had now gained the confidence of the czar, obtained leave to raiſe a company of fifty men, who were chiefly the cadets of the principal nobility, to learn the military diſcipline; in which company the czar himſelf was inrolled as a drummer; and this was the firſt regular effort which was made in Ruſſia to eſtabliſh that diſcipline among the troops, for which they are at preſent ſo famous. Soon after the czar gave commiſſions to ſome German, Engliſh, and Dutch officers, to purſue the ſame plan; and as theſe companies improved themſelves in their exerciſes, they were increaſed; ſo that the regiment of Lefort was at length augmented to twelve battalions.

Peter at the ſame time eſtabliſhed new orders and regulations in the adminiſtration of the finances: the abuſes which were made in the collection of the taxes were ſeverely puniſhed. Great encouragement was given for building houſes with ſtones; and an abſolute order publiſhed againſt building them with wood in the great towns, except under certain conditions. Great numbers of foreign artizans and men of learning were called into the empire, and the arts and ſciences were honoured, protected, and recompenſed.

As

As ſoon as the princeſs Sophia and her favourite had abandoned the government, the family of the Nariſkins began to gain credit at court, and in a very little time forced Boris Galitzin, the ancient and ſagacious governor of the czar Peter, to quit his place of prime miniſter, which was occupied by Leon Kintowitz Nariſkin, who had ſo ſtrongly imbibed the ancient prejudices of the nation, that he reſolved to perpetuate their ignorance, and to change the whole face of the government: he began by aboliſhing the colleges which Boris his predeceſſor had eſtabliſhed; he attempted to deſtroy the fine library which Boris had founded, and to burn the books which had been collected; but this was done without the knowledge or conſent of the czar, who, when he perceived what his miniſter deſigned, gave him an expreſs order to leave every thing in the ſituation in which his predeceſſor had left it, and not to introduce any change, or eſtabliſh any thing new in the empire without his conſent.

The Turks were at this time formidable to all the Chriſtian powers, and till now they had treated all the ſovereigns of Europe in ſuch an arrogant manner, that it was not poſſible to have any ſolid peace with them: the emperor Leopold, who ſupported a war againſt the Ottoman Porte, ſeeing himſelf ſo ill ſeconded by the Poles his allies, always jealous of the conduct of the Ruſſians their neighbours, ſent an ambaſſador to Peter, to engage him to take up arms againſt the Tartars, from whom the Turks received a powerful ſupport. Peter readily embraced this alliance, not only with a view to exerciſe his troops, who were now inſtructing themſelves in the military arts, but alſo to endeavour if poſſible to gain the empire of the Black ſea. Aſoph, a ſtrong town, ſituated upon an eminence

at

at the mouth of the river Don, in Little Tartary, was the place which he reſolved to attack firſt. General Gordon, with his regiment of 5000 men, who were chiefly Germans, was followed by general Lefort with his regiment of 12,000, who marched along upon the borders of the Don towards Aſoph: Sczemeretoff took the ſame route with the whole body of the Strelitzs and a large corps of Coſacks; and general Shein, an experienced Pruſſian officer, conducted a great train of artillery.

The czar Peter ſerved in this army in quality of lieutenant-colonel of a regiment; but the whole was under the orders of field-marſhal Sczemeretoff. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of ſeveral fortreſſes upon the banks of the river, and at length laid ſiege in form to the town of Aſoph. The garriſon, which was numerous and well ſupplied, defended themſelves with vigour; and as one ſide of the town was open to the ſea, the Tartars continually ſupplied them with every thing they wanted. The Ruſſians wanted ſhips to prevent theſe ſuccours from being conſtantly thrown into the town: but what contributed more than all to hurt the Ruſſians, and to render the ſiege difficult, was a lieutenant of their artillery, who had been condemned by general Shein, his commanding officer, to receive the knout for a trifling offence which he had committed, who in revenge of this indignity nailed up the greateſt part of the Ruſſian cannon, and threw himſelf into the town, where he embraced the Mahometan religion, and gave great ſpirits and activity to the beſieged: in fact, this accident forced the czar to raiſe the ſiege of Aſoph, after having loſt a great number of men.

The moſt trifling fault was puniſhed in theſe days with great rigour: the Ruſſians, notwithſtanding their ſeditious diſpoſition,

ſubmitted to it, and after having been ſeverely chaſtiſed they ſerved again as before; but this lieutenant of artillery, who was a ſtranger, thought otherwiſe, and ſeverely revenged himſelf upon thoſe who had tyrannized, as he thought, over him. Certain it is, that the humanity which they uſe in ſome part of the Ruſſian dominions at preſent is far preferable to the ſeverities which they formerly employed, and better calculated to retain men in their duty who have enjoyed any education, or who have any ſentiments of honour. Some degree of rigour was neceſſary in thoſe days to keep the common people in order, becauſe they had no other ideas than thoſe of ſlavery, and of acts of violence. But ſince the manners even of the common people, in ſome parts of the Ruſſian dominions, have changed, the empreſs Elizabeth endeavoured to do by her clemency what her father did by laws; indeed ſhe proſecuted this point ſo far, that there is not an example to be met with of the like nature in any country: when ſhe came to the throne, ſhe promiſed that no perſon ſhould be puniſhed with death during her reign, and ſhe kept her promiſe. Thoſe who were found guilty of crimes during her reign, were condemned to labour in the mines or upon the public works, ſo that their puniſhments might be of ſome utility to the community: an inſtitution which was worthy of the moſt civilized ſtate. In almoſt every other part of Europe all who are found guilty of capital crimes are put to death; but others are not by this means deterred from committing the like offences, though the execution is attended with the greateſt tortures. The terrors of death make a much leſs impreſſion upon ſuch criminals than the dread of puniſhment, and of hard labour which they are to ſuffer every day.

After he returned from the ſiege of Aſoph, in the year 1695, the czar, preſſed by the inſinuations of Mentzikoff, who, from ſelling tarts and fruit in the ſtreets, was become his favourite and confident, reſolved to ſeparate himſelf from the czarina Eudocia Lapukin, and to ſend her to the convent of Sutalſki. This princeſs was jealous of the favourite, whom ſhe deſpiſed, and was determined to ruin him; and Mentzikoff, who was now every thing with the czar, was reſolved at all events to get her exiled; eſpecially as he perceived ſhe was ſecretly doing every thing to counteract the reformation which the czar was effecting in his dominions.

Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of the former campaign, the czar was reſolved to take Aſoph: he ſaw wherein he had failed in his firſt attempt, and immediately prepared a little fleet to ſhut up the harbour, and to cut off all communication between the Tartars and the beſieged. Several German and Dutch engineers entered into the Ruſſian ſervice, and taught this people the principles of attacking and defending fortreſſes in a regular manner, with which they were before utterly unacquainted.

A determined reſolution to puſh every enterprize to the laſt extremity, was no ſmall part of Peter's character. Early in the year 1696, he brought a ſtill greater army before Aſoph.

His brother Iwan died this year, and left him abſolute maſter of the government. The houſhold expences of this prince, after his death, were applied towards the ſupport of the army, which was ſome ſuccour at this time, when the revenues of the ſtate were very inconſiderable to what they are at preſent.

Peter received a great number of mariners from Holland, England, and Denmark, and took a great body of Kalmouks into his pay, whoſe horſes were very uſeful againſt thoſe of the Crim Tartars: but what gave Peter the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs was his little fleet, which conſiſted of ſeveral ſmall ſhips of war, of three and thirty gallies, and of four fire-ſhips. The Ruſſians were aſtoniſhed at beholding ſuch a fleet; before this time they had not any idea of navigation. The general Lefort was now ſtyled great admiral; and the czar himſelf ſerved as a volunteer in one of his own ſhips.

As ſoon as the Ruſſians had again opened the trenches before Aſoph, the Turks ſent ſome tranſports laden with proviſions, and conducted by a ſmall naval force, into the port of Aſoph for the uſe of the garriſon, but they were intercepted by the Ruſſians, and after ſome little reſiſtance were all taken. Aſtoniſhed at this event, the Turks, ſuppoſing that the Ruſſians could not bring any ſuch force to ſea, retired and left the Ruſſian admiral maſter of the harbour. The ſiege was carried on regularly by trenches; and though the Turks and the Tartars made ſome powerful efforts to ſave this important fortreſs, they were always repulſed by the Ruſſian and Kalmouk cavalry, and the fortreſs was obliged to ſurrender the 28th of July, on condition that the ſoldiers and the inhabitants ſhould be tranſported to Caffa. The lieutenant of the artillery, who had defended the town which he formerly attacked, was, by this capitulation, obliged to be delivered up to his enemies.

The czar was too well acquainted with the importance of Aſoph not to fortify it immediately in the moſt regular manner, to cover it with forts, and to cut down ſome parts of the land

to

to make the harbour capable of containing the largeſt veſſels. Orders were immediately given for carrying all theſe things into execution, and, if poſſible, to make the place impregnable.

On the other hand, the czar, who owed all the ſucceſs of this expedition to his new marine, determined to put it on a reſpectable footing. A port was ſoon conſtructed that was capable of containing 200 ſhips; and he now bent his thoughts upon making himſelf maſter of the ſtraights of Caffa, which opened the communication with the Euxine ſea. He left thirty-two ſaikes before Aſoph, and made the greateſt preparations to build nine ſhips of ſixty guns each, and forty frigates of fifty, forty, and thirty guns. He demanded of the principal nobility, of the richeſt merchants, and even of the patriarch, biſhops, and clergy, contributions to equip this armament, for the honour of their country and for the advantage of Chriſtianity.

The Ottoman Porte was greatly alarmed at receiving intelligence of this armament, the firſt that was ever attempted by the Ruſſians in this or in any other part of their dominions. The Coſacks likewiſe had orders to build ſome light veſſels, to which they had been accuſtomed, to cruiſe round the Crim, and to cut off all communication between the Turks and the Tartars of this country; as the czar's project was to expel the Turks and the Tartars from the Crim, and afterwards to eſtabliſh through this channel, and through Georgia, a free commerce with Perſia.

Emulation and the love of glory are certainly incentives to virtue and grandeur; the czar felt the truth of this, and reſolved to give his ſubjects the pompous ſpectacle of a triumph, in imitation

imitation of thoſe which were formerly exhibited at Rome. Triumphant arches were raiſed in Moſcow, and the victors of Aſoph, generals, officers, and ſoldiers, entered the capital with crowns on their heads, accompanied with bands of martial muſick that chanted the praiſes of the heroes; the czar, who was among the crowd in the rank of a ſubaltern marine officer, modeſtly enjoying the praiſes of his victory. The ſoldiers who had fought upon the Venetian ſaikes againſt the Turks, and who formed a ſeparate corps, marched the firſt. The marſhal Sczemeretoft, the generals Gordon and Shein, the admiral Lefort, and the other general officers, preceded the czar in this pompous ſhew, who declared that he had not yet any diſtinguiſhed rank in the army, and, by his example, would make all the Ruſſian nobility perceive that they muſt merit the military ranks before they could enjoy them. The principal priſoners who were taken during this campaign marched two and two, and the proceſſion was cloſed by the lieutenant of artillery who had turned traitor, who was whipped by two executioners upon the cart in which he was drawn, and afterwards broke upon the wheel.

To perpetuate the memory of this great event they ſtruck a medal in Ruſſia, the firſt that was ever ſtricken in this country; the Ruſſian legend is very remarkable: "Peter the Firſt, Emperor "of Ruſſia, always auguſt." Upon the reverſe is the town of Aſoph, with theſe words, "Vanquiſhed by Fire and by "Water."

The czar, who was a true patriot, though his arms were crowned with ſucceſs, was afflicted to ſee that his ſhips and gallies were built by the hands of ſtrangers; and he had no leſs deſire to have a port in the Baltic than in the Black ſea. In the year

year 1697, he ſent ſixty young Ruſſians of Lefort's regiment into the different parts of Italy to learn the marine arts and the conſtruction of gallies; and at the ſame time he ſent forty others into England and Holland to inform themſelves in regard to conſtructing and navigating large ſhips. A conſiderable number of cadets were likewiſe ſent into the different parts of Germany to learn the German military diſcipline.

In the courſe of this year the Tartars made two attempts to ſurprize Aſoph, but they were repulſed with great loſs; and the general Shein, governor of this place, purſuing his victory, took the town of Precop, capital of the Crim.

Peter, at the ſame time that he triumphed over his enemies abroad, made the moſt aſtoniſhing efforts to draw his people out of that ſtate of barbarity in which they had been involved for ſo many centuries; and notwithſtanding the powerful oppoſition which he met with from great numbers of his ſubjects, who wiſhed to ſee him deſtroyed and the Ruſſians to return to their former ignorance, reſolved to travel himſelf into all parts of Europe to be better inſtructed in the arts of government, as well as to inform himſelf particularly in the marine and other arts which he was deſirous of eſtabliſhing in the different parts of his dominions.

The artful Sophia, hearing in her convent all the innovations and reformations which her brother was making, uſed every effort to animate the ſpirit of revolt which was ſhewing itſelf among all the orders of the ſtate. The clergy exclaimed that the king had violated the law which forbad the children of Iſrael to have any communication with the idolatrous nations; the

nobility complained that they were deſpiſed, and that all the principal offices and dignities in the ſtate were in the hands of ſtrangers; the old Ruſſians were extremely irritated at being obliged to quit their long cloaks and ſhave themſelves; the Strelitzs were extremely offended at being diſcontinued to be the prince's guard; in fact, every order of the ſtate murmured, and ſecretly blamed the actions of their ſovereign.

The moſt violent of them aſſembled themſelves together, and after long deliberation it was agreed that they ſhould ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity to aſſaſſinate the czar, place Sophia upon the throne, maſſacre all the ſtrangers, and re-eſtabliſh their ancient cuſtoms and uſages. Two Strelitzs charged themſelves with the aſſaſſination, for which their corps had always been ſo famous; but they afterwards repented, and the day before the time appointed for the execution they diſcovered the conſpiracy to the prince, who granted them their pardon, but executed their accomplices; pardoned the ineffectual attempt of Sophia, but ordered her to be watched in future with greater vigilance.

As Peter had taken the reſolution of travelling into other ſtates, after he had quelled this conſpiracy, he truſted the government of his ſtates to the prince Romadonowſki and to another nobleman of the name of Strechneff; he diſperſed all the Strelitzs upon the frontiers of the Crim, and charged the general Gordon to watch over the ſecurity of the capital with his regiment;—afterwards he put himſelf in the train of an ambaſſy, compoſed of the great admiral Lefort, of the count Gallowin, governor of Siberia, of the prince Sibirſki, of the chancellor Mentzikoff, and of a ſecretary of ſtate, as a common gentleman, under the name of Peter Michaeloff.

Theſe

Theſe ambaſſadors paſſed through the Great Novogorod, traverſed Eſtonia and Livonia, two provinces which then belonged to the king of Sweden, and at length repoſed themſelves at Riga, the capital of Livonia. The count Dahlberg, governor of this city, received theſe ambaſſadors and their train in the moſt polite manner, but he refuſed to let them examine the fortifications, which greatly offended the czar, and, as it is ſaid, was one of the principal cauſes of the war which followed ſome years afterwards between this prince and Charles the Twelfth.

From Riga they directed their courſe to Koningſberg, capital of Ducal Pruſſia, where the elector of Brandenburg, ſovereign of that country, neglected nothing to do honour to the ambaſſadors and their train, and at the ſame time to ſhew his own magnificence. Afterwards they paſſed through Dantzic, Berlin, Magdeburg, and Weſtphalia.

But Peter Michaeloff, who hated all pomp and parade, found nothing to fix his attention till he came to Amſterdam; where he lodged in the admiralty of this city, and dreſſed as a pilot, going every day to the village of Saardam to ſee the conſtruction of the veſſels, mixing with the ſhip-builders, and working himſelf very aſſiduouſly among them.

At firſt the ſhip-carpenters only knew the czar under the name of maſter Peter; but afterwards, when they knew his real character, with a Dutch bluntneſs they ſoon familiarized themſelves with him. He worked himſelf at all the branches of ſhip-building, and enrolled himſelf among the number of the carpenters under the name of Peter Michaeloff.

It was at Amſterdam that this great man began to like the ſciences, and to have ſome knowledge of the arts. He ſtudied anatomy under the celebrated Ruiſch, and received the firſt lectures of natural philoſophy from the burgomaſter Witſen.

Peter parted from Amſterdam for the Hague, where he ſaw William the Third king of England, who received him with great ceremony as ſovereign of all the Ruſſias. From the Hague he returned again to Amſterdam, where he recommenced his former occupation, and finiſhed with his own hands a new ſixty-gun ſhip, which he had begun, and which he ſoon afterwards ſent to Archangel, as he had not at that time any other ſea-port in his dominions. It was here that he received intelligence of the vacancy of the throne of Poland, and of the double nomination of the elector of Saxony, and of the prince of Conti, and where he immediately promiſed 30,000 to ſupport the nomination of the elector.

The czar engaged a great number of French refugees, of Swiſs, and of Germans in his ſervice, and ſent a conſiderable number of mechanics of every kind to Moſcow; but he would not employ any one whom he had not himſelf ſeen work.

He continued his uſual occupations of ſhip-builder, of artizan, and of a practical natural philoſopher at Amſterdam, till the beginning of the year 1698, when he parted for England: king William ſent him his own yacht, with two ſhips of war, to conduct him; where he lived in the ſame manner that he had done at Amſterdam. He firſt lodged at Deptford-yard, where he took every method to gain inſtruction, as he had done in Holland. The Dutch builders had only taught him their ſyſte-

matic

matic method, but in England he learnt the mode of conſtructing ſhips according to mathematical rules and proportions: he now learnt the ſcience of ſhip-building, and could very ſoon give leſſons in it himſelf.

He next applied himſelf to watch-making, and very ſoon gained a tolerable theory in this ſcience; and, in fact, from the caſting of cannon, to the making of cords, there was not any art which eſcaped his notice, and in which he had not worked himſelf.

The king entertained him with the ſpectacle of a naval fight, and made him a preſent of a frigate, in which he ſent to Archangel ſeveral Engliſh Artiſts, and men of ſcientific ſkill, who entered themſelves into his ſervice. Among the latter was the famous Mr. Ferguſon, who was the firſt who eſtabliſhed arithmetic in Ruſſia, in the College of Finances; before this time they only counted by beads ſtringed upon wire, after the Tartar manner of counting.

Two young mathematicians attended Mr. Ferguſon, and were the firſt who opened the ſchool in Ruſſia for teaching the marine arts. A body of Engliſh merchants, at the head of whom was the marquis of Carmarthen, gave the czar 15,000l. ſterling, to have the excluſive privilege of ſelling tobacco in Ruſſia; before this time the Ruſſian church regarded the uſe of ſnuff as highly ſinful, and the patriarch had abſolutely forbidden this object of commerce from being introduced into the Ruſſian dominions. But Peter, better inſtructed than his clergy, and who among the other changes which he propoſed to make, medi-

tated a reformation in the church, introduced this commerce into his territories.

After having ſtudied the religion of the church of England, the manners and cuſtoms of the Engliſh nation, and a variety of arts, the czar quitted England, and directed his route towards Vienna, where he ſaw in private the emperor Leopold, his natural ally againſt the Turks, where the two monarchs entertained each other ſtanding, to avoid the profuſion, or rather confuſion of ceremonies, which are abſolutely neceſſary at this court. While the czar was in this town, and was preparing to part for Venice, he received the news of a revolt in his own dominions.

The czar, when he had quitted his ſtates, had taken, as he imagined, every precaution to prevent any troubles which might ariſe during his abſence; but ſome of the old nobility, to whom their ancient cuſtoms were dear, and the clergy, to whom all theſe changes appeared ſo many enormous ſins, began the troubles: they were ſoon joined by the party of the princeſs Sophia; and the permiſſion that the czar had given to the vent of tobacco and ſnuff in his ſtates, againſt the advice of the clergy, was one of the principal cauſes of this rebellion. That ſuperſtition, which will always reign among ignorant and illiterate people, ſoon ſpread itſelf among the common people in this ſtate, and from them it was propagated among the Strelitzs, who were then diſperſed among the Tartars upon the borders of the Crim; but they ſoon aſſembled themſelves together, and marched directly towards Moſcow, with a deſign to place Sophia upon the throne, and prevent the czar from returning into his territories, who, as they imagined, had violated their ancient

ent uſages, by daring to receive inſtruction in foreign nations. The body of troops commanded by the generals Shein and Gordon, being much better diſciplined than the Strelitzs, attacked and beat them about fifteen leagues from Moſcow: but this ſuperiority of the foreign generals over the ancient militia of the kingdom, in which great numbers of the inhabitants of Moſcow were not inrolled, ſo far from quelling this rebellion, irritated the nation ſtill more.

The czar parted ſecretly from Vienna, and paſſed through Poland; he had a private interview with king Auguſtus, with whom he ſettled the plan of attacking the Swediſh provinces to the eaſt of the Baltic.

He arrived at Moſcow in September 1698, to the great ſurprize of both parties, who thought him then in Italy: he immediately gave large recompences to thoſe who had vanquiſhed the Strelitzs; all the priſons were full of theſe unhappy wretches, who were ſeverely puniſhed for their crime. Their chiefs, with ſeveral officers, and thoſe of the clergy, who had been the moſt active in this rebellion, were condemned to death, and ſeveral were broken upon the wheel; two women were burnt alive, and near 2000 of the Strelitzs were hanged about the walls of the city, on the high roads, and about the convent where the princeſs Sophia and her ſiſter reſided. A ſtill greater number of this body, who had wives and children, were diſperſed, with their families, into Siberia, in the kingdom of Aſtracan, and about Aſoph; and the whole ſyſtem of the Strelitzs, which had always been ſo formidable to the ſovereigns of this ſtate, as the Janiſſaries are and have always been to the ſultans of Conſtantinople, and which none of his predeceſſors dared

dared even diminiſh, was broken for ever, and their names even aboliſhed. But to draw off the attention of the nation in ſome meaſure from theſe acts of ſeverity, he eſtabliſhed this year the order of St. Andrew.

When he had deſtroyed the Strelitzs, he eſtabliſhed regular regiments, with uniforms, which ſtill continue, together with ſome regiments of guards; as he had alſo himſelf paſſed through every military degree, he likewiſe determined that the ſons of the nobility ſhould begin their exerciſes as common ſoldiers, before they could obtain any rank as officers; the ſame order was likewiſe obſerved in the ſea ſervice.

Some Engliſh and Dutch ſhip-carpenters and engineers worked with the greateſt diligence to augment his fleet at Aſoph, to make ſome dry-docks for careening his ſhips, and alſo to complete that great undertaking of opening a communication between the rivers Don and Wolga, which had been abandoned by the German engineer Brakel.

In this year the czar loſt the general Lefort, who was his counſellor, friend, and confident, who firſt deviſed and arranged the plan of the principal reformations which Peter had inſtituted in his empire.

As ſoon as the czar had quelled the rebellion of the Strelitzs, he immediately made a reform in his council of ſtate, in his finances, in the church, and even in all the orders of the nation. The finances were at this time adminiſtered much in the ſame manner as they are in Turkey; every nobleman or gentleman who was proprietor of a manor, paid a ſtipulated ſum for his

manor, which he levied upon thoſe who lived upon his land, whom he regarded as his ſlaves; and the czar eſtabliſhed the burgo-maſters of the towns to be the receivers of the citizens; becauſe they were not powerful enough to arrogate to themſelves the right of not paying into the public treaſure, but what they thought proper, which the receivers before this had generally done. This new plan for the adminiſtration of the finances met with greater oppoſition than any other part of the reformation which he had projected.

The reformation which he made in the church, which was ſuppoſed would be attended with difficulty and danger, coſt him very little trouble. The patriarchs had always ſet themſelves up againſt the authority of the throne; and the biſhops had arrogated to themſelves the authority of inflicting capital puniſhments, contrary to the ſpirit of religion and of civil government: the czar diveſted them of this uſurped prerogative; and as the patriarch Adrian died about this time, he aboliſhed this dignity entirely, and united all the great landed property which was annexed to it, to the publick finances, which were much in want of ſuch a ſupply.

Though the the czar did not declare himſelf to be the chief of the Ruſſian church, he aſſumed all the authority which was before annexed to it; for notwithſtanding he eſtabliſhed a ſynod, it will appear by the preamble of the edict which he publiſhed in the year 1721, for regulating eccleſiaſtical affairs, that he acted as their ſupreme legiſlator and maſter. "We ſhould (ſays he) "believe ourſelves guilty of ingratitude towards the Moſt High, "if after having made a reformation in our military and civil "orders, we ſhould neglect the different orders of our church;

"for

" for which reaſon, after the example of our moſt ancient kings, " whoſe piety is ſo celebrated, we have taken upon us the care " of eſtabliſhed good regulations for the clergy, &c." It is true he inſtituted a ſynod for carrying the eccleſiaſtical laws into execution, but the members of this ſynod were obliged to take the following oath, before they entered upon their office: " I do ſwear to be the faithful and obedient ſervant and ſub- " ject of Peter the Firſt, emperor of all the Ruſſias, my natural " and true ſovereign, and to the auguſt ſucceſſors whom he ſhall " be pleaſed to name by virtue of that inconteſtable power which " he has for doing it :—I acknowledge that he is the ſupreme " judge of this ſpiritual college; and I moreover ſwear by that " God who ſees all things, that I underſtand and that I explain " this oath with all the force and in the ſenſe that the " words ſhall appear to convey to thoſe who read or to thoſe " who hear them."——In fact Peter was not one of the members of this ſynod, but he directed their laws.

While this great reform was making in his ſtates, Peter ſaw that his country was very thinly peopled, and that the great numbers of Monks and Nuns who were in every part of his dominions, contributed very much to this depopulation. It was always the cuſtom in the Ruſſian church, that the ſecular clergy ſhould be married at leaſt once, they were even obliged to it; and when a prieſt had loſt his wife, he ceaſed to officiate as a prieſt. But the multitudes of young men and young women who made a vow of chaſtity, and who lived in a cloiſter at the expence of others, appeared to the czar to be extremely prejudicial to population, and therefore he ordered that no perſon of either ſex ſhould enter into a monaſtery, till they were arrived at their fiftieth year; in fact till they had attained an age

in

in which not one in ten thouſand has any inclination to take the vows; and forbad them, under the moſt ſevere penalties, to receive any man who was inveſted with a public employment, let him be of what age ſoever. This regulation has ſince been aboliſhed;—but the patriarchal dignity has never been reeſtabliſhed, and all the revenues which were annexed to it, are now applied to the payment of the troops.

Theſe regulations excited great murmurs among the populace for ſome time, but they afterwards ceaſed, as the moſt ſenſible of the people ſaw that Peter gave more to the church than he took away from it. He ſoon made the clergy more intelligent and more regular in their functions: he founded three colleges at Moſcow for ſtudying the learned languages, and where thoſe who propoſed to enter into religious orders were obliged to ſtudy.

Peter carried his plan of reformation even to the manners and cuſtoms of the people: before his time marriages were contracted in Ruſſia in the ſame manner as they are at preſent in Turkey and in Perſia, where the man does not ſee the woman he is to marry till after the contract is ſigned, and in fact till there is no receding; a practice that is very well calculated for countries where polygamy is eſtabliſhed, and where the women are ſhut up, but muſt always be diſagreeable in a country where one woman only is allowed for one man, and where divorces are very rare. Deſirous of inducing the Ruſſians to follow the manners and cuſtoms of the nations through which he had travelled, the czar had engaged maſters of all ſorts to inſtruct his people in almoſt every uſeful art and cuſtom which he had ſeen in Europe.

The attention of all great legiſlators has been to draw mankind out of the ſtate of nature, and to make them ſociable; and for this purpoſe example is generally more efficacious than written laws: the circumſtance of being aſſembled together in a town conduces very little towards this effect, except there is a certain communicativeneſs and reciprocal eſteem between the members of this ſociety, which not only ſoftens the manners, but leſſens the diſagreeableneſſes of life.

The czar, though he had no education, ſoon perceived the efficacy of this general maxim, and introduced aſſemblies in all the great towns of his dominions, as well as at Moſcow: he invited the matrons, with their daughters, to come to court, dreſſed after the mode of the ſouthern nations, and even publiſhed regulations for conducting theſe aſſemblies. But to make all theſe innovations the more agreeable to the people, the czar aboliſhed the word golut or ſlave, which the Ruſſians till this time made uſe of, whenever they ſpoke to their ſovereign, or whenever they preſented a petition to him; and ordered them to make uſe of the word Baab, which ſignifies ſubject, in its place. This change did not make him leſs abſolute, nor diminiſh the obedience which they owed him, but ſtill it made this obedience more agreeable.

All theſe, with a great number of other innovations, were received with great applauſe by the ſenſible part of the nation, and the complaints of the partizans of the ancient manners were in ſome meaſure overpowered by the acclamations of reaſonable men. While Peter was civilizing his ſubjects, and making a number of uſeful regulations in his kingdom, he never loſt ſight

ſight of the great object which he had always the moſt at heart, namely, making Ruſſia a great maritime power.

But ſince his return from his travels, his projects for a marine were much too great for the ſea of Aſoph; which, by the treaty of Carlowits, in the year 1699, was ceded to him by the Turks, and his eſtabliſhments upon the Caſpian Sea were not proper for a fleet of ſhips of war; and therefore he turned his attention towards the Baltic, without abandoning however his marine eſtabliſhments upon the rivers Don and Wolga.

The eighteenth century was opened with a very intereſting ſcene for all the northern parts of Europe. The Ruſſians, as I have before obſerved, had been for ſeveral centuries in poſſeſſion of the provinces of Ingria and Carelia, which the Swedes had ſeized during the time of their civil wars, and had the ſame ceded to them by treaty when the family of Romanow came to the throne. The czar had theſe provinces ſo much the more at heart, as the recovering them would open that communication with the Baltic, which had ſo long been the object of his deſires.

He communicated his project to Auguſtus king of Poland, during the ſecret interview which the two monarchs had at Warſaw; and Auguſtus on his ſide was no leſs deſirous of retaking from the Swedes the rich province of Livonia, which had been ceded by a former king of Poland to Charles the Eleventh of Sweden by the treaty of Oliva.

Theſe two princes entered into an alliance with Frederick the Fourth king of Denmark, againſt Charles the Twelfth king

of Sweden, who was then only in his eighteenth year, and from whom, in all appearance, they had not much to fear. The czar immediately marched an army of 80,000 men into Ingria, who drew after them a train of 140 pieces of cannon. It is true there were not above 15,000 men of this army that were diſciplined and regular troops; the reſt were only a rude, undiſciplined, and badly armed militia, compoſed of Coſacks, Tartars, Circaſſians, &c. However with this army he opened the ſiege of Narva, a little town in Ingria, which had a commodious port, and which he ſuppoſed would very ſoon fall into his hands. But though there were only 1000 Swedes in garriſon at Narva, they made ſuch a gallant reſiſtance, that after a ſiege of two months the Ruſſians had made but little progreſs; and during this interval a body of Ruſſians, who were on their march to reinforce the czar's army, were beaten by the garriſon of Derpt, near the lake Peypus.

Charles the Twelfth, who was threatened with ſuch powerful enemies, as I have already obſerved, made a deſcent near Copenhagen, and in leſs than ſix weeks forced the king of Denmark to ſign a peace. The king of Poland was at this time beſieging Riga, the capital of Livonia; Charles immediately ſent ſuccours to the town, and forced the Poles and Saxons to retire; afterwards he embarked all his little army, which was about 20,000 men, and landed them in Livonia in the middle of the month of November.

The czar, hearing that Charles the Twelfth was advancing to attack him, and ſuppoſing that his troops would ſoon be in poſſeſſion of the town, which was then very cloſely preſſed, flew to Novogorod to haſten the coming of a body of 40,000 recruits

recruits which were on their march to join his forces, and left his army which was before Narva, and his inſtructions for preſſing the ſiege to the prince De Croy, who was a native of Flanders, but afterwards entered into the ſervice of the czar.

The prince Dolgorouki was the commiſſary general of the army. Jealouſy between theſe chiefs, and the abſence of the czar, were the cauſe of the defeat which followed. The prince De Croy gave orders, and Dolgorouki would not obey them. The Ruſſian officers roſe againſt the Germans; they maſſacred De Croy's ſecretary, the colonel Lyon, and many others; every one quitted his poſt, and the whole army was in tumult and confuſion at the very moment that they were attacked by Charles the Twelfth, at the head of his advanced guard of 8000 men, with ſuch impetuoſity, that a terror was ſpread throughout the whole camp before they had time to recollect themſelves; ſo that, in fact, the Swedes had very little more to do than to kill men who were ſtricken with a panic, and who were running away. Great numbers threw themſelves into the river Narva, and were drowned; and near 30,000 of them threw down their arms, and were made priſoners, together with all their officers, cannon, baggage, &c.

This victory was complete. The czar, who was advancing with 40,000 men to cover the ſiege, heard of the defeat of his army when he was only one day's march from Narva; and, ſuperior to all events of this kind, he did not loſe courage, but re-aſſembled all his ſcattered troops, and poſted himſelf between the lake Peypus and the river Wolchow, to cover his dominions, while Charles the Twelfth, more deſirous of revenging himſelf than of conquering, immediately marched

to

to attack the king of Poland. "I am well perſuaded," ſaid the czar, "that the Swedes will beat us for ſome time; "but at laſt we ſhall learn to beat them; we will avoid coming "to a general engagement with them, but we will weaken them "by little actions."

After having given his orders, and provided againſt any ſurprize, he immediately departed for Moſcow to caſt new cannon, as he had loſt all his train before Narva; as he was therefore in want of braſs, he took all the bells of the churches and of the convents for this purpoſe, with which he made one hundred pieces of large cannon, and one hundred and forty-three field pieces of three and ſix pounders. In all other countries when the ſovereign gives orders, his ſubjects executes them; but here the czar was obliged to do every thing himſelf.

While he was making all theſe preparations in his own country, the king of Poland propoſed an interview with him at Birzen in Samogitia, where the two monarchs pledged their honour to each other reciprocally, not to lay down their arms till they had ſtripped the king of Sweden of all the territories which he poſſeſſed on the eaſtern ſide of the Baltic. The czar offered a ſubſidy, with 20,000 men, and to cede all his pretenſions to Livonia, which they propoſed immediately to invade, if the republic of Poland would join with their king as elector of Saxony, in the war. But Charles the Twelfth was already become very formidable; and the republic, on the other hand, by refuſing this offer, expoſed themſelves to all the horrors of a civil war: the propoſitions of the czar had leſs effect upon the diet, than the fear of the conſequences. The Poles trembled at the idea of having their country made the theatre of war by the

Ruſſians,

Ruſſians, Saxons, and Swedes; the greateſt part of the diet therefore declared againſt the czar's propoſition. The partizans of the king Auguſtus on the other hand animated themſelves violently againſt the oppoſite party, from a ſuppoſition that the king would annex a great province to the kingdom, and a civil war was the conſequence.

Having finiſhed the conference, and ſettled a plan of operations with Auguſtus, the czar immediately returned to Moſcow to fulfil his promiſes, and ſent prince Repnin with 4000 men to join the Saxons, who were entrenched upon the banks of the Duhna. But the terror of the arms of Charles was ſpread in ſuch a manner through all the North, that notwithſtanding the advantageous ſituation of the Saxons and Ruſſians, he paſſed the river without any loſs, and gained a complete victory over them.

Upon the borders of the great province of Novogorod are the lakes Peypus and Ladoga, which are of conſiderable extent, and where it was neceſſary to ſupport a fleet to prevent the Swedes from carrying the war into this great province, to be always ready to enter into their provinces of Livonia, Eſtonia, and Ingria, and more particularly to form ſeamen; the czar therefore, during the courſe of the year 1701, ordered a hundred half gallies to be built upon the borders of each of thoſe lakes, and each galley was to carry fifty ſoldiers. The field-marſhal Sczemeretoff entered Livonia at the head of 50,000 men, and made the moſt terrible ravages in that province; one of his detachments beat a detachment of the Swedes, and the czar, to diſabuſe and encourage his ſubjects, who till then regarded the Swedes as invincible, made great rejoicings in all his dominions on account of this victory.

At

At the ſame time their half-gallies were victorious upon the lake Peypus, and they even took a Swediſh frigate. The czar in perſon laid ſiege to the town of Derpt, but the Swediſh general relieved it, and forced him to abandon this enterprize.

But while the war was carrying on in thoſe provinces with various ſucceſs, the czar was informed that a Swediſh fleet had ſailed to deſtroy the port of Archangel; he immediately flew thither, raiſed a ſufficient force to prevent a deſcent, traced out the plan for a citadel, laid the firſt ſtone, returned to Moſcow, from thence to the theatre of war. He ſoon after attacked and took Nottebourg, in the province of Ingria, where the river Neva diſembogues itſelf, and changed its name for that of Schluſſelbourg; which, in the German languages ſignifies the key; in fact it was the key of the provinces of Ingria and of Livonia.

The return of Peter into his capital was celebrated by a triumphant entry; this policy being very neceſſary to excite emulation among a people who had as yet but a very imperfect idea of true valour.

In the midſt of the cares and fatigues which now occupied the czar on account of this war, which had begun ſo unhappily, he never loſt ſight of one of the great projects which he had always at heart, namely, that of civilizing and enriching his ſubjects. A great fire burnt down a conſiderable part of the town of Moſcow, where the houſes were then built of wood; he immediately gave orders for repairing this loſs; and in a very ſhort time that part of the city was rebuilt with ſtone houſes: he continued his works upon the great canal, which was to form a commu-

communication between the rivers Don and Wolga; he bought a great number of ſheep in Poland and in Saxony, which he brought, together with ſhepherds to take care of them, into his dominions for the uſe of their wool, with which he propoſed to make cloth to cloath his army: he publiſhed ſeveral edicts to invite ſtrangers to come and eſtabliſh themſelves in his kingdom, in which he promiſed them great privileges and recompences; together with other edicts for ſuppreſſing luxury and for civilizing the people.

Charles, on the other hand, purſued the courſe of his victories, and left in the provinces of Livonia, Ingria, &c. as many troops as he imagined would preſerve them againſt the attacks of the Moſcovites: he had already formed the deſign to dethrone the king of Poland, and afterwards to purſue the czar to Moſcow with his victorious arms.

There had been ſeveral little actions between the Ruſſians and the Swedes, in which the latter were not always ſuperior; and even by theſe little battles the Ruſſians gained ſuch experience, and made ſuch a progreſs in their diſcipline, that within a year after the battle of Narva the czar had a body of troops ſo well diſciplined, that they gained a victory over one of the beſt Swediſh generals. The body of troops which the czar employed in the gallies on the lake Peypus kept the Swediſh provinces of Livonia and Eſtonia continually alarmed.

The king of Sweden advanced in Poland, but the Ruſſians continually gained ground in Livonia and Ingria; at length the marſhal Sczemeretoff attacked the Swediſh general Slippembac near the river Embac, and beat him: after this victory he took

the little town of Mariembourg in Livonia, which, though it does no longer exiſt, will always be famous for the adventure of the empreſs Catherine the Firſt.

This little town ſurrendered at diſcretion, and the Swedes, whether through inadvertence, or whether through deſign, is not yet decided, ſet fire to all the magazines; on which the Ruſſians, irritated at ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their booty, deſtroyed the town entirely, and carried away all the inhabitants captive. Among the number of the captives was a young Livonian woman, who had been bred up in the houſe of the Lutheran miniſter of that place, and who was taken into the ſervice of general Baur: the Ruſſian general Mentzikoff ſaw her, and begged her of Baur; and the czar, who often viſited his favourite, charmed with the beauty and wit of Catherine, fell in love with her, took her to be his miſtreſs, and afterwards married her: this was the woman who was ſovereign of all the Ruſſias after the death of Peter, with the title of Catherine the Firſt.

In the beginning of the year 1703, although the czar was ſo deeply occupied in making preparations for the war, he continued his great and original plan of improving the civil government and ſtate of the nation: he this year eſtabliſhed a printing-office at Moſcow, and began with printing the tranſlation of ſeveral books of morality and of the ſciences in the Ruſſian and Latin languages: Ferguſon eſtabliſhed ſeveral ſchools for teaching geometry, aſtronomy, and navigation.

The czar eſtabliſhed likewiſe ſeveral new manufactures in his dominions; and hoſpitals, where old people and children might be

be taken proper care of, and, at the ſame time, where their work might in ſome meaſure contribute to provide them with neceſſaries.

After he had made theſe civil eſtabliſhments, he departed from Moſcow to join his army upon the borders of Ingria, and laid the country waſte even to the walls of Narva.

The Swedes were at this time in poſſeſſion of an important fortreſs near the lake Ladoga, and it was neceſſary to make himſelf maſter of this fortreſs to ſecure his conqueſts and favour his deſigns; he therefore laid ſiege to it, took, and demoliſhed it. It was not only neceſſary to beſiege this fortreſs by land, but likewiſe to prevent any ſuccours from being thrown into it by water. The czar undertook the latter himſelf, and conducted his gallies, loaded with ſoldiers, to prevent the Swediſh convoys from being thrown into the place, whilſt his generals carried on the trenches in form.

While the Ruſſians were gaining great advantages over the Swedes on the borders of the Baltic, the Tartars of the kingdom of Kaſan, who had been barbarouſly treated by one of the czar's officers who was ſent among them to levy recruits of men and horſes, revolted, and, after committing the greateſt ravages, refuſed to lay down their arms before the czar had promiſed them that they ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their ancient rights and privileges.

After taking the fortreſs of Nyeſchantz, the czar reſolved to build the town of Peterſbourg, where the river Neva diſembogues itſelf into the gulph of Finland, on a deſert and marſhy

piece of ground: the ſtones which formed the baſtions of Nyeſchantz ſerved Peter to lay the foundation of the place which is now the capital of the Ruſſian empire, and one of the fineſt cities in all the North.

They began with raiſing a little fort in one of the iſlands, which is at preſent in the middle of the town. At firſt the Swedes paid no regard to this new eſtabliſhment in the midſt of a marſhy deſert, as no large veſſel could then come near it; but afterwards, when they ſaw the fortifications advancing, a town forming, and the little iſland of Cronſtadt, which is before the town, become an almoſt impregnable fortreſs, capable of reſiſting all the marine forces of the northern powers, they ſeveral times attempted to deſtroy theſe new works, but were always repulſed. Such a great plan ſhould have been carried into execution in the time of peace; but the indefatigable czar, who animated every thing, was determined to execute it in the midſt of a war: he brought a great number of workmen of all kinds from Moſcow, Aſtracan, Kaſan, and the Ukraine; and notwithſtanding the difficulties they encountered, in five months a town was finiſhed: it was begun in May 1703, and finiſhed in November of the ſame year. It is true it was only a number of wooden houſes at firſt, with two large houſes of brick, ſurrounded with ramparts; but time and perſeverance have brought it to what it now is.

To draw off the attention of the Swedes from this new colony, which he was eſtabliſhing almoſt under their cannon, the czar, at the head of 60,000 men, attacked the fortreſs of Jama near Narva; and at the ſame time made an attack upon Finland, where there were only 4000 men, under the command of major-general

general Cronhiort, to defend this great province: this little force was ſoon obliged to give way to the Ruſſians, who were now well diſciplined and animated by their ſovereign.

The king of Poland was at this time in the greateſt diſtreſs: the czar ſent him a reinforcement of 12,000 men, and a ſubſidy of 300,000 roubles, i. e. about 60,000 l. though the whole revenues of his dominions did not at that time exceed ſix millions of roubles, with which he was to ſupport a conſiderable naval force, ſeveral armies, and to continue the works in all the new eſtabliſhments which he had made: he had begun to fortify, at the ſame time, Novogorod, Pleſkow, Kiovia, Smolenſko, Aſoph, and Archangel; he founded the town of Peterſbourg, and had built a great number of ſhips and gallies; beſides all the civil eſtabliſhments which he had made ſince the beginning of the war.

In the beginning of the year 1704, the Swedes made another attempt to deſtroy St. Peterſbourg and the citadel of Cronſtadt, but they were repulſed with loſs. A fleet of Swediſh brigantines appeared upon the lake Peypus: the Ruſſian half-gallies attacked them, and after a vigorous combat took them every one, together with ninety-eight pieces of cannon; on which the czar undertook the ſiege of Derpt and of Narva at the ſame time; the latter of which was beſieged by ſea and land. The garriſon of Derpt were in expectation of a reinforcement of troops every hour, when the czar made uſe of a ſtratagem, which was the means of making the town ſurrender without any great difficulty. He dreſſed two regiments of his infantry in the Swediſh uniforms, and gave them Swediſh colours; and with them he feigned an attack of the Ruſſian entrenchments.

The

The garriſon, deceived by this appearance, made a vigorous ſally; on which the ſuppoſed Swedes immediately united themſelves with the Ruſſians, repulſed the garriſon, and entered with them into the town; and notwithſtanding the Swedes ſhewed great valour and bravery, were obliged to ſurrender; the czar granted them a very honourable capitulation, and preſerved all the liberties and privileges of the town.

Narva made a longer defence, but was at length taken by aſſault; and notwithſtanding all the attention of the czar, the Ruſſians committed many cruelties in the town. The government of this place was entruſted to Mentzikoff, now a prince and a major-general: ſuch was the authority of Peter the Great, that he had already accuſtomed his ſubjects to ſee every thing granted to merit, and nothing to the empty name of nobility.

Being now maſter of the province of Ingria, Peter carried on the works of St. Peterſbourg with the greateſt expedition, where they had already built ſeveral houſes of brick and ſtones, an arſenal, magazines, and ſeveral other public buildings.

After taking Narva, the czar offered new ſuccours to his ally the elector of Saxony, who was now dethroned and driven out of Poland: he promiſed this prince another body of troops beſides the 12,000 men whom he had already ſent; and, in fact, he immediately gave orders to the general Repnin to march into Lithuania at the head of 6000 men of his infantry and 6000 cavalry to join the forces he had already in that province. But in the beginning of the year 1705, when the campaign was ready to open in Poland, a Swediſh fleet advanced to deſtroy St. Peterſbourg and Cronſtadt; it was compoſed of twenty-two ſhips

of war of fifty-four and ſixty-four guns, with ſix frigates, two bomb-ſhips, and two fire-ſhips, and a great number of tranſports. Their troops made a deſcent in the little iſland of Kotin, under the cannon of their ſhips; but a Ruſſian colonel, who commanded there, ordered his regiment to lie down upon the earth whilſt the Swedes were landing their troops under the cannon of the fleet; as ſoon as they were landed, the whole regiment roſe all of a ſudden, and made ſuch a violent fire upon the Swedes, that they were obliged to retire and endeavour to regain their ſhips, leaving a great number of killed and wounded in the hands of the Ruſſians. They afterwards made another deſcent, and were joined by a great body of troops from Wibourg, who advanced towards St. Peterſbourg; but they were attacked by the Ruſſians, and obliged to retire with great loſs. The workmen were no longer diſturbed in this town.

On the other hand, the czar advanced at the head of 70,000 men towards Lithuania and Courland, with a deſign of penetrating to Riga; his plan being to ſubdue the whole province of Livonia, while Charles the Twelfth was taking his meaſures to ſubdue the whole kingdom of Poland to the new king whom he had cauſed to be elected. The czar was at Wilna in Lithuania when the field-marſhal Sczemeretoff advanced towards Mittau the capital of Courland, where he met the Swediſh general Lewenhaupt, who attacked and gained a complete victory over the Ruſſians, taking all their cannon and baggage: and afterwards, hearing that the czar was approaching, he retired and poſted himſelf under the cannon of Riga. Peter advanced by forced marches towards Mittau, took the town, and beſieged the citadel, which ſurrendered by capitulation.

The

The enemies of the czar had ſpread a report through the whole empire, that the army of this prince was totally ruined near Mittau, which did him more hurt than the battle itſelf. The reſt of the ancient Strelitzs, who were in garriſon in Aſtracan, hearing of this falſe intelligence, and ſuppoſing it to be true, revolted, maſſacred the governor of the town, and obliged the czar to ſend a large body of troops to make them ſubmit, and to puniſh them.

At this time every thing conſpired againſt Peter; the fortune and bravery of Charles the Twelfth, the unhappy ſituation of Auguſtus, the neutrality which the king of Denmark was forced to keep, the revolt in the remote provinces of Aſtracan, the murmurs of his ſubjects, who then felt all the inconveniencies of the reformation which he was inſtituting, and who had not reflection and foreſight enough to judge of it, the diſcontent of the nobility, who were ſubjected to military diſcipline, and the want of reſources to carry on all his great undertakings; but nothing diſcouraged this great prince a ſingle moment: he had quelled the revolt, ſecured the province of Ingria, taken the citadel of Mittau, notwithſtanding Lewenhaupt had beaten a great detachment of his troops, and was then at liberty to traverſe Samogitia and Lithuania.

It was at Grodno, the capital of the latter province, that he had another conference with king Auguſtus, where he conſoled him on account of his misfortunes, and at parting left him a conſiderable ſum of money, together with a great body of troops; and, as it had always been his cuſtom, intended to paſs the winter at Moſcow, to carry into execution the plan of civil policy which he had adopted; but no ſooner was he arrived in

his capital, than he learnt that Charles the Twelfth, at the head of a victorious army, was advancing towards Grodno to fight the Ruſſians, and that Auguſtus was retired into Saxony; on which intelligence this active prince immediately left Moſcow to join his army; but he found, on entering Lithuania, that the Swedes were maſters of that province, and that his army was diſperſed; on which he retired into the duchy of Smolenſko, where he was joined by the prince Mentzikoff and the field-marſhal Ogilvie, with the remains of the army that was at Grodno.

As Charles the Twelfth was more deſirous of glory than of conqueſt, inſtead of purſuing his active enemy into his dominions, he purſued Auguſtus into Saxony, and left the czar at liberty to retrieve his affairs: in conſequence of this, after having detached Mentzikoff into Poland at the head of 20,000 men, he immediately departed for Ingria, which he put in a good ſtate of defence; and afterwards, with a body of troops which were encamped in this province, he marched to Wibourg, the capital of Carelia, on the gulph of Finland, and laid ſiege to the place; but, by the timely ſuccours which the Swedes ſent thither, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

Mentzikoff was joined in Poland with the remains of the Poliſh and Saxon troops which compoſed the army of Auguſtus, with this prince at their head, who was at this time negociating a treaty of peace with Charles the Twelfth, then in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Saxony.

This combined army ſoon fell in with a body of Swediſh troops commanded by general Maderfeld, which Mentzikoff, againſt the advice of Auguſtus, reſolved to attack, and forced

to quit the field of battle, leaving 4000 dead upon the ſpot, and taking 2500 priſoners. This battle was fought at Kaliſh, in the palatinate of king Staniſlaus, and was the firſt regular battle that was gained by the Ruſſians over the Swedes. Notwithſtanding which, Auguſtus ſoon after ſigned a moſt ſhameful treaty of peace with Charles the Twelfth, by which he renounced the crown of Poland; abandoned his ally the czar, who had given him ſuch powerful ſuccours; and, what was the moſt diſgraceful part of the whole, gave up the czar's ambaſſador Patkul, who was a gentleman of Livonia, and had entered into the czar's ſervice, to his enemy Charles the Twelfth, who ordered him to be broken alive on the wheel; an act of barbarity which would have ſhocked a Calmouk or a Tartar.

This unhappy man, with ſix other gentlemen of his province, had been deputed by the ſtates to repreſent reſpectfully to the court of Sweden, during the reign of Charles the Eleventh, that the rights and privileges of their province had been invaded, and to deſire redreſs. Charles, offended at this boldneſs, ordered the deputies to be impriſoned for having done their duty; and Patkul, who was their ſpeaker, was condemned to die; however, he eſcaped out of priſon and went into the ſervice of the king of Poland, afterwards into that of the czar, and was appointed his ambaſſador, when he met this unhappy fate.

The czar was ſhocked on hearing the ignominious peace that Auguſtus had concluded with their common enemy; and irritated more than ever againſt the Swedes for the indignity which they had ſhewn him in the perſon of his ambaſſador, he aſſembled an army of 100,000 men and entered Poland, where he publiſhed a manifeſto againſt Auguſtus, and wanted to oblige the Poles to elect

elect another king, but they evaded his propoſitions; on which the czar returned into his own dominions, and made preparations to proſecute the war with vigour; but at the ſame time he tendered ſome propoſitions of peace to Charles, who abſolutely refuſed to hearken to any terms, and declared that he would treat with the czar in Moſcow.

After Charles had forced Auguſtus to accept the terms he propoſed, he quitted Saxony, traverſed Poland, and on the ſixth of February arrived at Grodno, where the czar was at that time poſted with a ſmall body of troops; this prince, though ſuperior in forces to the king of Sweden, having determined to avoid a general action, and to content himſelf with harraſſing his enemy. The king of Sweden advanced to Grodno with only 800 of his guards, ſurprized the czar, and obliged him to retire precipitately; but when the latter diſcovered the ſmall force with which he had to contend, he returned again, and attacked the Swedes in the town; and the king, who was now reinforced with all the van-guard of his army, obliged the czar to retire a ſecond time.

Charles had now augmented his troops in Livonia and in Finland, ſo that the czar had much to fear for his conqueſts on this ſide, as well as for thoſe which he had made in Lithuania, for his own territories, and even for his capital: it was neceſſary therefore to fortify himſelf in all theſe parts, though they were ſo far diſtant from each other.

It was very difficult for Charles to advance towards the eaſt through a marſhy country, which was almoſt deſtroyed by poverty and famine; the czar therefore poſted his troops in ſuch

a manner as to guard the moſt important paſſes, and prevent his enemy from advancing; and immediately departed for St. Peterſbourg, to put every thing in order on that ſide. Finding that he had here a conſiderable marine ready to put to ſea, whilſt his enemy was detained in Lithuania by continual rains, he made a deſcent in Finland, and deſtroyed the town of Borgo, where he found a great magazine.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted his troops to march, Charles directed his courſe towards Moſcow. The czar likewiſe aſſembled all his forces, quitted the ſurrounds of Wilna, and retired towards the Dneiper, and encamped at Mohiloff. Charles advanced upon the little river Berezine, and beat a little detachment of the Ruſſians which were ſtationed there to diſpute his paſſage, and arrived at Holozin upon the river Bibitſch, where the czar had poſted a very conſiderable body of troops to check the impetuoſity of his enemy; theſe troops were intrenched, and defended with ſeveral batteries of cannon upon the banks of the river, which was greatly ſwelled by the falls of rain, that had almoſt drowned the whole adjacent country, ſo that the paſſage of the river appeared to be impoſſible; but the Swedes, who likewiſe erected batteries of cannon to favour their paſſage, croſſed the river and formed themſelves in order of battle before the Ruſſian entrenchments, and attacked ſeven times this body of troops, who did not give way before the ſeventh attack; ſo much were the Ruſſians advanced in their military diſcipline.

This victory, though it gained Charles great credit, ought to have ſhewn him the danger to which he expoſed himſelf by advancing ſo far in the enemy's country, when he had to contend

with troops little inferior to his in bravery and diſcipline, and which greatly exceeded his in numbers.

About this time Peter fell ſick, and was conveyed to Smolenſko; but the ſtrength of his conſtitution, and the activity of his mind, contributed very much to recover his health; and being now informed that the Swedes were meditating a deſcent upon his new colony of St. Peterſbourg, he immediately flew thither to haſten the armament which was making in that port to repel their attacks. He afterwards returned to his army, and by avoiding a general engagement with the Swedes, and cutting off their ſupplies of proviſions, inſenſibly ruined their army. The Swediſh troops were loaded with gold, the ſpoils of Poland and Saxony, but they had not bread to eat. In this ſituation was Charles, near the town of Mohilow, followed by the czar with a great army, when he received the propoſal of Mazeppa, hettman of the Coſacks, whom the czar had raiſed to this dignity, which was to betray his benefactor, to deliver all the Ukraine into his hands, and to become tributary to the crown of Sweden. This hettman had formed great magazines for the Swediſh army in Bathurin, the capital of the Ukraine, and preſſed Charles to come immediately to his aſſiſtance. The king of Sweden, who was in great want of proviſions, as all the country about him was intirely ruined, was now not a little embarraſſed what courſe to take; he expected daily the general Lewenhaupt to join him, with an army of 16 or 18,000 men, and a great convoy of proviſions: the road to Moſcow was open; and after having marched three or four days, he muſt paſs through a rich and plentiful country. Mazeppa, on the other hand, promiſed to furniſh him with all kinds of proviſions, and even to ſupport his whole army during the winter, which was approaching, and

threatened

threatened to be very ſevere; and moreover promiſed to join him with 20 or 30,000 men: but he had only the word of a Coſack and a traitor for this. However, notwithſtanding what all his counſellors and general officers could ſay to the contrary, Charles reſolved to march towards the Ukraine to join the chief of the Coſacks, not doubting but he ſhould be able to conquer the whole Ruſſian empire when he was joined by this warlike people; he never conſidered that the czar, who was behind him with a great army, might intercept Lewenhaupt's convoy, and deſtroy the whole corps which that general was bringing to his aſſiſtance; he never conſidered alſo whether Mazeppa was in a ſituation to make good all his promiſes; but he reckoned on ſubduing all his enemies by his valour, and by his good fortune.

The Swediſh army paſſed the Dnieper, and advanced towards the Deſna, as it was between theſe two rivers that he was to wait for the hettman of the Coſacks: this was a very painful march for the Swedes, who were greatly harraſſed, and loſt a conſiderable number of men by the Ruſſian cavalry. The czar, on the other hand, having diſcovered the march of Lewenhaupt, permitted him to paſs the Dnieper, and when his army was occupied in paſſing the little rivers which fall into this great ſtream, he attacked him with all his forces: the Swedes repulſed the czar; but the next day the prince Mentzikoff joined his army with a large body of infantry, and attacked the Swedes again, and continued to do this for three days ſucceſſively. Theſe actions were bloody, and the Swedes, though they ſtill retired in good order, loſt 12,000 men killed and taken priſoners, with all their convoy, cannon, and the greateſt part of their baggage.

Charles

Charles received all this diſagreeable intelligence when he was about to paſs the Deſna in the Ukraine, where he was joined by Mazeppa, who, inſtead of bringing him an army of 20,000 men, with a large convoy of proviſions, came only as a fugitive, with two regiments, to demand ſuccours.

The Coſack, it is true, marched out of his capital at the head of 20,000 men, to whom he declared that he was going to ſtop the progreſs of Charles the Twelfth, and as he depended upon their bravery, the czar would be under an eternal obligation to them for ſuch a ſignal ſervice; but when he came within a few miles of the place where he appointed to meet Charles, he informed his men of the plan which he had previouſly formed for himſelf. Happily for the czar, the greateſt part of the Coſacks were honeſter than their chief, and were ſhocked at the propoſal; they would not conſent to betray a monarch againſt whom they had no complaint to make, in favour of a ſtranger with whom they were totally unacquainted; the greateſt part of them therefore returned to their own homes, and deſpatched an account to the czar of the treaſon of their chief.

Alarmed at this news, and knowing the conſequences of this affair, as well as of what utility the magazines of Mazeppa would be of to the Swediſh army, the czar immediately detached Mentzikoff at the head of a body of troops, who marched through private ways and deſerts, unknown to the Swedes, and preſented himſelf before Bathurin, which was taken without much reſiſtance, and deſtroyed; the great magazines which were deſigned for the Swedes, and all the treaſures of Mazeppa, were carried off: the Coſacks, with the conſent of the czar, elected another hettman; and Mazeppa was hanged in effigy. The ſeaſon was

now become extremely cold, and Charles was in the midſt of a deſert country, almoſt without neceſſaries; his army was continually harraſſed by the Ruſſians, and moſt of his ſoldiers ſo much expoſed to the rigour of the climate, for want of proper cloathing, that in one of his forced marches near 2000 of them died before his face.

In this deplorable ſituation the king of Sweden's counſellors conjured their maſter at leaſt to paſs the rigorous ſeaſon of the year in a little town of the Ukraine called Romna, where he might fortify himſelf, and by the ſuccours of Mazeppa make preparations for opening the campaign with vigour. But Charles replied, that he was not a man to ſhut himſelf up in a town. They then deſired him to repaſs the Deſna and the Dnieper, and to give his troops winter-quarters in Poland, where he would likewiſe be aſſiſted by the Poliſh light cavalry in the intereſt of Staniſlaus, which was abſolutely neceſſary for him, as his army was continually harraſſed by the Ruſſian dragoons: but Charles gave no other anſwer, than that ſuch a march would appear as if he was flying before the czar; that the ſeaſon would ſoon become more favourable; and that he was determined firſt to ſubdue the Ukraine, and then to march to Moſcow.

The winter was ſo exceſſively cold in the beginning of the year 1709, that the two armies were obliged to remain inactive for ſeveral weeks, and to content themſelves with little actions, in which the Swedes were generally victorious; but the czar obſerved, in conſequence of this, "that he could readily riſk "ten Ruſſians againſt one Swede," becauſe he could eaſily draw recruits from the different provinces of his dominions,

but

but the Swedes could not receive any but with the greateſt difficulty.

During this interval the czar ſent 20,000 men into Poland againſt the partizans of Sweden and of Staniſlaus; and at the ſame time viſited in perſon all the country about the Ukraine; he even went to Aſoph to give particular orders for building new ſhips, and fortifying the citadel of Tagunzoc.

In the beginning of the month of May Charles laid ſiege to the town of Pultawa in the Ukraine, in which was a great magazine of proviſions, and which might alſo ſerve him as a place of arms; but Mentzikoff in the czar's abſence, by a manœuvre which did great honour to that general, threw ſuccours into the place; and ſoon after the czar appeared at the head of an army of 60,000 men, well provided with cannon and every neceſſary, and determined to attack the Swedes, who, notwithſtanding the ſupplies which they received from Mazeppa and the Coſacks, were reduced to 27,000 men, without cannon, and now almoſt without neceſſaries. The river Worſkla was between the beſiegers and the czar's army; but the latter made a forced march along the other ſide of this river, and paſſed it about half a league above the town, in ſight of the enemy, and in one night threw up an intrenchment; and if Charles had not taken the greateſt precaution, his camp would have been ſurrounded.

The czar poſted his army between two woods, and covered them with ſeveral redoubts, which were well ſupplied with artillery: theſe diſpoſitions being made, the czar, accompanied by prince Mentzikoff, went to reconnoitre the camp of the beſiegers in order to form the attack, which was begun the next

morning, and brought on that famous and bloody battle which decided the fate of Ruſſia, Poland, Sweden, and of the greateſt part of the North; and as well that of two of the moſt extraordinary men of this or of any other century. It is true, the riſk was not equal between theſe two great rivals. If the king of Sweden had loſt his life, which he had ſo often expoſed to the greateſt dangers, the world would only have loſt a great and raſh warrior; the provinces of Ruſſia would then ceaſe to be deſtroyed; Poland would regain her tranquillity, and return under the obedience of her legal king; Sweden, though ſtript of the greateſt part of her brave men, and of all her money, might find ſome conſolation, and after ſome time recover herſelf: but if the czar had periſhed, the immenſe improvements and regulations which he had made to draw a great nation out of ſuch a ſtate of barbarity as was almoſt a diſgrace to human nature, would have fallen with him, and in all probability this great empire would have been at preſent in the ſame ſtate of ignorance in which it was involved about the eleventh century.

As ſoon as Charles perceived that the czar was about to attack him, he immediately quitted his intrenchments, diſpoſed his army with great judgment, and attacked the Ruſſians with ſuch intrepidity, that notwithſtanding the continual fire of their heavy cannon, which made a carnage in the Swediſh army that was hardly to be paralleled, he took ſeveral of their redoubts, and had he had a ſufficient number of troops to ſupport his attacks, he would undoubtedly have gained the victory; but the fire of the other redoubts flanked him, and deſtroyed great numbers of his men before the action became general.

On the other hand, the Ruſſians reſiſted with great firmneſs, and the czar arranged his army in line of battle out of his intrenchments with good order. Peter commanded in his army as major-general: the general Baur commanded the right wing, Mentzikoff commanded the left, and Sczemeretoff commanded the center.

Charles, who had before received a wound which diſabled him from walking, was carried through all the ranks with a piſtol in his hand, and gave orders with great coolneſs, till at length a cannon ball killed one of thoſe who carried him, and broke the chair in pieces upon which he was borne. The czar received ſeveral muſket-bullets in his cloaths and in his hat; and, in fact, theſe two monarchs were continually expoſed to the greateſt danger during the whole action. At length, after a combat of two hours and a half, the Coſacks who were in the Swediſh army gave way, and threw the whole army, which had now loſt near 10,000 men upon the field of battle, into the greateſt confuſion; ſo that Charles was obliged to fly before him whom he had heretofore ſo much deſpiſed, and left all his principal officers, miniſters, and even his chancellor, priſoners, with all their camp, baggage, and artillery.

About 14,000 men retreated with him, but they were followed ſo cloſely by a great body of Ruſſian horſe, under the command of prince Mentzikoff, that 12,000 of them were obliged to lay down their arms, and ſurrender priſoners of war; ſo that Charles only conducted 2000 men over the Dneiper into the Turkiſh dominions.

The acquiſition of the battle of Pultawa proved the means of ſaving the czar and of the whole Ruſſian empire, and has perhaps done more general good to mankind than the gaining of any one battle ſince the beginning of the world.

The Ruſſians loſt only 1300 men, and two and fifty officers, in this famous battle; the Swediſh army was deſtroyed by the Ruſſian artillery. Charles conducted himſelf during the firſt years of the war as a brave and experienced general; but his great ſucceſs ſeems to have turned his head, and cauſed him to deem himſelf invincible.

The czar treated all the Swediſh general officers with great politeneſs; but all the ſubaltern officers and ſoldiers who were made priſoners were ſent into Siberia as ſlaves, a practice which ſhewed that the Ruſſian empire had not yet emerged out of its ancient ſtate of barbarity.

It has been ſaid that the czar had propoſed an exchange of priſoners with Charles before the battle of Pultawa, and that Charles refuſed it; but I never could find that fact properly atteſted, neither is there any probability that it was ſo.

As a puniſhment for their revolt, the czar deprived the Coſacks of all their privileges, and now put the Ukraine upon the ſame footing with the other provinces of the empire.

The news of this famous battle made a great change in all the affairs of the North. Charles was regarded as irrecoverably loſt; and all the northern powers united to ſtrip him of his dominions.

There

There is no greater characteriſtic of a man's ſuperiority than when a number of little geniuſes conſpire together to ruin him. Whatever follies or extravagancies Charles might have been guilty of during the war, he was never accuſed of being the cauſe of this war, or of having wantonly offended either of thoſe powers: his deſtruction was meditated when he was a child, and he entered the field to defend himſelf like a man. His conduct towards the king of Denmark at the beginning of the war was juſt and noble; and the terms of peace which he granted to the elector of Saxony were much better than this elector deſerved, conſidering that he had been the cauſe of all the war. The czar Peter indeed had ſome reaſon to be offended with the Swediſh nation; they had deprived his anceſtors of two provinces, and cut off his communication with the Baltic.

Suppoſing Charles to be entirely ruined, the elector of Saxony proteſted in form againſt the peace which he had juſt before deſired; and by every act of meanneſs now endeavoured to regain the favour of the czar, whom he had ſo ſhamefully abandoned, taking every ſtep to remount the throne of Poland, which he had before ſo unworthily occupied.

The Swedes were in the greateſt conſternation, as they were for ſome time of opinion that their king was dead; and the ſenate, in this ſtate of uncertainty, could not take any meaſure.

The czar, like a great and wiſe general, immediately reſolved to take all the advantages which his victory had procured him. He renewed his alliance with Auguſtus, who proteſted ſolemnly againſt his forced abdication, but not till he had renounced all his

his pretenſions to Livonia; and immediately ſent the marſhal Sczemeretoff into that province at the head of a great body of troops: at the ſame time Mentzikoff was detached with all diligence into Poland, with a body of cavalry, to join the Ruſſian troops which were ſtill in that country, and to encourage all the nobility who were in the intereſt of Auguſtus to drive his competitor out of the kingdom, as he was no longer regarded but as a rebel, and to diſperſe the little Swediſh army which was ſtill in that kingdom under the command of general Craſſau.

The czar now concluded a treaty againſt Sweden likewiſe with the kings of Denmark and of Pruſſia. The former, after having been ſo nobly treated by Charles, when he might have deſtroyed his whole dominions, became his moſt implacable enemy; and the latter, whom he had never offended, joined to deſtroy him, becauſe he thought him his ſuperior: in fact, it was reſolved to retake all the conqueſts of Guſtavus Adolphus. The czar revived the ancient pretenſions of the czars to Ingria, Carelia, Livonia, and to a part of Finland. Denmark claimed the province of Scania. The king of Pruſſia claimed Pomerania. Peter, as ſoon as he had finiſhed the negociations, ordered a great army to aſſemble before Riga, the capital of Livonia, which he afterwards beſieged in form, but finding that the garriſon made a vigorous defence, he turned the ſiege into a blockade; and preſuming that this town, with a little patience, muſt fall into their hands, he parted for Peterſbourg to give orders in the works which were carrying on in this new colony; and afterwards retired to Moſcow, where great preparations were making for a triumph, which was exhibited in the year 1710. The czar thought that theſe pompous ſhews were then abſolutely

neceſſary

neceſſary among a people whom he would inſpire with ſentiments of grandeur, and at the ſame time animate againſt the enemies they had heretofore ſo much dreaded. Peter had ordered ſeven grand arches to be erected, under which paſſed in proceſſion all the artillery of the vanquiſhed, their colours, their ſoldiers, officers, generals, and miniſters, who were taken priſoners; all walked two and two by the ſound of trumpets, the noiſe of cannon, and amidſt the acclamations of a great multitude of people. The victors on horſeback brought up the rear, and their generals formed the van, among whom the emperor kept his rank as major-general. At every arch the emperor met the deputies of the different orders of the ſtate, and at laſt a number of the children of the nobility, cloathed in the Roman manner, who preſented him with crowns of laurel.

During the time that this pompous ſhew was exhibiting at Moſcow, Peter, who would not loſe a moment of time, ordered his troops to beſiege Elbing, a large town in Pruſſia, where Charles the Twelfth had a great magazine, and where there was ſtill a ſtrong Swediſh garriſon. The Ruſſians took the town by aſſault, and made the garriſon priſoners of war. They found in this place 123 pieces of braſs cannon, and 157 mortars.

In the beginning of the month of April the czar parted from Moſcow for St. Peterſbourg, and immediately embarked on board the fleet which he had equipped in this port, and which was now lying at Cronſtadt; and notwithſtanding a violent tempeſt which aroſe ſoon after, and the dangerous navigation of the gulph of Finland in ſuch circumſtances, he brought his fleet into the harbour of Wibourg, a large town in Finland, in the

poſſeſſion of the Swedes, while his troops advanced over the frozen marſhes, and inveſted the town by land. The garriſon ſoon capitulated, but were afterwards made priſoners of war, notwithſtanding the articles of capitulation. The Ruſſians took this opportunity of making repriſals, as they accuſed the Swedes of having violated the law of nations in the perſon of their ambaſſador the prince Chilkow, who was arreſted at Stockholm when the war was declared, together with all the Ruſſian merchants. But this was an act very unworthy of Peter the great: nothing degrades a ſovereign ſo much as the cruel uſage of a garriſon of brave men who have ſurrendered by articles of capitulation, and who have confided in his honour. That part of the capitulation which ſecured them the honours of war, reſpected themſelves in particular, in which they could not be anſwerable for the acts of their government. Peter dared not do any thing of this kind while he thought he had any thing to fear from Charles; and therefore, notwithſtanding his great talents, his brutal diſpoſition, and want of education and ſentiment, predominated at this time more than in any act he ever perpetrated in his whole life.

On the fifteenth of July in the ſame year, Riga likewiſe ſurrendered to the Ruſſian arms after a long ſiege, in which the beſiegers loſt more than 10,000 men. The garriſon capitulated and obtained the honours of war, becauſe the brave Mentzikoff commanded the ſiege; a man who, from ſelling fruit and tarts in the ſtreets of Moſcow, by his ſuperior genius and amiable qualities, contributed more to the victories and conqueſts of the czar, than half the officers of his army. It is true Peter had judgment and candour enough to ſee and to reward his ſingular merit, by raiſing him to the rank of prince, and general in chief

of

of all his armies: but how this great general and ſtateſman, who was an ornament to the Ruſſian nation, and whoſe politeneſs and integrity would have entitled him to great reſpect among the moſt civilized people, was treated by the daſtardly nobility of this country after the death of Peter, will hereafter appear.

After the czar had made himſelf maſter of Wibourg, he returned to St. Peterſbourg, and in the month of September following undertook the ſiege of Parnau and Revel; Parnau ſurrendered after a ſiege of ſix days; and Revel ſurrendered as ſoon as the Ruſſian Troops appeared before the town; but the garriſon and the principal part of the inhabitants eſcaped with all their effects on board ſome Swediſh ſhips which were then in the harbour; and after taking theſe towns, the czar ſaw himſelf maſter of all Livonia.

During this interval Charles the Twelfth, who was at Bender, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to engage the Ottoman Porte to declare war againſt the czar. Inſtead of returning to his own dominions, or giving proper orders for their defence, according to the ſituation of his affairs, he ſpent his time in intriguing with a ſet of mercenary miniſters, with whom he was the leaſt qualified to negociate of any man in the world.

The Porte at firſt promiſed him 100,000 men to conduct him into Poland, and that they would immediately declare war againſt the Ruſſians; but Peter, who knew the manner of treating with theſe miniſters better than Charles, by a large ſum of money which he diſtributed among the members of the divan, ſoon changed their ſyſtem of politics; ſo that the latter could afterwards only obtain an eſcort of 150 men to conduct him to

the frontiers of Poland. Fired at this conduct, Charles, through the intrigues of his faithful friend Poniatowſki, repreſented the behaviour of the miniſters of the divan in ſuch a light to the ſultan Achmet the Third, that the grand vizir was exiled; the Ruſſian ambaſſador ſent to the caſtle of Seven Towers; and the Porte, gained by the remonſtrances of the Kan of the Tartars, immediately declared war againſt the Ruſſians.

In the beginning of the year 1711, the czar was obliged to change the ſcene of war from the weſtern parts of his dominions to the frontiers of the Turkiſh empire: he immediately ordered a body of troops that was in Poland to advance towards Moldavia, as well as gave orders to Sczemeretoff, who commanded an army in Livonia, to quit that province, and to purſue the ſame rout; his favourite Mentzikoff was at the head of affairs at St. Peterſbourg; admiral Apraxin was ſent to command at Aſoph; and having eſtabliſhed a regency at Moſcow, he prepared to open the campaign early in the ſpring. His guards marched off likewiſe to join the army, in which regiments many of the young nobility of the empire ſerved as cadets to learn the art of war.

But before Peter left Moſcow to join the army, he declared his marriage with the empreſs Catherine, and gave orders that ſhe ſhould be received as czarina. He had been regularly divorced from his firſt wife, after having had two children by her; and the perſon whom he had now married, and who had lived with him ſome time as his miſtreſs, known then by the name of Little Kate, was one of thoſe whoſe talents and amiable qualities elevated her much above the generality of her ſex, and above the unhappy ſituation into which ſhe fell when ſhe was made priſoner

at

at Marienbourg. Her engaging behaviour rendered her ſo agreeable to the czar, that he would always have her near his perſon; ſhe accompanied him in all his journeys, ſhared of his fatigues, and ſoftened his pains and diſagreements by her gaiety, good humour, and complaiſance, as ſhe was unacquainted with all thoſe imaginary wants, and that deſire of luxury which the greateſt part of the female ſex regard as real wants; and what was ſtill more ſingular in a perſon who never had any education, ſhe was as humane and benevolent, as ſhe was beautiful and intelligent: in fact ſhe became at laſt ſo neceſſary to the czar, that he married her ſecretly in the year 1707, after ſhe had already brought him two daughters; he had alſo another daughter by her the year following, who afterwards married the duke of Holſtein.

The hettman of the Coſacks had orders to march an army againſt the Tartars, who had already begun to ravage the Ukraine. The Ruſſian army advanced towards the Dnieſter; and another great body of troops, commanded by prince Galitzin, marched through Poland; and having met near Kiovia an army of Tartars, joined with ſome Coſacks and Swedes, they defeated them entirely, and killed 5000 of them in the field of battle. The Ruſſian army, when it was collected together, was about 6000 men; but it was likewiſe to be joined with the troops of the king of Poland.

War was proclaimed againſt the Turks in the name of the two kings; but the diet of Poland, who did not chooſe to engage in this war, refuſed to ratify what their king had promiſed: ſo that the czar was ſo unhappy as to have an ally who could not aſſiſt him; he was alſo no leſs deceived in his expectations

from Cantemir, waiwode of Moldavia, and from Baſſaraba, waiwode of Walachia. Theſe two provinces, ſituated between the Dnieſter and the Danube, were a part of the Turkiſh dominions, and theſe waiwodes were tributary to and dependent upon the Porte, but were deſirous of throwing off the Ottoman dominion, and, under the protection of the czar, of making themſelves independent.

Cantemir, who was the chief of this conſpiracy, drew the czar into the diſagreeable ſituation into which Mazeppa had drawn Charles the Twelfth; it was he likewiſe who engaged Baſſaraba to adopt his plan, though he alone was to be benefited by it. Cantemir promiſed the czar a ſupply of troops, and a great quantity of all kinds of proviſions for the uſe of his army; but he deceived him, as the hettman of the Coſacks had done Charles the Twelfth.

The general Sczemeretoff, at the head of the advanced guard of the Ruſſian army, marched to Jaſſy, the capital of Moldavia, to ſupport the execution of their great plan. Cantemir immediately publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the Turkiſh empire; but Baſſaraba, who ſoon diſcovered his ambitious views, abandoned him, and returned to his duty; all the inhabitants of Moldavia and of Walachia remained ſtedfaſt in their duty, and thoſe who were to furniſh the proviſions for the Ruſſian army carried them to the Turkiſh army.

The grand vizir had now paſſed the Danube at the head of 100,000 men, and directed his march towards Jaſſy, on the banks of the Pruth. The czar, who had advanced from the frontiers of Poland, paſſed the Dnieſter, to diſengage his general Sczeme-

Sczemeretoff, who was now to the ſouth of Jaſſa, upon the banks of the Pruth, and was in danger of being ſurrounded by 100,000 Turks and an army of Tartars.

Before Peter had paſſed the Dnieſter, he was deſirous of ſending Catherine to ſome place where ſhe might be out of all danger; but this extraordinary woman regarded this attention of the czar as an outrage to her tenderneſs and reſolution, and intreated him ſo much to be a partaker of his good or bad fortune, that he at length conſented to her being his conſtant attendant: the army ſaw with pleaſure this heroine on horſeback at the head of the troops, as ſhe ſeldom made uſe of any voiture.

From the banks of the Dnieſter the army was to march through a deſert country before it could approach Jaſſy, or the camp of Sczemeretoff. Catherine took this opportunity to encourage the troops by her gaiety and good humour; ſhe ſent ſuccours to thoſe officers who were ſick, and even the wants of the common ſoldiers did not eſcape her notice.

At laſt they reached Jaſſy, where they expected to find a magazine of proviſions; but when it was too late, the czar diſcovered the little dependence that was to be repoſed in the promiſes of Cantemir: he found himſelf in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions; it was very difficult to draw them from Poland, and thoſe which he hoped to receive from Walachia, as Cantemir had promiſed him, could not arrive: moreover the ſeaſon was ſeverely hot, it being in the month of July, and the earth ſo dry and ſcorched with the burning ſun, that their march was often very difficult, and they were obliged to bring water at a great diſtance for the uſe of the army.

Charles

Charles the Twelfth was now at Bender, and waited with impatience in his camp the event of the war.

The czar formed ſome little magazines upon the right ſide of the Pruth, and purſued his march to join Sczemeretoff. His great plan was to prevent the Turks, who were poſting below upon the left ſide of the river, from paſſing it, and coming to him: if he could have ſucceeded in this, he would have found no great difficulty in making himſelf maſter of the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia; he therefore immediately detached the general Janus, with the advanced guard of his army, to prevent the Turks from paſſing the river. But the grand vizir, notwithſtanding the Swedes have repreſented him as a poor creature, acted on this occaſion as a great general; he foreſaw what the czar had in view; and before the Ruſſian general could come to diſpute his paſſing the river, the greateſt part of the Turkiſh army had paſſed it, and if he had not retired with the greateſt precipitation, he would have been ſurrounded. His infantry was purſued by the Turkiſh cavalry ſo far, that the czar himſelf was obliged to march to diſengage them. The army of the grand vizir advanced then upon the right ſide of the river towards that of the czar. The Turks, who were now joined by a great body of Tartars, formed an army of 250,000 men, but the Ruſſians were not above 37,000. It is true there was another conſiderable body of Ruſſian troops on the other ſide of the mountains of Moldavia, upon the banks of the river Sereth, but the Turks had cut off all communication between them. The army of the czar began to be much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; and though his troops were encamped very near the river Pruth, it was with the greateſt difficulty that they could provide themſelves with water. The grand vizir had ordered a body of troops

to poſt themſelves on the left ſide of the river, oppoſite to the Ruſſian camp, with a large train of artillery, which kept up ſuch a fire upon them, that they loſt great numbers of men in procuring water for the army.

No general could have made better diſpoſitions to ruin his enemy, without riſking any thing, than the grand vizir did to deſtroy the army of the czar. He made a forced march, and paſſed the enemy almoſt in ſight, compelled him to retire, and followed him; intercepted all communication between him and another body of his troops, and then ſurrounded him, without leaving any way to retreat; cut off all his ſupplies of proviſions, and kept his troops expoſed to the fire of ſeveral batteries of cannon from the oppoſite ſide of the river.

Peter now found himſelf in a more diſagreeable ſituation than that in which Charles the Twelfth was in at Pultawa, and his whole army not only expoſed to a continual cannonade, but ready to periſh for want of proviſions: he therefore reſolved to retire to an advantageous camp, which was ſituated between him and Jaſſy, and decamped in the night, on the twentieth of July 1711; but as ſoon as the Turks ſaw them moving, they attacked the rear at break of day, and threw the Ruſſians into ſome diſorder; but the good diſcipline which the czar had eſtabliſhed in his army was the means of ſaving him from deſtruction: the Ruſſian guards formed themſelves ſo ſuddenly, and were ſo ſoon afterwards joined by ſome other regiments, that they ſupported all the efforts of the Turkiſh army during the whole day, and even forced them to give ground.

There were ſome Swediſh officers in the Turkiſh army who perſuaded the grand vizir not to attack the Ruſſians; but by cutting off their proviſions, and depriving them of water, to force them to ſurrender priſoners or die; but the Turkiſh chief, animated by the aga of the Janiſſaries, and by the Kan of the Tartars, determined to attack them ſword in hand. The Turks loſt 7000 men in the attack which they made, and the Ruſſians were likewiſe ſeverely handled.

After this rude attack the two armies intrenched themſelves during the night; but the Ruſſians were always ſurrounded and deprived of proviſions, and even of water; for as they continued their march along upon the banks of the Pruth, their camp was very near to that river, but they dared not approach it to take up water for the uſe of the army, as the grand vizir had ordered a body of troops on the other ſide of the river to obſerve their motions; and as ſoon as the Ruſſian ſoldiers came to the water ſide, the Turks fired grape-ſhot among them from their artillery, as well as kept up a conſtant fire with their ſmall arms: moreover the Turkiſh army, which had attacked the Ruſſians the day before, continued to cannonade their camp. The Ruſſians loſt a great number of men, and their whole army was in the greateſt diſtreſs, ſurrounded by ſuch a ſuperior number of troops well provided with every thing; almoſt all the czar's cavalry were diſmounted, and could be of no ſervice to him, but by fighting on foot; conſequently their ſituation was deſperate.

The czar, uncertain whether he ſhould attack the Turks the next day, and expoſe to the event of a battle his wife, his empire, his army, and in fact his all, retired to his tent in the greateſt agitation, where he gave way to his chagrin, and fell

a prey

a prey to the moſt cruel inquietude; but fearing any of his people ſhould ſee him in this ſituation, he abſolutely forbid that any perſon ſhould enter his tent. However Catherine, who perceived the ſituation he was in, ſuppoſed that as ſhe had braved ſo many dangers with the emperor, and was then actually expoſed to the fire of the Turkiſh artillery as much as any ſoldier in the army, ſhe had a right to ſpeak, and to employ her talents for the ſafety of herſelf and her huſband. She therefore followed the czar into his tent, endeavoured to diſſipate his melancholy, and perſuaded him to negotiate with the grand vizir, and offer him peace; and at the ſame time ſhe collected all her jewels, and added to them two magnificent peliſſes of the Siberian black fox, which ſhe deſigned as a preſent for the grand vizir, and a ſum of money, as much as ſhe could ſpare, for the other officers of the Porte who were the vizir's attendants. Theſe preſents were accompanied with a letter from the marſhal Sczemeretoff to the chief of the Turkiſh army, which offered him reaſonable terms of peace, and were ſent with proper officers into the Turkiſh camp: in fact Sczemeretoff offered to cede Aſoph and the port of Taganroc, which had been the cauſe of the war, to the Turkiſh empire. Several hours paſſed before they had any anſwer from the grand vizir, while the cannonade was kept up with great vivacity on both ſides; ſo that it was feared that the porters of the preſents and of the letter had either been killed by Turkiſh cannon, or been retained as priſoners, and therefore they diſpatched a ſecond courier with a duplicate of the propoſals; and at the ſame time a council of war was held in the czarina's preſence, in which it was reſolved, "That "if the enemy would not accept the conditions of peace which "were offered them, and ſhould demand the Ruſſian army "to lay down their arms and ſurrender at diſcretion, all the

" council are unanimouſly of the opinion, that the czar ſhall " attack them immediately, and endeavour to cut his way " through their army." In conſequence of this reſolution they immediately intrenched their baggage, and ordered a body of troops to defend it; and they were advanced in order of battle, within 100 yards of the Turkiſh army, when the grand vizir publiſhed a ſuſpenſion of arms.

All the friends of Charles the Twelfth accuſe the grand vizir of treachery and of cowardice, but it does not appear that their imputations are juſt; undoubtedly the vizir might have made ſome terms for Charles, and been of great uſe to him in his preſent ſituation; but his conduct and haughtineſs were ſuch, that he had no right to expect any favour from this miniſter.

Moreover the negociations for this peace were publicly conducted in the preſence of the Count Poniatowſki, who was particularly attached to Charles the Twelfth, and the preſents which Catherine ſent to the vizir and to his officers, were no other than what are commonly ſent on ſuch occaſions in the eaſtern countries.

Beſides the grand vizir was well informed that the Ruſſian army, commanded by the general Renner, had paſſed three rivers, taken the town and caſtle of Brahila, though defended by a numerous garriſon, and that he was ready to paſs the Danube, and to carry the war into Bulgaria; that the czar had another army advancing upon the frontiers of Poland, and that the event of a battle was always uncertain, as he had ſeen the day before, when 8000 Ruſſians repulſed his whole army. But what the vizir was principally accuſed of, namely, the being well acquainted

with the ſtate of the czar's proviſions, he was certainly not informed of this, as no deſerters or ſpies paſſed from one camp to the other. Upon the whole, after well conſidering this matter, I ſee no reaſon for accuſing the grand vizir, as ſome authors have done who have written upon this ſubject.

The Ruſſian vice-chancellor Shaffiroff conducted the treaty in the Turkiſh camp. The grand vizir, by the council of Poniatowſki, inſiſted as one of the principal conditions of the peace, that the czar ſhould engage not to concern himſelf any longer with the intereſts of Poland. The Kan of the Tartars demanded a yearly tribute of 40,000 ducats: this point was long conteſted on both ſides, but at laſt it was given up. The grand vizir demanded with firmneſs that the czar ſhould give up the traitor Cantemir; to which the czar anſwered, "I will ſooner "cede ſeveral of my provinces to the Turkiſh empire, as I ſhall "ſtill have ſome hopes of recovering them, but the loſs of my "faith is irreparable; I cannot violate it; we have nothing "proper to ourſelves, but our honour, and to renounce it, is to "ceaſe to be a monarch." Peter did not ſeem to have ſuch nice ideas of honour when he broke the treaty of cap iulation which he made with the garriſon of Wibourg.

In fact, the treaty was at length concluded, and ſigned near the village of Jalkſen, upon the banks of the Pruth; by which it was agreed, that Aſoph, with all its territories, ſhould be reſtored to the Turks, together with all the artillery and ſtores with which it was provided when the czar took it in the year 1696; that the fortreſs and port of Taganroc ſhould be demoliſhed, together with the fortreſs of Samara, upon the river of

that name, and all the other little fortreſſes which the czar had erected in conſequence of this conqueſt.

This muſt have been a very mortifying idea to the czar, who had formed great projects for a navigation upon the Black and Caſpian Seas; but the ſituation of his affairs at that time was ſuch as made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to comply. Towards the end of the treaty they added an article reſpecting Charles the Twelfth, and from this very article it will be ſeen how much the grand vizir was diſſatisfied with his conduct: it was here ſtipulated that the czar ſhould not directly or indirectly oppoſe Charles, if he choſe to return to his own dominions, and that the czar and he might make peace if they thought proper.

I ſhould have obſerved that the grand vizir, when he arrived in Moldavia at the head of the Turkiſh army, ſent to Charles the Twelfth at Bender, to paſs into the Ottoman camp, to concert with him the plan of operations for the campaign; but Poniatowſki, who carried the meſſage, was mortified to find that Charles refuſed this invitation, and treated the vizir with contempt, becauſe he did not come to make him the firſt viſit. Such haughtineſs and ſuch punctilios were inexcuſable in Charles, conſidering the ſituation in which he was, and though Poniatowſki excuſed him like an able politician, yet the vizir never forgot the affront which he imagined he received, and the contempt with which he had been treated. In fact Charles, who would not come to the grand vizir's army, at a time when he might have managed it as he thought proper, flew thither, even without attendants, but the peace was made, which removed all his hopes of ſucceſs from that quarter; and was moreover mortified to find that the vizir would not even come out of his tent to meet him, but only contented

himſelf

himſelf with ſending out two pachas to conduct him into his tent, where reciprocal reproaches were all that paſſed between them. The conduct of the latter was much approved at Conſtantinople, and the former was left to combat againſt his misfortunes.

When the peace was ſigned, Peter retired by Jaſſy to the frontiers of his dominions, after having ſent his vice-chancellor Shaffiroff and his general Sczemeretoff to Conſtantinople as hoſtages for the final execution of the treaty.

The czar loſt 60,000 men this campaign without having fought a battle; and was moreover obliged to reſtore Aſoph to the Porte, and to demoliſh all the forts of Taganroc and Kamienſka; which not only limited his power, by depriving him of the navigation of the Black Sea, but the great fatigues and chagrins which he had undergone, had conſiderably altered his health, ſo that his phyſicians ordered him to uſe the waters of Carlſbadt in Bohemia.

During the time he uſed theſe waters, his troops entered Swediſh Pomerania, blocked up Stralſund, and took four or five little towns.

This monarch now formed the project of ſtripping the crown of Sweden of all the provinces which it held in Germany; but for accompliſhing this great deſign it was neceſſary that he ſhould unite himſelf with the king of Denmark, and with the electors of Hanover and of Brandenbourg. Peter wrote all the articles of the treaty which he projected with theſe powers himſelf, and formed

formed all the operations which were neceſſary to make himſelf maſter of Pomerania.

From Carlſbadt the czar went to Dreſden, where his ſon Alexis waited to receive him, to marry the daughter of the duke of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttle, and ſiſter to the empreſs, the wife of the emperor Charles the Sixth.

This marriage was celebrated at Torgau, but never was an union more unfortunate. Catherine, his mother-in-law, did not aſſiſt at this marriage; for though ſhe had been for ſome time regarded as czarina, ſhe had not yet been ſolemnly acknowledged in this quality. After the marriage of his ſon, the czar parted immediately for St. Peterſbourg, which was now rendered an elegant city, and intended to be the capital of the Ruſſian empire, where he ſolemnly declared his marriage; and where Catherine, in conſideration of her having ſaved her huſband and his army, was publicly received as empreſs.

The great reformer of the Ruſſian empire now divided his bed and his throne with a perſon whoſe hiſtory is not yet well underſtood; but this is well known, that ſhe was a woman whoſe amiable and great qualities merited every thing the emperor did for her.

The following year, 1713, the czar, having nothing to fear from the Turks, marched in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his ally the king of Denmark, who was attacked by a Swediſh army under the command of the famous general Steinbock; which army he beat near Frederickſtadt in Holſtein, and afterwards made himſelf maſter of this town. Another body of his troops bombarded

barded Stettin, which ſurrendered to prince Mentzikoff, and was afterwards delivered to the king of Pruſſia in conſideration of the ſum of 400,000 crowns, of which that prince was in want for the payment of his troops. At the ſame time another body of Ruſſian troops, joined with thoſe of the elector of Saxony, laid ſiege to Stralſund, while Peter, after his return to Peterſbourg, went on board a ſhip of war of fifty guns, and being followed by ninety-two gallies, and 110 half-gallies, which carried 16,000 men, attacked Helſenfors in Finland, and notwithſtanding the forces with which the Swedes oppoſed him, ſoon made himſelf maſter of that place, and as well of Borgo and Abo; the latter of which places was heretofore celebrated for its univerſity; but Peter took all the books which he found there, carried them to St. Peterſbourg, and placed them in the new library which he had founded in this city.

This indefatigable monarch, ſeeing now the importance of his marine, augmented it conſiderably this year; and if we may believe the memoirs of thoſe times, he drew by promiſes and gratifications, during the years 1712 and 1713, more than 18,000 families into his dominions from the different parts of Europe, and by their induſtry eſtabliſhed ſeveral manufactures and arts among his people. The following year the prince Galitzin continued the war in Finland, and made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of that province; an army of 10,000 Swedes, who oppoſed him, were beaten, and he thereby extended his conqueſts over a tract of country of near eighty leagues.

The political part of the world were much puzzled to diſcover the motive which could have induced the czar, the preceding year, to make ſuch a great augmentation of his marine; but

but at the beginning of this year the cauſe evidently appeared: the Swedes ſtill kept the ſea with a conſiderable naval force, which continually threatened the new eſtabliſhments of the Ruſſians, greatly retarded their progreſs, and might in one day ruin the works of ſeveral years: Peter therefore collected a fleet of ſixteen ſhips of the line, and of 180 gallies, which were proper to work through the paſſages of the rocks and iſlands upon the Swediſh coaſts in the Baltic Sea.

With this force, and a body of troops, he parted from St. Peterſbourg for the iſland of Aland, at the mouth of the Bothnic Gulph; near which place he met the Swediſh fleet, and paſſed within ſight of them: his gallies forced themſelves a paſſage almoſt under the cannon of the enemy, and landed a great part of their troops in this iſland. The Swediſh rear-admiral Erenſclid followed theſe little veſſels with his gallies and prames; but was received with ſuch a violent and conſtant fire by the Ruſſians, that the greateſt part of his ſoldiers and ſeamen were killed and wounded, ſo that he had not men enough left to work his ſhips, and he himſelf being covered with wounds was obliged to ſurrender. The remains of the Swediſh fleet retired in great diſorder, and the iſland of Aland fell into the hands of the Ruſſians, who were now become ſo powerful by ſea, that they dared even attack the ancient maſters of the Baltic.

The return of the czar to St. Peterſbourg was celebrated by a triumph; gold medals were diſtributed to all the officers, and ſilver ones to the common ſoldiers and ſailors, and the czar was created vice-admiral by the vice-czar Romanodowſki, as a recompence for his ſervices; upon which occaſion he pronounced the following diſcourſe, which deſerves to be recorded: "Is

"there

" there any one of you, my friends, who would have imagined
" twenty years paſt, that he ſhould fight with me upon the Baltic
" Sea, in ſhips built by our own countrymen, and that we ſhould
" have eſtabliſhed ourſelves in theſe provinces, ſubduing every
" thing by our own fatigues and by our courage? The ancient ſeat
" of the ſciences was ſuppoſed to be in Greece; they afterwards
" eſtabliſhed themſelves in Italy; from whence they ſpread them-
" ſelves through the weſtern parts of Europe; it is at preſent our
" turn, if you will ſecond my deſigns, by joining ſtudy to obe-
" dience. The arts circulate in the world, as the blood does in
" the human body; and it may be they will eſtabliſh their empire
" among us, and afterwards return again into Greece, their an-
" cient country: I dare hope that we ſhall one day make the
" moſt civilized nations bluſh by our labours and by our ſolid
" glory."

During the courſe of this year, the czar perceived that he ſhould never be able to bring his ſon, who had been bred up in all the ancient ſuperſtitions and prejudices of the clergy, and of his mother's family, to ſecond his deſigns; and that after his death every thing would return to the ſame ſtate it was in before he came to the throne; he therefore publiſhed a very important edict, which was to be received with the greateſt formality as a fundamental law of the empire, that every father of a family ſhould have authority to name for his heir his eldeſt ſon, or if this ſon ſhould be diſobedient, ſuch other as he ſhould pleaſe to chooſe. The emperor had determined to give the example to all his ſubjects, by ſubmitting himſelf to this fundamental law of the empire, that his conduct might not afterwards be regarded as capricious.

In the beginning of the year 1715 the czar was in the zenith of his glory; he was in poſſeſſion of Livonia, Eſtonia, Ingria, and Carelia, which he regarded as provinces of his empire; he ſaw with joy his powerful marine, the fruit of his labours, become in leſs than twelve years capable of diſputing the empire of the ſea in the Baltic with all the other powers of the North: he was maſter of Finland, at peace with the Turks, and nothing hindered him from carrying his great deſigns into execution. Sweden was in the greateſt diſtreſs, and all the other powers of the North were either his allies or his creatures. Several of the Ruſſian nobility, who were charged with the adminiſtration of the finances, were accuſed of extortion and of injuſtice: Peter erected a new court of juſtice to try them, and being found guilty, ſeveral of them were condemned to capital puniſhments.

The czar publiſhed this year ſeveral new edicts for regulating the marine, and the commerce in the different parts of his dominions, and compoſed himſelf a new military code of laws: he founded the marine academy at St. Peterſbourg; and at the ſame time laid the foundations of that elegant building and gardens called Peter's Hoff, near the town of St. Peterſbourg.

During this interval, an army of Danes and of Hanoverians, allies of Ruſſia, formed the ſiege of Wiſmar, a large town ſituated in the duchy of Mecklenbourg, upon the Baltic Sea, which had been for ſome time before in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes. The czar parted from St. Peterſbourg at the head of 20,000 men to preſs the ſiege of this town; but before he arrived, the Hanoverians were in the poſſeſſion of the place, which greatly diſappointed him, and made him act afterwards with

much leſs zeal in the common cauſe than he had done before, as he intended to have made Wiſmar a port of retreat for his ſhips of war on particular occaſions, and afterwards to reſtore it to the Duke Charles of Mecklenbourg, at the ſame time that he gave him the princeſs Catherine, eldeſt daughter of Iwan Alexiowitz his brother, in marrriage.

Towards the end of this year the princeſs, wife of the czarowitz Alexis, was delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Peter, and to whom the emperor gave the title of great duke; but this princeſs died ſoon after her delivery, at the age of twenty-one years, with great reſignation, after having been perhaps one of the moſt unhappy wives in the world; the brutal and ſavage character of her huſband was beyond even that of the generality of the Ruſſian nation.

Charles the Twelfth having now returned into his own territories, began again to diſturb the peace of the North, or rather to endeavour to recover the territories which his enemies had taken from him. He had with great difficulty raiſed an army of 35,000 men; and the king of Denmark, whoſe conduct towards Charles had been very unworthy, with great reaſon dreaded his reſentment; and to prevent it was preparing to make a deſcent in Scania; but with his own feeble forces he could not make head againſt Charles the Twelfth, who, though his imprudence had been the means of his defeat at Pultawa, was always formidable; he therefore endeavoured to gain ſuccours from the czar, who was now preparing to travel again into the ſouthern parts of Europe: the king of Denmark met him at Hamburg, and engaged him to furniſh him with ſhips and troops againſt their common enemy. The czar, in conſequence of this requeſt,

ſent a fleet with a body of troops to Copenhagen; but he was too good a politician to employ his forces to augment the grandeur and power of the king of Denmark: he acted very ſlowly, raiſed objections and difficulties, and at laſt abſolutely deſiſted from the enterprize upon Scania. Irritated at this conduct, and weary of ſupporting a body of Ruſſian troops in his kingdom, the king of Denmark began to be ſuſpicious of his ally, ſeparated his troops from the Ruſſians, and put himſelf in a ſtate of defence. This miſunderſtanding between the czar and the king of Denmark was ſoon perceived by the baron De Goertz, miniſter and confident of Charles the Twelfth, who immediately took the opportunity to make overtures of peace between his maſter and the czar. This great politician had addreſs enough to perſuade this emperor that Sweden was ſufficiently humbled, and that he was acting againſt his own intereſt to aggrandize the king of Denmark. The czar entered readily into the plan of Goertz, and withdrew his troops from Denmark; but they took up their winter quarters in Mecklenbourg, under pretence of adjuſting the diſputes which had for ſome time before divided the prince and the nobility of this country.

Towards the end of the year 1716 the czar, accompanied by the empreſs Catherine, made a tour through the ſouthern parts of Europe: the firſt journey of this prince was as a plain individual, to learn the arts; but he made the ſecond as a prince, to penetrate into the ſecrets of all the courts.

About this time likewiſe the baron De Goertz began to play off his intrigues, and with the famous cardinal Alberoni, firſt miniſter of Spain, attempted to direct and regulate all the affairs of Europe: they pretended not only to terminate by a ſolid

peace

peace the war between Sweden and Ruſſia, to drive Auguſtus, with whoſe conduct the czar had great reaſon to be diſſatisfied, out of Poland, and to place Staniſlaus again upon the throne, but they propoſed to retake Bremen and Verden from George the Firſt, king of England, and even to deprive him of the Britiſh crown, which they meant to place upon the head of the Pretender.

Every thing now appeared to favour this great project. Alberoni promiſed to furniſh conſiderable ſums for this purpoſe; and Goertz carried on intrigues with ſeveral courts, and animated the zeal of the partizans of the Pretender. He ſuppoſed he ſhould have no difficulty to engage his maſter to cede a great deal to the czar, to enable him to retake all the reſt from his enemies, and to be at liberty to make a deſcent in Scotland. On the other hand, Alberoni, ſeeing that there was a good intelligence at this time between the king of Great Britain and the regent of France, and fearing that the latter, who hated Alberoni's intrigues, ſhould be tempted to give any ſuccours to the former, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the regent. This great affair was conducted with ſuch ſecreſy, that all the parties had ſtrong hopes of its ſucceeding.

Goertz, in the beginning of the year 1717, was at the Hague, where he had received bills of exchange to a very great amount from Alberoni, together with a full power to act, from the king of Sweden: the party of the Pretender were ready to declare themſelves in Scotland, and were to be joined by an army of 10,000 Swedes, commanded by the king himſelf, as ſoon as the ports in the Baltic were open, that a fleet could be put to ſea. The czar, without knowing all the particulars of this ſcheme,

waited

waited to ſee the event of it. The Duke of Orleans was the firſt who acquainted the king of Great Britain with his ſuſpicions of the plan which was formed againſt him, which were afterwards confirmed by the advices which he received from Holland: ſoon afterwards a Swediſh packet-boat, which carried their letters into Holland, was wrecked upon the coaſts of Norway; the letters were taken, and from them the whole plan was diſcloſed. The king of Denmark immediately ſent theſe letters to London, and thereupon the Swediſh miniſter was arreſted, and by his papers it was diſcovered that he was carrying on a conſpiracy againſt the government. The king of Great Britain immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Holland to demand, according to the treaties which ſubſiſted between the two powers, that the States General would arreſt the baron De Goertz, who was ſoon after taken at Arnheim with his ſecretary. The two plenipotentiaries of Charles the Twelfth were interrogated as criminals, one in England, and the other in Holland, notwithſtanding moſt of the courts of Europe murmured loudly againſt this violation of the privileges of public miniſters. The Britiſh court, as well as ſeveral others, took every method to diſcover the ſecret of this conſpiracy, but the Swediſh miniſters would make no confeſſion. At the end of ſix months they were both ſet at liberty through the interceſſion of the czar. Charles the Twelfth, contrary to his natural character, uſed diſſimulation on this occaſion, and neither avowed nor diſavowed what his miniſters had done; and Peter contented himſelf with publiſhing a memorial to exculpate himſelf from having any hand in this tranſaction againſt his ally the elector of Hanover, who appeared to be ſatisfied. It is certain however, that the czar never forgave the king of Great Britain nor the king of Denmark for having deprived him of the town of Wiſmar; and thoſe who

who were conſtantly about his perſon obſerved, that he never would ſuffer that affair to be mentioned to him afterwards.

About the month of May the czar parted from Holland, where he had reſided ſome time, for France, where he was received with all that pomp and parade which is natural to the French nation. Peter, notwithſtanding the memorial which he had publiſhed, was a little alarmed at the conſequences of his having favoured the conſpiracy againſt his ally, George the Firſt, and the principal motive which induced him to paſs through Paris was to be better informed of the politics of this court, and to diſcover upon what terms the regent of France was with George, and whether this latter prince was well fixed upon the throne.

While the czar was at Paris, he propoſed to the duke regent of France to be one of the mediators between Ruſſia and Sweden; and that the two empires ſhould enter into a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, into which Spain ſhould likewiſe be admitted; but the regent conſented only to a defenſive and a commercial treaty, and accepted the title of mediator which was offered him, and which was alſo accepted by the elector of Brandenbourg. The czar clearly diſcovered by this meaſure how much he was diſſatisfied with the king of Great Britain. This treaty was ſigned ſoon after at the Hague; on which the baron De Goertz treated publicly with the miniſters of the czar, and declared that he had full powers to conclude a peace between Ruſſia and Sweden. Peter kept up ſome appearances in Holland, and would not ſee Goertz; but as ſoon as he quitted this ſtate, this miniſter followed him, and had ſeveral long converſations with him upon the road, in which he endeavoured

deavoured to prove, that it would be very eaſy to remove all the obſtacles which might retard the concluſion of the peace between Ruſſia and Sweden: he propoſed a marriage between the czar's daughter and the duke of Holſtein, and at the ſame time gave him to underſtand that the duke might be induced to cede his territories in Holſtein for an equivalent; and that then, being a member of the German empire, he or his deſcendents might one day likewiſe mount the Roman imperial throne.

Theſe ideas greatly flattered the ambition of the czar; however he was politician enough to diſſemble his ſentiments till the proper time came to declare himſelf openly: he was likewiſe no leſs circumſpect when the Duke of Ormond would come to St. Peterſbourg, to propoſe a marriage to him between the Pretender his niece Ann Iwanowna, widow of Frederick William duke of Courland: he ſent a public order to this miniſter to ſtay at Mittau, but his miniſters treated of the affair ſecretly with an agent of the duke's. In fact, as the czar found Goertz to be a man of talents and a maſter of political intrigue, he left him to prepare all their batteries without touching them; he was ready to make peace with Sweden, and afterwards to enter into any meaſures with Charles againſt thoſe by whom he imagined he had been counteracted in his ambitious deſigns; but he appeared alſo to be diſpoſed to continue the war, and to be ſtill allied with the kings of Denmark, of Poland, of Pruſſia, and of Great Britain, though he had great difficulty to reſtrain his reſentment againſt the latter within any bounds.

In the beginning of the year 1718 the negociations of the baron De Goertz advanced apace; every thing appeared to be changing in the North. Goertz propoſed the acquiſition of Mecklenbourg to the czar. The duke Charles, who was in poſſeſſion of this duchy

duchy, had married a daughter of the czar Iwan, Peter's eldeſt brother; but the nobility of the country were in arms againſt him, and the czar, who had an army in Mecklenbourg, ſupported the reigning duke, whom he regarded as his ſon-in-law. The elector of Hanover had declared for the nobility; ſo that to enſure Peter this duchy, and to make them powerful in Germany, was a ſenſible mortification to the elector of Hanover. As an equivalent they gave the duke of Mecklenbourg the duchy of Courland, and a part of Pruſſia, at the expence of Poland; to the throne of which they propoſed to reſtore the king Staniſlaus. Bremen and Verden were to return to Sweden; and as they could not diveſt George the Firſt of theſe provinces but by force of arms, the project of Goertz was, as I have already obſerved, after the peace was concluded between the czar and Charles, to unite theſe two powers by an offenſive alliance, and to ſend an army into Scotland; and that Charles the Twelfth, after he had conquered Norway, ſhould make a deſcent with another army in England, upon the throne of which he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to place a new king, as he had done in Poland. The cardinal Alberoni promiſed large ſubſidies to Charles and to Peter. Alberoni promiſed likewiſe to excite a faction in France, to overturn all the meaſures of the regent, and in fact to force that kingdom into their confederacy. The iſland of Aland was already propoſed as the place where they were to open the conferences in form, which had been already arranged, and where the plenipotentiaries of the two powers were to conclude not only the treaty of peace, but a treaty of offenſive alliance, which was to change the face of Europe; when a cannon-ball from one of the baſtions of Frederickſhal in Normandy killed Charles the Twelfth, and all their mighty projects at once vaniſhed in to air. The baron Goertz was immediately arreſted, and beheaded at Stock-

holm, and the czar, who was come from Abo in Finland with his guards to be near the conferences, returned to St. Peterſbourg.

After the death of Charles the Twelfth every thing was changed in Sweden: Charles had been deſpotic, and had thereby nearly ruined his kingdom; and his ſiſter Ulrica was elected queen on condition ſhe would renounce all pretenſions to deſpotic power. The czar would readily have formed a combination with the Swedes againſt England, and againſt the reſt of his allies; and the new Swediſh government united themſelves with theſe allies againſt the czar. The congreſs of Aland was diſſolved, and the new government of Sweden entered into an alliance with England and with Pruſſia, hoping by this means that the Ruſſians would be brought to conclude a ſolid peace. An Engliſh fleet was immediately ſent into the Baltic, and the Hanoverian troops entered Mecklenbourg: but the czar did not ſeem to be at all intimidated at the ſight of theſe new enemies; he ordered his fleet to keep the ſea, and his troops drove the Hanoverians out of the duchy of Mecklenbourg. Certainly if Sir John Norris had acted with vigour when he joined the Swediſh fleet, there would have been no great difficulty in deſtroying all the czar's marine; but Norris was evidently ſent into the Baltic merely for parade, and rather did hurt to the Swediſh affairs than afforded them any ſuccours.

The following year was productive of an event which greatly eclipſed the glory of the czar, and which various hiſtorians and politicians have endeavoured to unravel, but I believe without ſucceſs; I mean the condemnation of the czarowitz Alexis. Much has been ſaid upon this occaſion to blacken the characters

ters of the czar and of the czarina; I wiſh they may be found innocent of what has been laid to their charge, from the following account, which, as far as I can diſcover, is a true one. In the year 1689, the czar Peter, when he was only ſeventeen years of age, married Eudoxia Lapukin, a princeſs who had been educated in all the prejudices of her country, and whoſe character was naturally ſuperſtitious, ſo that the greateſt oppoſition which he met with when he would reform the brutal character of his people, and make them think and act like rational beings, aroſe from his wife, who was entirely governed by the ignorant monks and clergy of his country, and to whom all the uſeful changes which Peter was making in the empire appeared ſo many ſacrileges. At length, fatigued with her continual complaints, which encouraged the advocates of the ancient uſages, and no leſs with her looſe and diſorderly behaviour, the czar reſolved to be divorced from her, and ſhut her up in the convent of Suſdal towards the end of the year 1690, where he made her aſſume the habit of a nun, under the name of Helen.

The ſon whom ſhe brought the czar this year was unhappily born with the character which had rendered his mother ſo diſagreeable, and his education was entruſted to monks and ſuperſtitious people, whoſe prejudices he never ſurmounted. It was in vain that his father endeavoured to correct the firſt impreſſions he received, by giving him foreigners for his preceptors: their being ſtrangers was ſufficient to diſguſt him, and to make him reject their inſtructions. All the diſcontented part of the nation, and particularly the clergy, and his mother's relations, continued to govern him, and perſuaded him that almoſt all the people looked upon the enterprizes of the czar his father with horror, and that he could not hope to pleaſe them, but by ſhew-

ing his averſion to all theſe changes: theſe inſinuations made him complain openly againſt the innovations which his father was making. The marriage of the czar with Catherine, and the children whom he had by her, was another grievance of which his mother, her family, and all the clergy, loudly complained, and contributed very much to precipitate Alexis into extravagances. Nevertheleſs, to draw his ſon out of theſe prejudices, and to give more reaſonable ideas and ſentiments, the czar placed him for a year at the head of the regency, afterwards ordered him to make the tour of Europe, to ſee the manners and cuſtoms of other ſtates; and in the year 1711 married him to a princeſs of Brunſwick, a very amiable and beautiful young lady.

But being born and bred a real Ruſſian, all the inſtructions which he had received, inſtead of reforming him, made him ſtill worſe. He now gave himſelf up to all kinds of debauchery and brutality; he was conſtantly ſurrounded by ſuperſtitious prieſts and ill counſellors, who procured him a young Finland woman for his miſtreſs; he deſpiſed and ill treated his wife, becauſe ſhe was a ſtranger, and often kept her without common neceſſaries, ſo that ſhe died of grief in the year 1715, after having been delivered of a ſon, who, according to the natural order of ſucceſſion, was to be one day heir to the throne.

Chagrined at the loſs of his daughter-in-law, and troubled to ſee that the fruit of all his labours would be loſt if his ſon, who was to reign after him, was not corrected and drawn out of his debauched and brutal courſe of life, the czar wrote a letter to him, which was no leſs pathetic than menacing, and which concluded in the following manner: "I will wait a

"little

" little longer to ſee if you will change your manner of living;
" if not, be aſſured that I will deprive you of the ſucceſſion,
" as being unworthy of it. I would not have you imagine that I
" only mean to intimidate you, neither would I have you depend
" too much upon the title of being my only ſon; for if I do
" not ſpare my own life for the good of my people and for
" the glory of my country, how can you ſuppoſe that I will
" ſpare you? I will rather leave the ſucceſſion to a ſtranger
" who has merited it, than to my own ſon who has rendered
"himſelf unworthy of it."

I have already obſerved that the czar, ſome years before, had eſtabliſhed it as one of the fundamental laws of the empire, that every father of a family had a right to conſtitute his eldeſt ſon to be his ſucceſſor, or, if he thought proper, he might leave his ſucceſſion to any other perſon; and from this law the czar ſuppoſed he had an abſolute and a legal right to diſpoſe of the empire to whom he thought proper. It had been cuſtomary before this time for the czars to appoint their ſucceſſors by their teſtaments; but this ancient cuſtom was now eſtabliſhed as a fundamental law of the empire.

The czar wrote a ſecond letter to his ſon ſome time afterwards in ſtill ſtronger and more pathetic terms, in which, among other things, he obſerved, that " if you reject my advice while I am
" living, how will you regard it after I am dead? I am per-
" ſuaded you have at times a deſire to be faithful, and to hearken
" to my advice; but thoſe people with long beards turn you as
" they think proper, and force you to act otherwiſe, as all their
" dependence is upon you." This letter concluded in the following manner: " Correct your courſe of life, and render

" yourſelf

" yourſelf worthy of the ſucceſſion, or immediately take the " habit of a monk, otherwiſe I ſhall be obliged to treat you as a " criminal."

To all theſe remonſtrances Alexis made no other anſwer to his father, than that he would renounce the ſucceſſion and become a monk.

About this time the czar and the czarina parted from St. Peterſbourg to make the tour which they afterwards made through the ſouthern parts of Europe; but they were ſcarcely arrived in Germany, before they were informed that Alexis was conſtantly in conſultation with the diſcontented party: he ſeized this opportunity to conſult with theſe people; who perceiving that there was no method of exciting a revolt in the empire, and from prediction of one of their biſhops, ſuppoſing that the emperor had not long to live, counſelled him to put himſelf under the protection of the emperor Charles the Sixth, his brother-in-law, till the death of his father, who had now wrote to him again, that he muſt immediately chooſe a convent or a throne, and if he hoped one day to ſucceed him, he muſt join him immediately: on which the prince parted from St. Peterſbourg under pretence of joining his father, but he directed his courſe towards Vienna, where it was not thought political to keep him; and afterwards hid himſelf at Naples, with his miſtreſs, his confeſſor, his interpreter, and two or three officers of his houſehold.

Peter, informed of the place of his ſon's retreat, wrote him a letter from Spa nearly in the following words: " I write to " you now, for the laſt time, to tell you that you are to obey

" my will immediately, which Romanzoff and Tolſtoi will " explain to you. If you obey me, I aſſure you, and promiſe " before God, that I will not puniſh you; and that, if you " return immediately, I will love you more than ever: but " if you do not do it, as your father, by virtue of the power " that I have received from God, I will give you my eternal " curſe; and, as your ſovereign, I do aſſure you that I ſhall " find means of puniſhing you, in which I hope God will " aſſiſt me, and take my juſt cauſe in hand."

In conſequence of this letter the prince returned to Moſcow, where his father then was, and fell on his knees before him. A long converſation next enſued, ſo that a report was ſpread in the town that the father and the ſon were reconciled, and that every thing was forgotten; but the next day all the guards were ordered under arms as ſoon as the day appeared; the great bell of Moſcow was tolled, as if ſomething ſolemn was approaching; all the nobility, miniſters, and clergy were aſſembled, and Alexis was conducted as a priſoner before his father, who declared him unworthy to reign, and made him ſign, not only a confeſſion of his faults, but alſo his renunciation of the throne: on which all the aſſembly took an oath never to ſupport the czarowitz, even ſuppoſing that there ſhould be no other perſon of the royal family exiſting. The czar likewiſe by another act declared his ſecond ſon Peter, whom he had by the empreſs Catherine, to be his ſucceſſor, and all the aſſembly took another oath to ſupport him. All theſe acts were afterwards read publicly in the cathedral, where all the eccleſiaſtics likewiſe ſigned and approved atteſted copies of them.

It is very natural to ſuppoſe that the czar, after having deprived his ſon of the ſucceſſion, would naturally, from a principle of paternal kindneſs, give him his life, eſpecially as he had not been guilty of any open act of rebellion, and as he had promiſed him, by the letter which he wrote him from Spa, that if he would return and obey him he ſhould not be puniſhed; but to the aſtoniſhment of all mankind, after all that had paſſed, Alexis was tried as a criminal and condemned to die; but his judges recommended him to the clemency of his father. It is true, various perſons appeared at the trial, and depoſed that a great part of the nation were attached to the ancient manners and cuſtoms of the country, were diſcontented with the government and the changes which the czar was making daily; that they had declared openly, that their whole dependence was upon Alexis to overturn every thing that the czar had done; that this prince had held ſeveral converſations with his mother and the czar's ſiſter Mary, who were in hopes that through his means they ſhould gain their liberty; that the biſhop of Roſtow had foretold the czar's death, and that Alexis had quitted the kingdom to be out of danger till that event happened; and that the prince himſelf had declared to ſome of his friends, "that the bad "treatment which he had conſtantly received, without having "merited it, obliged him to leave the kingdom, eſpecially as "he feared being ſhut up in a convent; for, ſaid he, thoſe who "ſhut up my mother in this kind of priſon are deſirous of "treating me in the ſame manner; but I will put myſelf under "the protection of a great prince, and I deſire that you will not "abandon me at preſent."

All theſe, with many other accuſations of this nature, did not prove any project digeſted, any intrigue concerted, or any conſpiracy

ſpiracy or aſſociation actually formed: it was only a ſon, who had been educated in a ſuperſtitious and brutal manner, diſcontented and depraved, who complained of his father for doing what he believed, or had been taught to believe, was not right; who avoided his company, and who wiſhed for his death to undo what his father had done. He thought his mother had been treated in a moſt barbarous and cruel manner, and wiſhed to deliver her out of her priſon. The czar himſelf had greatly contributed to his ſon's bad conduct by not having him educated in a proper manner.

Conſidering the great utility of the czar's projects, and the great advantages which would evidently accrue from them to the whole empire, the prince's conduct would juſtly authorize his being diſinherited and ſhut up in a convent; but condemning him to death was barbarous and tyrannical, as he had not been guilty of any act which by the laws of God, or by any laws then ſubſiſting in the empire, merited ſuch a puniſhment. It could not be ſuppoſed that he was endeavouring to raiſe a rebellion againſt his father or his government, when he quitted the kingdom, as ſoon as he thought he could do it with ſafety, and attempted to hide himſelf at Naples.

As ſoon as the ſentence of death was pronounced upon the prince, wherein were the following words, "The divine, "eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military laws condemn to death, "without mercy, all thoſe whoſe attempts againſt their father "and their ſovereign are manifeſt," he fell into the moſt violent convulſions, from which it was with the greateſt difficulty that he regained a little interval of ſenſe, during which he deſired

his father would come to ſee him, when he aſked his pardon, and died ſoon afterwards.

It did not appear that the prince had ever made any attempt againſt his father; and none but Ruſſian judges could ever have ſuppoſed, that when a man left his country to avoid doing what he had been taught to believe was not right, and returned again upon a promiſe of being pardoned, that he had been guilty of homicide. This act has ſullied the glory of Peter more than all the bad things he ever did in his life. Many infamous ſcribblers have aſſerted that the prince died of poiſon, which was given him by his mother-in-law, who, together with the prince Mentzikoff, likewiſe the declared enemy of the prince, was fearful that after the death of Peter, Alexis would find partizans, and endeavour, notwithſtanding his forced renunciation, to mount the throne, to the excluſion of the prince Peter, Catherine's ſon; and for this reaſon they never ceaſed, ſay theſe ſcribblers, to excite the czar, naturally vindictive, to puſh things to the laſt extremity.

But nothing can be more falſe than this accuſation: the prince was ſuddenly attacked before the whole court when the ſentence was pronounced upon him, and there was no perſon preſent who was not convinced of the cauſe of his death. It is true, that both Catherine and Mentzikoff were hated by the prince, and openly threatened with deſtruction if ever he came to the throne; ſo that they would have been juſtified in ſome meaſure, if they had perſuaded Peter to purſue violent meaſures; but the contrary is clearly proved by the czar's own words; for this prince declared to the duke of Holſtein, that Catherine (who

(who was naturally humane, and had little of the Ruſſian brutality in her compoſition) had frequently begged him not to ſuffer the ſentence of condemnation to be pronounced upon his ſon, and intreated him to be contented with ſhutting him up in a convent, and making him take the habit of a monk, becauſe, ſaid ſhe, the opprobrium of this ſentence of death will likewiſe affect your grandſon.

Moreover Peter had often threatened to diſinherit his ſon before Catherine had any children; and even at this time her ſon was in a very infirm ſtate of health, and died ſoon after. During the reign of Peter the Second, the ſon of Alexis, when Mentzikoff was exiled to Siberia, his greateſt enemies had not even the leaſt ſuſpicion of his having in any degree contributed to the tragical ſcene here recited.

Peter the Firſt was not a perſon to be adviſed in a matter of this moment; and all the reaſonable part of mankind, who were inſtructed in this matter, were convinced that the czar, when he ſaw that his ſon would not come into his meaſures, and that all the changes which he had made, and all the pains which he had taken to draw his ſubjects out of a ſtate of barbarity, would be counteracted and overturned if ever Alexis came to the crown, formed of himſelf the violent reſolutions which he afterwards carried into execution. His letter to his ſon from Spa, in which he promiſes to pardon his faults, and to love him more than ever, if he would return, was evidently calculated to deceive him, and to get him into his power; and, conſidering the conſequences, was one of the moſt wicked acts that ever a father was guilty of towards his child.

Upon the whole, it clearly appears that this young man fell ſacrifice to the wrong education his father had given him, as he was deſirous that this ſon ſhould adopt the great plan which he had formed. The attempting to force his ſon to purſue meaſures which the latter had been taught to believe were contrary to the divine laws, was barbarous and tyrannical beyond meaſure. Certain it is, that ambition and the deſire of glory made Peter reform his country, for which his name will be always revered; but it is equally certain that he committed more atrocious and tyrannical acts than any prince who ever ſat upon the throne of the Ruſſias.

At the ſame time that Peter was condemning his ſon to death, he was taking the moſt vigilant meaſures to carry the great projects of the reformation into execution. He eſtabliſhed a general police in all the empire, which was under the direction of a lieutenant-general, who reſided at St. Peterſbourg, at the head of a tribunal which was to watch over and regulate the police of the whole empire. Schools for teaching arithmetic were now eſtabliſhed in all the great towns, which were alſo cleared of thoſe crowds of ſturdy beggars with whom they were before much infeſted, and who are a nuiſance to all well-regulated ſocieties.

At St. Peterſbourg, the nobility and rich merchants were obliged to build regular ſtone or brick houſes, according to their fortunes; and all the waggons, carts, or boats, which came empty from the neighbouring provinces, were obliged to bring materials for building free of all expences. An uniformity of weights and meaſures, and of the common law, was fixed and eſtabliſhed throughout the whole empire: the prices of all the

common

common neceſſaries of life were regulated and ſettled: the ſtreets were paved.

Peter, during the laſt journey which he made into the ſouthern parts of Europe, engaged great numbers of mechanics, in almoſt every branch of art and manufacture, to come and eſtabliſh themſelves in his dominions. He inſtituted a college of commerce, of which the one half of the members were Ruſſians, and the other half ſtrangers, to the end that all his new manufacturers and artiſts might be juſtly treated. Some French people, who were particularly protected by Mentzikoff, eſtabliſhed the manufactures of tapeſtry, and of gold and ſilver lace;—other emigrants from Brabant and Juliers eſtabliſhed a large manufacture of linens at Moſcow;—and Peter gave 30,000 roubles, and provided all the materials and inſtruments neceſſary for the eſtabliſhing the manufactures of the different kinds of woollen cloths in his dominions, whereby he was ſoon enabled to clothe his troops with his own manufactures, which he was before obliged to buy in foreign countries. Peter likewiſe eſtabliſhed a manufacture of ſilk, in which the Perſian raw ſilk was manufactured as well as at Iſpahan. He procured ſome miners from Sweden, and made great improvements in his iron works; and in working his iron mines in Siberia, mines of gold and ſilver were diſcovered, and a college of mines was erected.

This extraordinary prince was not content with naming inſpectors and giving particular inſtructions for making ſo many different arts and manufactures flouriſh in his dominions, but at the firſt eſtabliſhment he would ſee every thing with his own eyes, and even work at them with his own hands.

In

In the beginning of the year 1719 he formed the plan for the canal of Ladoga, which was to open a communication between the river Newa and the Walchowa, to bring merchandize to St. Peterſbourg without paſſing through the great lake Ladoga, which was often violently agitated by tempeſts, ſo that its navigation was very dangerous and often impracticable. He began this great undertaking, which at that time was thought impoſſible, by breaking the earth himſelf. Almoſt at the ſame time he began the great canal and dry docks of Cronſtadt, and laid the foundation of the new town of Ladoga.

Towards the end of this year he began likewiſe the great canal between the Wolga and the lake Ilmen, and made a free navigation between the Ilmen and the Ladoga; ſo that by this means he opened a communication between the Caſpian and Baltic ſeas.

This year he ſent ſeveral mathematicians whom he drew out of his academy, into the different parts of the empire to make exact charts of all his dominions, and to give him a particular account of the ſtate of the country. All theſe improvements which the czar had been making were only as ſo many preparatives to the great object which he had in view, namely, the making Ruſſia a commercial ſtate and a naval power. He perceived that great riches and elegance had been brought into England, France, and Holland by their extenſive commerce and improvements in the arts, and he wiſhed to ſee Ruſſia in the ſame ſituation. At this time the Swedes and Danes were the maſters of the commerce of the Baltic; and though the iron of the Ruſſian dominions was equal in every reſpect to that of

Sweden,

Sweden, he ſaw the latter ſupplying almoſt all Europe with her bar-iron, while the mines of the former remained unworked.

When Peter came to the throne the commerce of the Ruſſian dominions, except what the Engliſh and Hollanders carried on at Archangel, was entirely deſtroyed. The deſtruction of Novogorod had annihilated it in that part of Ruſſia, as the conqueſts of Tamerlane, towards the end of the fourteenth century, had done in the ſouthern parts. Before this æra the ſouthern parts of Ruſſia were as a kind of magazine for the merchandizes and manufactures of Greece and India: the Dnieper and the Don were the canals for tranſporting the productions of Aſia; but after the country was conquered by the Tartars, and when the Turks became maſters of Aſoph, this branch of commerce was entirely deſtroyed. The Armenians, who are the factors of this part of Aſia, were received ſome time before into Aſtracan; the Ruſſians were obliged to leave this branch of commerce to paſs through their hands, and to permit them to receive all the advantages of it; but Peter ſoon after remedied this inconveniency by making a treaty with the king of Perſia, by which all the ſilk which was not uſed in the manufactures of Perſia ſhould be delivered to the Armenians of Aſtracan, to be by them tranſported into Ruſſia.

The opening a commerce with China appeared to Peter to be an object of ſtill greater conſequence. Two immenſe empires which bordered the one upon the other, and which poſſeſſed reciprocally ſeveral kinds of merchandizes that were neceſſary for their conſumption, could not fail of being extremely uſeful to each other by forming a mercantile correſpondence, eſpecially

as

as their ſeveral intereſts had been regulated and fixed by a ſolemn treaty in the year 1689. The foundation of this commerce was laid in the year 1654 by ſome merchants of Siberia, who ſent caravans to the borders of China, and made great profits; but the quarrels which aroſe afterwards between the two empires greatly diſranged theſe enterprizes. After the peace of 1689, overtures were again made to the emperor of China for the re-eſtabliſhment of this commerce, and for liberty to form a kind of magazine in China, in which the Ruſſian merchandizes might be depoſited, and the emperor readily granted a little ſuburb of Pekin for that purpoſe. The caravans were generally two years and a half, and ſome times more, in going to Pekin and returning. The prince of Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was twenty years at the head of this commerce. The caravans were often very numerous, and it was very difficult to keep the populace, who compoſed the greateſt part of thoſe who were their guards, in good order: they ſometimes inſulted the inhabitants of the countries through which they paſſed, and often even the Chineſe themſelves; ſo that this commerce was much incommoded by their bad conduct: the emperor of China threatened to forbid the caravans from entering into his territories if they did not immediately correct theſe diſorders. This commerce was very advantageous to the Ruſſians, who ſold the European merchandizes at a very high price at Pekin, and received a great balance in gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. The taxes and vexations which the prince Gagarin laid upon this commerce, which had enriched him, greatly diminiſhed it, and at length were the cauſe of his deſtruction; he was accuſed, in conſequence of theſe exactions, before the chamber of juſtice eſtabliſhed by the czar, and was beheaded for his bad conduct.

Peter

Peter concluded a new treaty this year with the emperor of China, by which it was ſtipulated, that to avoid the diſorders which had been heretofore occaſioned by the caravan-guards, the caravans in future ſhould only come to the frontiers of the two empires, and that only the factors, diſpatched in the name of the ſovereign of Ruſſia, ſhould be permitted to enter into Pekin, where they were to be lodged in a large palace which the emperor had appointed for that purpoſe. It was ſeveral years after before any caravan or factor of the crown parted for China, and this branch of commerce, even to this day, is in a very languiſhing ſituation, not one tenth part of what it was about the year 1718.

Whenever the ſovereign interferes in commercial affairs, the ſubject is ſeldom any great gainer by ſuch interference, and is not deſirous of riſking any conſiderable capital under the direction of a power by which he may be deprived of all the fruits of his labours in a moment. The natural and tyrannical diſpoſition of the Ruſſian nobility, and thoſe who have the direction of commercial matters in this empire, is ſuch, that, except in thoſe places that are under the eye of the ſovereign, and where they are as a check upon each other, they would ſoon deſtroy the beſt eſtabliſhed commerce.

The commerce of the Baltic, which has ſince been carried on to ſuch an amazing extent, was entirely planned, and in ſome meaſure carried into execution, by Peter the Firſt.

In the laſt years of his reign more than 300 ſail of ſhips came into the port of St. Peterſbourg. It is true, the commerce of Archangel was thereby conſiderably diminiſhed; but this was

what Peter desired, because Archangel was too far distant from the greatest part of the commercial nations, and the navigation dangerous and often impracticable: moreover a commerce which is carried on under the eyes of the sovereign, who has made it one of the great objects of his policy, will always be more advantageous than when the same efforts are exerted to carry it on at a distance, especially in such a nation as Russia. The commerce of Riga, and of all the other sea-port towns of Livonia, was considerably augmented by the useful regulations which Peter made in the political œconomy of this province.

But this extraordinary genius determined to make a general reform in his empire; and, considering the momentary duration of human life, resolved not to lose an hour of the time that Providence had allotted him; and while he was increasing the extent of his dominions and civilizing his people, he was at the same time laying the plan for a new code of laws for their better government.

Before his time the laws of Russia were in a very imperfect state, and rather calculated for the Calmoucks or for the Hottentots than for reasonable beings. During his travels Peter had collected materials for forming a new code of laws; but he soon found that this was a work which required more time and application than he had to spare, considering the variety of other objects which he had constantly in view; he therefore resolved to correct the abuses of the old laws, and to make some improvements of them: but this was like putting a new piece of cloth upon an old garment; or rather like the man who built his house upon the sand.

Peter

Peter collected great and useful instructions for forming his new laws from England, France, some parts of Germany, and Denmark; and took such parts of the laws of these nations respectively as he thought were reasonable and just: but the Russians had not yet learnt the signification of the word reason; and even the czar himself at times had but very imperfect ideas of it; it is therefore not to be wondered that his new code should be like good and wholesome meat dressed with most wretched and unpalatable sauce.

At this time the supreme court of justice, which decided of all civil affairs, was composed of a certain number of the nobility, who were as ignorant as they were arbitrary and brutal; it was rank and birth alone which could give any person a right to sit in this court; but Peter saw that some science was necessary in the decision of judicial affairs, and therefore this court was dissolved. The czar now created an attorney-general, to whom he added four assistants, who were charged to watch over the conduct of the judges in each of the governments of the empire, whose sentences were to be examined in cases of appeal, in the last resource, by a senate which he at the same time established. Every one of these judges was to be provided with a copy of that code of laws which was published by the father of Peter, together with the additions and changes which he thought necessary, before his new code was composed. These judges, as well as all the officers of the courts of justice, had fixed salaries, which were paid out of the public treasures; and they were absolutely forbidden to receive any other emoluments of what nature soever. The greatest part of these regulations were made in the year 1718, while he was carrying on the solemn process against his son.

The cauſes of particular perſons were tried by the governor of the province where they reſided and his aſſeſſors; afterwards there was an appeal to the ſenate, and from thence to the czar himſelf; but if any perſon, after having been condemned by the ſenate, appealed to the czar, he was declared worthy of death if his appeal was unjuſt; however, to ſoften in ſome meaſure the rigour of this law, ſo tyrannical in itſelf, he created a maſter of requeſts, who received the memorials of all who had either in the ſenate, or in any of the inferior courts, affairs reſpecting which the laws were not yet properly explained.

In the year 1721 he finiſhed what he called his new code of laws, which, in fact, was rather compoſed of new regulations for his courts of juſtice than for the deciſions of judicial matters, which were left chiefly upon the old footing; and yet he forbad, under pain of death, any of the judges to deviate from it, and to ſubſtitute their particular opinion to any general law, how abſurd ſoever it were. This terrible order was made a fundamental order of the ſtate, and is ſtill obſerved in all their courts of juſtice, and is often the cauſe of great confuſion and injuſtice. He regulated likewiſe rank among all his ſubjects, according to their reſpective employments, without having any regard to their birth.

Peter had always an idea that a man of merit was preferable to another who was deſcended from noble anceſtors, and he took every method to make his ſubjects adopt the ſame mode of thinking: rank therefore was likewiſe fixed among the women, and whenever a woman took a place in an aſſembly which was not aſſigned to her, ſhe was obliged to pay a fine. A common ſoldier, who by his merit had become an officer, was likewiſe

likewiſe become a gentleman; and a nobleman, who was condemned by a court of juſtice for any crime, loſt all his rank.

The great project which the czar had always in view was to make a general reform in his dominions, and to place his ſubjects, who were at that time more barbarous than the Calmoucks or the Tartars are at preſent, upon a footing with thoſe of the moſt civilized nations. The deſign was undoubtedly a noble one, but it was too magnificent to be executed by any one man, who, notwithſtanding his great parts, was naturally brutal, violent, and tyrannical. Many have ſuppoſed, that if he had been leſs ſevere and leſs violent he would not have ſo well ſucceeded among a people ſo barbarous and untractable; and I am perſuaded there is a great deal of reaſon in the obſervation: but notwithſtanding all this, no ſovereign has a right to ſacrifice even the meaneſt of his ſubjects by *ex poſt facto* laws, becauſe ſome general good may ariſe from it; and, to judge humanely of the matter, all the great advantages which Peter procured for the Ruſſian nation are not ſufficient to counter-balance the abominable ſcenes of oppreſſion and tyranny which he practiſed towards ſome thouſands of his innocent ſubjects.

The czar was not content with reforming his ſubjects in what regarded their civil and military governments, but he likewiſe undertook to reform the eccleſiaſtical government, and to correct the abuſes which had been introduced through the ignorance, avarice, and ſuperſtition of the clergy. He had ſome time before aboliſhed the patriarchal dignity, which had made a great part of the clergy his enemies: he was deſirous of making the civil government abſolute in every reſpect, and wiſhed to

ſee

ſee the eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration reſpected, and at the ſame time obedient. His deſign was to have the patriarchal office executed by a college of eccleſiaſtics, which was always to ſubſiſt, but at the ſame time to depend upon the ſovereign, ſo that they were not to eſtabliſh any laws for the government of the church, which had not been approved by the chief of the ſtate, of which the church was a part.

He was aſſiſted in this great enterprize by the archbiſhop of of Novogorod, one of the moſt learned and prudent prelates at that time in all the Ruſſian dominions; and in the years 1718 and 1719, aſſiſted by the counſel of this prelate, he eſtabliſhed a perpetual ſynod, compoſed of twelve members, who were the beſt inſtructed among the dignified clergy, and who were all choſen by the ſovereign: this college has ſince been augmented to fourteen. The czar has explained his motives for eſtabliſhing this ſynod in the following terms, "becauſe we have nothing "to fear under the adminiſtration of ſuch a college of eccleſiaſtics: "the government of one eccleſiaſtic has often occaſioued troubles "and confuſion in the empire, becauſe the people, always "inclined to ſuperſtition, may, by ſeeing the chief of the ſtate "on one ſide, and the chief of the church on the other, imagine "that there are two governments in the ſame ſtate." This idea was much inculcated formerly in the Greek and even in the Latin church, upon the allegory of the two ſwords which were found with the apoſtles; but the abſurdity of this application muſt evidently appear to all mankind. The czar inveſted this college with the eccleſiaſtical right of regulating the diſcipline and examining the manners and capacity of thoſe who were by the ſovereign named to biſhoprics, and with the right of judging finally in all religious caſes where there was formerly an appeal

to

to the patriarch; they were likewiſe to take cognizance of the revenues of the monaſteries, and of the diſtributions of charities.

This college had the title of the Moſt Holy Synod, a title which was before given to the patriarch; and all its members took an oath to obey the ſovereign, which oath was never taken by the patriarchs: they had likewiſe the rank of ſenators. The ſynod preſented to the czar thoſe whom they judged to be the moſt worthy to be advanced to eccleſiaſtical dignities when there was a biſhopric vacant, and he choſe one to fill up this vacancy, who was afterwards conſecrated by the ſynod: Peter often preſided himſelf in this aſſembly.

In the Greek church all who are raiſed to eccleſiaſtical dignities are choſen out of the different orders of Monks. In the firſt ages of Chriſtianity ſome became Monks through devotion, and others through fanaticiſm; and as there was then a perſecution in the church, they retired into deſerts and ſecret places, from whence they were afterwards drawn by St. Baſil, and from him received ſeveral regulations for their conduct, made vows, and were afterwards regarded as the laſt order of the hierarchy, or the firſt ſtep to be taken by thoſe who would riſe to church dignities. Thus were the Monks firſt eſtabliſhed in Greece and in Aſia. Ruſſia, as well as ſome other parts of Europe, had adopted this regulation, and the ſtate was heavily burdened with theſe prieſts, who were rich and powerful; and though ignorant, when Peter came to the crown they were the only order of the ſtate who could read: they were extremely aſtoniſhed and ſcandalized at ſeeing the innovations of all kinds which Peter was making, and began to make uſe of the little

knowledge which they had to counteract his deſigns; ſo that he was obliged in the year 1703 to publiſh an order to forbid any ink or pens being given to the Monks, except by the permiſſion of their ſuperiors, who were to be anſwerable for the conduct of thoſe to whom this privilege was granted. The emperor, with the conſent of the ſynod, made a regulation, that no perſon ſhould enter upon a monaſtic courſe of life till he had paſſed thirty years of age; and that military men, and thoſe who cultivated the earth, ſhould not be admitted into a convent without an expreſs order from the emperor or from the ſynod: no married man was permitted to enter into a monaſtery, even after he was divorced from his wife, except that ſhe likewiſe became a Nun by her conſent, and that they had no children: no perſon who was in the ſervice of the ſtate was permitted to become a Monk, except by expreſs permiſſion: every Monk was obliged to work at ſome trade with his own hands: the Nuns were never to be permitted to go out of their reſpective convents; they took their laſt vows only when they were arrived to the fiftieth year of their age, agreeably to the regulations of the primitive church; and if before that time they were deſirous of being married, they were permitted and even exhorted to do it. The emperor likewiſe ordered, that all the Nuns ſhould be employed in different kinds of work which were proper for their ſex. The empreſs Catherine procured ſeveral perſons from Brabant and Flanders, whom ſhe diſtributed in different convents, to inſtruct them in the various branches of needle-work.

But Peter, willing to puſh on his reformation as much as poſſible, and to reduce the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline in many reſpects to the ſame ſtate that it was in during the primitive ages

of

of Chriſtianity, combated with all his might againſt the lazineſs of a monaſtic life, and not only ordered that they ſhould all work and be of ſome uſe to the ſociety from which they received their ſubſiſtence, but he ordered that their principal occupation ſhould be to ſerve the poor; and therefore it was ordained that all the old and invalid ſoldiers who had ſerved their country, ſhould be diſtributed in the different convents, and that ſome of the monks ſhould be appointed to the care of them; that the ſtrongeſt and moſt robuſt of theſe monks ſhould cultivate the land belonging to the convent; and even among the nuns he ordered that the ſtrongeſt and moſt healthy of them ſhould take care of their gardens, and that the others ſhould attend the ſick who ſhould be brought from the neighbourhood into the convents.

The diſcipline of the clergy of the Greek church is in many reſpects very different from that of the clergy of the Latin church. As ſoon as a man enters into holy orders in the Latin church, marriage is abſolutely interdicted to him; on the contrary in the Greek church, as ſoon as he is ordained a deacon, he is obliged to take a wife, agreeably to what St. Paul ſaid to Timothy, "That a deacon ſhould be the huſband of one wife;" he may become prieſt and archdeacon in the married ſtate; but for what ſuperſtitious reaſon I cannot diſcover, to become a biſhop he muſt be a widower and a monk.

Peter likewiſe abſolutely forbid all the parochial clergy and curates to employ more than one of their children in their reſpective churches, except their pariſhioners demanded it themſelves; to the end that the clergy might not tyrannize over the people by their numerous families.

At the ſame time that the czar was making this great reformation among all ranks and orders of men in his dominions, the war was ſtill carrying on againſt Sweden till the year 1721, when the prince of Heſſe, who had married the ſiſter of Charles the Twelfth, and was become king of Sweden, demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, but the czar would not conſent to it till the peace, which was afterwards concluded at Neuſtadt, a little town in Finland, was ready to be ſigned: he had a great army in Finland, and his fleet continually threatened the Swediſh coaſts, ſo that they were obliged to make the peace as he had dictated it. Sweden ceded to Ruſſia for ever all the provinces of Livonia, Eſtonia, Ingria, the greateſt part of Carelia, and the town of Wibourg, together with all the neighbouring iſlands.

This great ceſſion, which contained an extent of country near 300 leagues long, and 100 broad, the fruit of twenty years war, ſecured the czar the dominion of the Baltic, and has opened the trade of the extenſive territories of Ruſſia in ſuch a manner, that it muſt one day reduce that of Sweden to very narrow limits; the Ruſſians at preſent make a much greater quantity of bar-iron than is made in Sweden, and as the price of labour is much cheaper in the territories of the former, than in thoſe of the latter, the trade of the latter, eſpecially that of iron, which is her chief ſupport, muſt conſtantly decreaſe, whilſt that of the former will be daily increaſing.

Peter was highly pleaſed with this treaty, ſigned the tenth of September 1721, which at once delivered him from his enemies, opened a door for the trade of his extenſive dominions, and at the ſame time left him entirely at liberty to continue the reformation of his empire, which he had already ſo far advanced, and

to

to make the arts, manufactures, and commerce, which had been introduced by his labour and care, to flouriſh in it.

The exchange of priſoners was made ſoon afterwards, and the Ruſſian troops quitted Poland, the provinces of Sweden which they occupied, and the duchy of Mecklenbourg; but the emperor a body of troops in Courland, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it for the ducheſs Ann Iwanowna his niece. It was during the pompous triumphs which were made upon this occaſion, that the ſenate and the ſynod gave Peter the titles of Great, of Emperor, and of Father of his Country.

The vaſt extent of the Ruſſian empire is ſuch, that it muſt neceſſarily have political intereſts and conteſts with the Swedes, the Poles, the Turks, the Chineſe, and the Perſians, with many other little ſtates upon which it borders.

During the reigns of the former dukes and czars this empire had been ſucceſſively ravaged by the Tartars, the Swedes, and the Poles, but under the reign of Peter the Great it became formidable to all theſe nations. In a ſtate of tranquillity on the ſide of Turkey and of China, and his new conqueſts ſecured by the Peace of Neuſtadt, Peter turned his attention towards Perſia, which was then greatly weakened and ravaged by her inteſtine wars. Huſſein Shah, a deſcendent of the great Shah Abbas, then occupied the throne of Perſia, but as he gave himſelf entirely up to the pleaſures of his ſeraglio and to indolence, his miniſters, who were his eunuchs, committed all kinds of injuſtice and cruelties among his people.

In ſuch a deſpotic government as this, a weak and debauched prince, who is always ſurrounded with infamous and wicked miniſters, and a powerful and enterprizing ſubject, is ſufficient to plunge a kingdom into the greateſt confuſion and horror. Myr Weis, who was employed to collect the tributes of the province of Daghiſtan, a bold and enterprizing man, declared that he was inſpired by Mahomet to deliver the Perſians from the ſtate of ſlavery into which they were plunged, and immediately raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion: he maſſacred the prince of Candahar, ſeized upon the town, and upon the treaſures of the ſovereign, and forced the Afghans, the braveſt of all the Perſian militia, to take an oath of fidelity to him: with the Afghan militia he beat the troops which Huſſein ſent againſt him, and remained maſter of Candahar till the year 1717, when he died.

His brother ſucceeded him in the government of this province, but his ſon Myr Mahmoud, who inherited all the enterprizing boldneſs of his father, aſſaſſinated his uncle, and became a conqueror. On the other hand the Albanians deſcended from their mountains, and ravaged all the flat country which extends itſelf from the weſtern ſide of the Caſpian Sea to Derbent, and did not ſpare even the rich town of Shamachi, where a company of Ruſſian merchants had eſtabliſhed themſelves, who were all maſſacred, and their magazines deſtroyed.

Upon this Peter ſent to the Shah of Perſia to demand ſatisfaction; but Huſſein was not in a ſituation to give it; and as Mahmoud would not do it, the czar reſolved to do himſelf juſtice; and in conſequence of this reſolution, after having ſounded the depths of the water on the weſtern coaſts of the Caſpian Sea, he parted from St. Peterſbourg with the empreſs Catherine,

Catherine, and an army of 22,000 infantry, 9000 dragoons, 15,000 Coſacks, and 3000 marines; this army ſoon after arrived at Aſtracan; from whence the dragoons marched by land through the paſſages of the mountains, where 300 men, if they had been properly poſted, were in a ſituation to ſtop the march of 100,000; the infantry were put on board tranſports prepared upon the Caſpian Sea for this expedition, and having coaſted along the weſtern ſhore of this ſea for eighty leagues, they arrived at Derbent in Armenia, upon the borders of Daghiſtan, of which the governor would not make any defence, but came immediately and preſented the keys to the czar. The conqueſt of this town finiſhed the campaign: the emperor left a garriſon in it of 15,000 men, commanded by general Matuſkin, and returned to Moſcow.

The conqueſt of Derbent gave great inquietude to the Ottoman Porte, who were apprehenſive that the czar had a deſign upon Georgia; and in conſequence a divan was aſſembled, where it was unanimouſly reſolved to declare war againſt Ruſſia; but the rupture between the two empires was afterwards accommodated without coming to extremities. Shah Huſſein was ſoon afterwards dethroned, and his ſon Thamaſeb driven out of his capital, and fled before the uſurper Mahmoud. In this ſituation he entered into a treaty with the czar, by which he ceded to him the towns of Derbent and of Baku, together with the provinces of Gkilan, Mazanderan, and Aſterabath, in perpetuity, on condition that he marched into Perſia at the head of an army to protect him againſt the uſurper Mahmoud. The Shah of Perſia accompliſhed his part of the treaty, but the emperor of Ruſſia never fulfilled his.

When

When Peter returned into his dominions from his Perſian expedition, he found great abuſes had been introduced into the adminiſtration of the government. Mentzikoff was ſuppoſed to have been the author of them; but on enquiring into the cauſe, the vice-chancellor Schaffiroff fell the victim, being accuſed of having in an arbitrary manner given his brother a title and appointments without the knowledge of the emperor or of the ſenate; of having by his own authority, as being the chief director of the poſt-office, augmented the poſtage of letters, and embezzled the money; of having concealed 200,000 ducats in ſpecie, and 70,000 in jewels, ariſing from the confiſcation of the property of prince Gagarin, though he had himſelf ſigned the edict of the emperor, which ordered all who had any effects of this criminal in their hands to declare it; and of having uttered every kind of contumely againſt the ſenators when they were in full ſenate, which was prohibited on pain of death: Schaffiroff was condemned to be beheaded, but the emperor afterwards gave him his life, and ſent him into Siberia.

This year 1723 the emperor likewiſe convened a great ſynod, at which almoſt all the dignified clergy of Ruſſia attended, and propoſed to them to aboliſh ſeveral abuſes and ſuperſtitious practices which had been at different times introduced into the church, and which diſhonoured their religion; and though many of the dignified clergy were ſtill much attached to their ancient ſuperſtitions, they conformed their deciſions to his opinion, which was the rule of their conduct. Nevertheleſs the deciſions of the ſynod, although ſupported by the imperial edicts, met with a powerful oppoſition. Many of the monks and others, at the head of whom was the printer of the court, publicly declared that Peter

was

was the Antichriſt; but theſe fanatics were ſeverely puniſhed for their imprudence.

In the beginning of the year 1724 Peter entered into an alliance with Sweden, to ſupport the rights of the duke of Holſtein to the duchy of Sleſwick; ſent for this prince to St. Peterſbourg, and promiſed to give him Ann Petrowna his eldeſt daughter in marriage: he founded the academy of ſciences at St. Peterſbourg; and as if he felt that his end was approaching, he crowned his wife, the empreſs Catherine, with great ſolemnity at Moſcow, in preſence of the ducheſs of Courland, his niece, and of the duke of Holſtein, whom he intended ſhould be his ſon-in-law, which he declared was in conſideration of the great ſervices which he had done the ſtate, particularly in the war againſt the Turks, when his army, as he ſaid, was reduced to 22,000 men, and when he had more than 250,000 to contend with. Nothing appeared in the order which he gave for her coronation that ſhe was to reign after him; but this ceremony, which was never before uſed in his ſtates, was undoubtedly calculated to prepare the minds of his people for ſuch an event; and what made the foreign miniſters, and all the ſenſible part of the Ruſſian nation ſtill more conclude that Catherine was to poſſeſs the throne after her huſband, was, that he himſelf walked a-foot before her on the day of her coronation as captain of a new company which he had created, under the name of the Empreſs's Knights. When they arrived at the cathedral, Peter himſelf put the crown upon her head, when ſhe would have embraced his knees, but he hindered her, and on going out of the church, he ordered the ſceptre and the globe to be carried before her. This ceremony was magnificent, and

very

very different from that ſimplicity which Peter had always obſerved in his private life.

When he had crowned his wife, he reſolved to marry his daughter to the duke of Holſtein; but this ceremony was not performed with any particular magnificence.

Peter now found that his ſtrength was much decreaſed, and he was obſerved to be more paſſionate and ſevere than he had been for many years before. One day the empreſs came to him to intercede for one of her women who had received preſents for uſing her intereſt to procure favours for others, though the laws of Ruſſia had made it a capital crime, and who had been convicted of this corruption; but Peter, extremely irritated, refuſed her requeſt, and in the violence of his paſſion, broke a fine Venice glaſs which was in the room, and aſked her, If ſhe did not ſee that with a ſmall blow of the hand he could reduce that glaſs to the duſt from which it was taken? Catherine regarding him with tears in her eyes, anſwered him nearly in the following words: "Certainly you have broken what was an ornament to "your palace, but do you imagine that you will be able to pro-"cure another that is more valuable?"

Peter was a little calmed by this anſwer, but Catherine could not obtain a pardon for her woman; all ſhe could obtain was a mitigation of her puniſhment.

Towards the beginning of the year 1725 the emperor found his ſtrength daily decreaſing, he therefore haſtened the execution of many of the projects which he had begun; the active genius of this great man was conſtantly moving, though his

bodily ſtrength could give it very little aſſiſtance. Peter had been attacked for ſome time before with the ſtone, and had at times a retention of urine, which gave him great pain; and all the remedies which he took procured him but little eaſe: the violent agitation of his mind, which never ceaſed, increaſed his diſorder, weakened his body, and haſtened his end.

In the beginning of January 1725 he was attacked with a remitting fever, which kept him almoſt conſtantly in a delirium; he attempted to write during the intervals of his diſorder, but he could not form any letters that could be read: he then ordered that the princeſs Anna Petrowna ſhould be brought to him, to whom he would dictate what he had to ſay; but before ſhe could be brought to his bed he had already loſt his ſpeech, and fell into an agony which laſted near ſixteen hours. The empreſs Catherine did not quit his chamber for three nights, and at length he died in her arms on the 28th of January 1725.

It was ſuppoſed, and even publiſhed, that he had left his wife the crown by his teſtament; but the fact is, that he made no will; and it was not known even to the hour of his death who ſhould mount the throne. His grandſon Peter, and his eldeſt daughter the ducheſs of Holſtein, had ſome pretenſions, and there was a conſiderable party formed in favour of the former; but prince Mentzikoff, whoſe talents were ſuperior to all the others, and who had always been connected with the empreſs Catherine, prevented all the deſigns that were formed by the chiefs of the different parties. When the emperor was ready to expire, Mentzikoff ſent Catherine into a great hall in the palace, where all their friends were aſſembled, who immediately gained over all the guards, and the archbiſhop of Novogorod, who led

the clergy: afterwards they ſent all the public treaſure to the caſtle; and Catherine held a ſecret council with them, and with one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, where the miniſter of the duke of Holſtein aſſiſted. Catherine left the council as ſoon as poſſible, and returned to receive her dying huſband in her arms ſome minutes before he breathed his laſt. Soon after, all the ſenators and general officers ran to the palace, with Mentzikoff, as commander in chief of the army, at their head, where Catherine made a ſpeech; to which Mentzikoff anſwered in their name: they then retired a little to deliberate upon the form of the proclamation; when the archbiſhop of Pleſcow acquainted them that the emperor had declared, the day before the coronation of Catherine, that he crowned her with the intention that ſhe ſhould reign after him; whereupon all the aſſembly ſigned the proclamation, and Catherine ſucceeded her huſband the very day that he died.

Not only the Ruſſians, but even the greateſt part of Europe, have given this emperor the title of Peter the Great; and future generations, to whom his ſecret faults will be leſs known, will look with admiration upon the character of this prince. Born with a great genius, he ſhook off the prejudices of a throne, and of his country; ſurmounted the vices of his education; and finding himſelf at the head of a nation at that time in a ſtate of the greateſt barbarity, he was ſhocked at the idea of it, and reſolved to form a civilized empire. He was himſelf the creator and the executor of many of his projects; and as the induſtrious bee collects her honey from all the ſummer flowers, ſo did this great man collect the arts, ſciences, and uſeful regulations of almoſt every part of Europe. In the midſt of a long and dreadful war he formed a formidable marine, opened

the door to extend the trade of his dominions, built cities, and conſtructed ſeveral new fortreſſes; he reformed the religion, laws, manners, and cuſtoms of this country; and, in fact, formed a new empire, and a new people. He forced nature in every thing, upon the land and upon the water, in his ſubjects, and in himſelf; but he forced her in order to embelliſh her. No part of the government was forgotten by this active, laborious, and enterprizing prince. The world in general have ſuppoſed that he was actuated by the love of glory; it is true, but he loved it becauſe he wiſhed thereby do good to the human ſpecies. His violent paſſions often counteracted his good intentions and his reaſon; but ſince he had always the good of his people in view, his ſeverities and tyrannical acts, conſidering likewiſe the education which he had, were ſuch as may be pardoned. I have already obſerved, that all the czars of the family of Romanow were naturally diſpoſed to make a reformation in the manners and cuſtoms of their country; but they had ſuch a barbarous people to contend with, and met with ſo many oppoſitions, that they would never, in all probability, have ſucceeded, if the ſtrong and active genius of Peter the Great, who made this reformation always the grand object of his purſuit, had not undertaken it.

Peter had ſtrong paſſions and many vices, which he could never ſubdue: accuſtomed from his youth to drink an immoderate quantity of ſtrong liquors, they inflamed his blood, and often puſhed him to do ſuch acts of barbarity and inhumanity as he bluſhed for, ſome hours after; and he would often declare, that though he was endeavouring to reform others, he could not reform himſelf. He was much given to ſenſual pleaſures, and had ſeveral miſtreſſes; but Catherine, who, like him,

was one of thoſe original geniuſes that appear very rarely in the world, captivated him: born with a reſolution and ſtrength of judgment that are ſeldom found in her ſex, this extraordinary woman ſeems to have been calculated by nature to be Peter's companion; and the emperor, who never regarded the great qualities of another with envy, married her, crowned her, and with his ſceptre in her hand left her to finiſh the great enterprizes which he had begun.

The condemnation of his ſon to death is ſuch a ſtain in his character as is indelible; whatever were his motives for it, it will afford us a ſtriking example of the depravity of human nature, when we forget the great end for which we were ſent into the world, when we forget that humanity is the ſecond great law of God and nature, and when we ſuffer our paſſions to overcome our reaſon.

On the other hand, the arts and manufactures which Peter tranſplanted from foreign countries, and eſtabliſhed with his own hands among a ſavage people, have, by the fruits which they have produced, given ſufficient teſtimony of his genius, and will be ſo many monuments of his glory in future ages.

In fact, conſidering the education which he had received, and the examples of tyranny and brutality which were continually before his eyes, Peter almoſt effected wonders by forcing nature: but what would he have done if he had been educated in a civilized country, if his heart had been equal to his head, and if, by following the dictates of nature, he had governed his people as rational beings?

When

When Peter came to the throne there were at leaſt ten millions of people in the Ruſſian dominions who were in a ſtate of ſlavery equal to that of the Negroes in the Weſt Indies, and who, though called Chriſtians, were bought and ſold with the eſtates upon which they lived like ſo many horſes or ſheep. During the times of barbarity and oppreſſion the proprietors of theſe lands, and thoſe who called themſelves the nobility of the country, had uſurped a power over theſe poor unhappy people, contrary to all laws both divine and human, and which was afterwards confirmed to them by weak and wicked kings, as I have already obſerved in my account of Denmark.

In the dark ages of barbariſm, when mankind lived by preying upon each other like the wild beaſts of the deſert, ſuch a plan of government might have ſubſiſted, but in theſe civilized and enlightened ages it muſt fall; a country can never be enriched by agriculture, manufactures, and commerce where the government ſuffers ſubjects to oppreſs each other in ſuch a manner; and moreover, it is no leſs contrary to true policy than to the true intereſt of thoſe who are proprietors of lands: a perſon who thinks himſelf oppreſſed will never uſe his utmoſt endeavours to promote the intereſt of his oppreſſor: a perſon who knows that he cannot have any thing but food and common cloathing will not endeavour to procure any thing for his ſuperior, except by force and violence; whereas, if he had a certain fixed ſhare of the fruit of his labours, he would exert himſelf to augment continually his little. If Peter had begun his reformation by giving freedom to his poor ſubjects, particularly the farmers, on condition that they eſtabliſhed themſelves upon farms, paid a fixed yearly rent to the proprietors for their reſpective farms, and that the property which they gained by their induſtry ſhould

be

be ſecured to them and to their families, who ſhould be intirely independent of the proprietors of the lands, excluſive of ſuch yearly payments; if Peter had begun his reformation in this manner, he would have laid the corner ſtone of a ſtructure that future ages would have admired with wonder, and his dominions would at this time have been ten times as rich and flouriſhing as they actually are.

The death of the emperor Peter the Great produced no change in the affairs of the ſtate, nor in the diſpoſition of the public employments. Mentzikoff, who was always ſupported by the empreſs Catherine, by his ſuperior talents and addreſs ſoon reconciled all parties. When the ceremonies of the burial were paſſed, the empreſs gave herſelf up entirely to the cares of government: ſhe immediately paid off all the arrears which were due to the troops; and as the government was threatened upon the death of Peter with a revolt of the Coſacks, under pretence of preventing the ravages of the Tartars, ſhe engaged them to ſuffer her to raiſe ſome conſiderable fortreſſes in their country. The duke of Holſtein, her ſon-in-law, was ſtill at the court of St. Peterſbourg. A great part of his territories, particularly the duchy of Sleſwic, had always been the ſource of contention between the dukes of Holſtein and the kings of Denmark; but in the year 1720, after the death of Charles the Twelfth, the king of Denmark took poſſeſſion of this duchy, which was afterwards ceded to him by a treaty, of which England and France were guarantees, ſo that the family of Holſtein Gottorp were deprived of this duchy.

Diſcontented with this arrangement, the duke refuſed to give his aſſent, and waited for an opportunity to ſell his rights; and with

with this intention he retired into Sweden, and from thence into Ruſſia, where the emperor Peter the Great, as I have already obſerved, gave him his eldeſt daughter in marriage, gave him the title of Royal Highneſs, and promiſed to ſupport his pretenſions to the duchy of Sleſwic. The death of this great prince prevented him from fulfilling his promiſes in favour of the duke; but the empreſs Catherine engaged in this affair with ſome warmth, and prevailed upon the emperor Charles the Sixth, and the kings of Pruſſia and Sweden, to ſecond her intentions; and from this moment theſe powers gave the duke of Holſtein Gottorp the title of royal highneſs, and flattered him that he ſhould very ſoon recover his rights; but the confuſion that ſoon afterwards happened in Ruſſia, and the death of the empreſs Catherine, prevented this project from being carried into execution.

In the beginning of the year 1726 the empreſs declared Peter Alexiowitz, ſon of the unfortunate Alexis, to be her ſucceſſor, charged herſelf particularly with his education, and gave him the title of Grand Duke, notwithſtanding ſhe had ſeveral children; a certain proof of her diſintereſtedneſs, and that her huſband had juſtly acquitted her of having in any meaſure contributed towards the condemnation of Alexis.

Such however was the wicked diſpoſition of ſeveral of the Ruſſian nobility; no ſooner had Catherine made this declaration, but they began to form a conſpiracy againſt her, and had actually planned a deſign to ſhut her up in a convent, and to place Peter Alexiowitz upon the throne: however, by the care and ſagacity of Mentzikoff, the plot was diſcovered and the authors

authors puniſhed, their property being confiſcated and themſelves baniſhed into Siberia.

In the beginning of the year 1727 the empreſs Catherine fell gradually into a ſtate of langour, without any manifeſt cauſe, which made the ignorant part of the nation ſuppoſe that ſhe had been poiſoned; but ſoon after this malady turned to a conſumption, and it was obſerved that her lungs were ulcerated, of which ſhe died within two months, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, after a ſhort reign of two years and three months.

As ſoon as the grand duke was proclaimed emperor, by the title of Peter the Second, the different orders of the ſtate were convoked, and in their preſence the teſtament of the late empreſs Catherine was read, ratified, and confirmed by the new emperor and by the council of regency, which was formed to take care of the government of the empire; and as this piece, by the fundamental laws of the empire, was to decide in ſome meaſure the future form of government, it is too intereſting not to be exhibited at large.

After the preamble, the empreſs proceeded to diſpoſe of the affairs of the ſtate in the following manner: "Firſt, The great "Duke, grandſon of the late emperor my huſband, ſhall ſucceed "me, and ſhall govern with the ſame ſovereign authority and "abſolute power that I have governed the Ruſſian empire, "and his legitimate children ſhall ſucceed him: but if he ſhall "die without any iſſue, my eldeſt daughter Anna Petrowna ſhall "inherit the crown of Ruſſia; and, after her, her children ſhall

" ſucceed to the crown: if ſhe dies without leaving any iſſue,
" the throne of Ruſſia ſhall appertain to my daughter Elizabeth
" Petrowna, and to her legal heirs after her: but if it ſhall
" pleaſe heaven to take my daughter Elizabeth likewiſe from
" this world without leaving any deſcendents, then the throne
" ſhall be the property of the princeſs Natalia Alexiowna, grand-
" daughter of the late emperor my huſband, and to her
" deſcendents: but it is to be underſtood that the perſons named
" in my teſtament, and their deſcendents, who ſhall be deſigned
" to wear the imperial crown of Ruſſia, muſt give up their
" pretenſions to it if they wear the crown of any other nation;
" and moreover, they muſt publicly profeſs the Greek reli-
" gion.——Secondly, So long as the great duke is not of a
" proper age to govern by himſelf, he ſhall have a council of
" regency, who ſhall govern during his minority, and who ſhall
" have the care of his education. The majority of the voices
" ſhall be an irrevocable law in this council, which ſhall conſiſt
" of nine perſons; namely, my eldeſt daughter Anna Petrowna,
" her ſiſter Elizabeth Petrowna, the duke of Holſtein, the prince
" Mentzikoff, and five other ſenators. This council of regency
" ſhall not have power to make any alteration in the order
" of ſucceſſion that I have thought proper to eſtabliſh by my
" preſent teſtament, which ſhall be regarded as a fundamental
" and irrevocable law of the empire.——Thirdly, The great
" duke ſhall aſſiſt at all the deliberations of this council, whoſe
" deciſive power ſhall continue till he ſhall have attained to the
" ſeventeenth year of his age, and then it ſhall ceaſe, and he
" ſhall take the reins of government into his own hands; but
" he ſhall not demand of this council any account of their ad-
" miniſtration.——Fourthly, The princeſſes my daughters having
" ceded, as they actually do cede, their right to the ſucceſſion

" of their father and of their mother, in favour of the great
" duke and of his deſcendents, ſhall receive in conſideration
" thereof one million of roubles (i. e. 200,000l.) beſides their
" fortune, which ſhall be 300,000 roubles for each; theſe ſums
" ſhall be paid to them during the minority of the emperor
" my ſucceſſor; and moreover the ſaid princeſſes my daughters
" ſhall receive each of them a penſion of 100,000 roubles a year,
" which ſhall continue during the minority of the emperor;
" and they ſhall inherit all my jewels, ſilver veſſels, and equi-
" page.——Fifthly, The government of Ruſſia ſhall intereſt
" themſelves warmly in the affair of the reſtitution of the duchy
" of Sleſwic to the duke of Holſtein, and uſe their utmoſt en-
" deavours to put his royal highneſs in poſſeſſion of his heredi-
" tary eſtates: and when the future emperor, my ſucceſſor, ſhall
" become of age, he ſhall preſs this affair with all his force, if
" it is not done in his minority: he ſhall live always in friend-
" ſhip and concord with the Houſe of Holſtein; and when the
" ſaid duke ſhall have mounted the throne of Sweden, to which
" he is the next heir, he ſhall live in friendſhip and harmony
" with Ruſſia.——Sixthly, I do conſent that my daughter Eli-
" zabeth ſhall chooſe for her huſband Charles Frederic biſhop
" of Lubeck, duke of Holſtein and Sleſwic; and with this inten-
" tion I give them my maternal bleſſing.——Seventhly, I order
" that in future the ambaſſador of Holſtein reſiding at this court
" ſhall have a proper houſe in this city; and it is my will that
" this houſe ſhall be exempted from the lodging of ſoldiers, and
" from every other charge.—Eighthly, I will and I order that
" the great duke be engaged to marry one of the daughters of
" the prince Mentzikoff.—Ninthly, When the duke of Hol-
" ſtein ſhall think proper to retire from this court, he ſhall be
" furniſhed gratis with ſuch carriages and ſhips as are neceſſary

" for carrying him to his own dominions, which ſhall be paid " by the emperor my ſucceſſor.—Tenthly, All my landed pro- " perty, which does not appertain to the crown, but to me in " particular, whether by the donation of the late emperor my " huſband, whether by purchaſe or otherwiſe, ſhall be divided " among my neareſt relations.—Eleventhly, The emperor of the " Romans ſhall be deſired to guaranty the execution of my pre- " ſent teſtament, and curſed be thoſe who ſhall endeavour to " hinder the execution of it directly or indirectly."

Many examples are to be met with in the hiſtory of different ſtates, of ſubjects who have married their reſpective ſovereigns; but I believe this is the firſt inſtance of a perſon who was unknown, taken in the midſt of a town that was carried by ſtorm, and led away as a captive and as a ſlave, becoming the wife of her ſovereign, and maintaining glorioufly his throne after him: certainly ſuch another example is not to be found in the annals of the world, eſpecially as ſhe owed her riſe entirely to her merit, which was to be judged of by one of the greateſt men of the age. Her beauty captivated Peter, her great ſoul drew upon it his admiration, and her prudence rendered her abſolutely neceſſary to him. She was a tender and indefatigable wife, partook of all the labours and fatigues of her benefactor, and her conſtant gaiety and good humour ſoothed and calmed his pains and vexations; her humanity often moderated the emperor's ſeverity, and prevented him from doing, in his fits of paſſion, what he would afterwards have been aſhamed of; her complaiſance and natural good ſenſe made her converſation intereſting and agreeable to her huſband. Catherine, who could neither write nor read, made up the want of her education by a greatneſs of ſoul, a ſolid judgment, and a courage and reſolution very un-

common in one of her ſex; ſhe owed all her glory and grandeur to her good conduct, and to the intelligence and attention with which ſhe ſtudied the genius of the czar her huſband; and what is very uncommon, ſhe was equally good and benevolent when ſhe ſat upon the throne, as ſhe always had been in her private character.

The emperor Peter the Second was only twelve years of age when he mounted the throne of this great empire; and as a minority in every monarchy is generally a time of confuſion and of intrigues, it now became ſo in Ruſſia to the laſt degree. Mentzikoff, whom the emperor Peter the Great had appointed generaliſſimo of his forces both by land and ſea, as a reward for the great ſervices which he had done the ſtate, and whoſe ſuperior merit and talents, not only as a general but as a ſtateſman, made him an ornament to the Ruſſian nation, was envied by the Ruſſian nobility, whoſe ignorance and want of every ſocial virtue could not be equalled but by their wickedneſs and brutality. The pearls of this great man were really caſt before northern ſwine, who caballed againſt him, and endeavoured to deſtroy him for the ſignal ſervices which he was doing them. Among this ſpurious race the princes of Dolgorowki, having gained the confidence of the young emperor, perſuaded him to revenge the death of his father, of whom, as they ſaid, Mentzikoff had always been the declared enemy; though it does not appear from any of the public records, or from the declarations of the emperor, that this great general had any part in that tranſaction: they likewiſe made the emperor believe that he was kept in a ſtate of ſlavery; and at length they made the poor boy confeſs, that it would give him pleaſure to ſee Mentzikoff, whoſe daughter

ter he had promiſed to marry, ſtripped of every thing of which he was poſſeſſed.

In this, as in moſt other deſpotic governments, there is but the interval of an inſtant between the grandeur and the fall of a miniſter: the young emperor was at his country houſe called Peter's-Hoff, when Mentzikoff, who was ill of a fever at St. Peterſbourg, was arreſted, ſtripped of all his employments, of his orders, and of all his property, and ſent into Siberia with his family. A ſtriking and melancholy example of the viciſſitudes of human life!

Mentzikoff, as I have already obſerved, was of mean extraction, and ſold fruit and tarts in the ſtreets of Moſcow; by his ſuperior merit and ſhining talents he recommended himſelf to the favour of Peter the Great, and was his attendant in all his mitary expeditions; and by his counſels, by his daring, though well conducted acts of bravery, did the czar more real ſervice, particularly at the famous battle of Pultawa, than half the general officers of his army; as a recompence for which the emperor raiſed him to the higheſt degree of honour and grandeur: but as he was found to be no leſs a ſtateſman than a general, when the peace was concluded with Sweden, he was likewiſe placed at the head of the civil government, which he conducted in ſuch a manner as gained him the eſteem of Peter the Great, and the admiration of all Europe; the greateſt potentates endeavoured to cultivate his friendſhip, and in fact there was the ſtrongeſt appearance that his poſterity would ſit upon the throne of Ruſſia. But mark the inſtability of human greatneſs, and the wretchedneſs of a deſpotic government! When Mentzikoff thought himſelf in the zenith of his grandeur and power, and was uſing his

utmoſt

utmoſt endeavours to carry the plans of his late great patron into execution for the honour and intereſt of his country, a race of wretches, who though ennobled by birth had the moſt abject and groveling ideas, deſtroyed all his expectations, plunged him into the greateſt miſery, and would have deſtroyed all that the emperor Peter the Great had done for the good of his country, if they had not been providentially checked in their career.

Mentzikoff, in his miſerable exile, ſupported his misfortunes with a greatneſs of ſoul worthy of a philoſopher and of himſelf: removed from the hurry and confuſion of the world, he had an opportunity to reflect upon the vanities of greatneſs and power, and died a Chriſtian.

Mentzikoff was a great general, a bold but profound politician, and one of thoſe extraordinary perſons who acquire great knowledge more by the efforts of their own genius than by application. His wife died before they arrived at the place of their exile; his ſon and his daughter returned to St. Peterſbourg, under the following reign, and had the ſatisfaction, if it be a ſatisfaction to great minds, to ſee the wretched Dolgorowkis, the chief authors of their father's miſery, receive the puniſhment due to their crimes.

In the beginning of the year 1728 the ceremony of the coronation of Peter the Second was performed at Moſcow with great magnificence: he had reſolved to abandon St. Peterſbourg, to take up his reſidence in the ancient capital; and by the Dolgorowkian counſels, to undo every thing that his grandfather had done for the good of his country. He brought his grandmother Eudocia Lapukin out of the convent where ſhe had been con-

confined, and declared her innocent of all the crimes which had been laid to her charge; and every thing was preparing to be reduced to the ſame ſituation that it was in when Peter the Great came to the throne.

They renewed this year the treaty of alliance between the empire of Ruſſia and the kingdom of Poland; but the court in the midſt of this ſtate of tranquillity were much alarmed by the death of Anna Petrowna, princeſs imperial, and ducheſs of Holſtein: ſhe left the duke one ſon, who was born the twentieth of February this year, and called Peter Ulric, and who afterwards mounted the throne under the name of Peter the Third.

Towards the end of the following year, when many of the moſt uſeful regulations of Peter the Great were aboliſhed, the emperor Peter the Second, who had been contracted to the daughter of Mentzikoff, was again contracted with the daughter of Dolgorowki, whoſe father was become his confident and firſt miniſter: but when all the empire were preparing to celebrate this marriage, Peter Alexiowitz was attacked with the ſmall-pox, and died ſoon after, to the great grief of all who wiſhed to have ſeen Ruſſia reduced to the ſame ſtate of barbarity that ſhe was in when Peter the Firſt came to the throne.

If they had followed the diſpoſitions of the teſtament of the empreſs Catherine, which by the fundamental laws of the empire could not be changed, eſpecially as the late emperor was a minor when he died, the ſon of the duke of Holſtein and of Anna Petrowna was heir to the throne: but this regulation was contrary to the intereſt of the Dolgorowkis, and the new

count

count D'Oſterman, who had been raiſed from the duſt by Peter the Great, and who in a moment was ready to deſtroy even the family and memory of his benefactor; this regulation was contrary to the intereſt of theſe men, who formed a great party among the old Ruſſian nobility, and having gained over the guards, reſolved to prevent all the deſcendents of Peter the Firſt from ever aſcending the throne, notwithſtanding the pains which this great man had taken to make them a nation, and to call the iſſue of his brother Iwan to the imperial dignity. But by an extraordinary refinement of politics, inſtead of calling the ducheſs Catherine of Mecklenbourg to the throne, which might have drawn Ruſſia into an expenſive war to ſupport the rights of the duke her huſband, they preferred Ann ducheſs dowager of Courland, her youngeſt ſiſter, and artfully inſinuated that Peter the Second had upon his death-bed deſigned her to be his ſucceſſor, though he was ſtill a minor, and conſequently not in a ſituation to make a teſtament. The Dolgorowki cabal did not long enjoy the authority of which they were ſo jealous; it is true, the new empreſs Ann ſigned all the conditions that were propoſed to her before ſhe was proclaimed; but when ſhe ſaw herſelf upon the throne, ſhe broke all theſe diſhonourable chains as ſhe deemed them, which reſtrained her power, ſent the family of Dolgorowki into exile for having endeavoured to impoſe ſuch terms upon her, and made the count D'Oſterman her firſt miniſter, who had at leaſt cunning enough to change his principles with the times.

No alteration for the better was made in the internal policy of this empire during the reign of Ann Iwanowna; on the contrary, many of the uſeful regulations which Peter the Great had made were aboliſhed; and certainly if the court had retired from

St.

St. Peterſbourg to Moſcow, and had not ſuch an intercourſe with ſtrangers as they conſtantly had at this time, they would have again fallen into the ſame ſtate of barbarity and ſuperſtition that they were in when Peter the Great took the reins of government into his hands.

The ukaſes, or laws which were made during this reign, and all their judicial proceedings, tend to prove this great truth.

After the death of Auguſtus the Second, king of Poland, in the year 1733, the court of Ruſſia declared in favour of Auguſtus the Third, againſt king Staniſlaus, who was protected by his ſon-in-law the king of France, and not only obliged Staniſlaus to quit the Poliſh dominions, but ſent an army of auxiliary troops to aſſiſt the emperor Charles the Sixth, then at war with France.

The three following years the Tartars of Daghiſtan, joined by the Tartars of the Crim, declared war againſt the Ruſſians, and took the towns of Derbent and Baku; but when the empreſs ſent an army under the command of count Munich into thoſe parts, theſe robbers retired, and abandoned their conqueſts: this expedition was very advantageous to the general, but very ruinous to the ſtate, which expended great ſums of money on it, and loſt near 50,000 of their veteran troops.

In the year 1737, upon the death of the duke of Courland, the empreſs Ann ſpared no pains nor expence to make her favourite John Erneſt Biron to be elected duke. The ſtates of this duchy, awed by the great power of the empreſs, elected Biron,

who ſoon after received the inveſtiture of his duchy from the crown of Poland.

In the beginning of the year 1739 the empreſs married her niece Catherine, daughter of the princeſs Catherine Iwanowna ducheſs of Mecklenbourg, to the duke of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttel; and during the courſe of this year marſhal Munich, who was ſtill at the head of the Ruſſian army, gained ſeveral victories over the combined armies of the Turks and Tartars: he entered into Moldavia, and obtained a great victory over the Turks near Choczim, took this town, and afterwards Jaſſy, the capital of this province; his deſign was to join the emperor's army in Hungary, but he never could effect this junction: the Turks on the other hand made ſome powerful efforts to retake Aſoph, which Munich had taken, but without any effect; and the war was ſoon after finiſhed by the treaty of peace made at Belgrade, between the emperor of Germany and the Sultan, to which the empreſs of Ruſſia conſented; but ſhe was obliged to give up Aſoph and its territories.

In the beginning of the year 1740 the empreſs Ann Iwanowna died, who had been elevated to the throne to overturn all the ſyſtems of government which Peter the Great had eſtabliſhed: knowing that the throne did not belong to her, ſhe ſubſcribed to very diſhonourable conditions to mount it; but as ſoon as ſhe was fixed on it, and ſaw through the plan which was to be purſued by the Dolgorowkis and their adherents, ſhe ſummoned all her reſolution, ſent the Dolgorowkis into Siberia for having judged ſo meanly of her, and purſued a plan of government of her own formation. In the diſpoſitions which ſhe made before ſhe died, ſhe took no notice of the order of ſucceſſion ſo legally and ſo formally

mally eſtabliſhed by the empreſs Catherine; but, inſtead of calling the young duke of Holſtein, or the princeſs Elizabeth Petrowna, to the throne according to their right, ſhe deſigned the young prince Iwan, ſon of the princeſs of Brunſwic her niece, to ſucceed her, though he was only two months old: ſhe paſſed over her niece and her niece's huſband, to leave the government to her favourite Biron, duke of Courland, whom ſhe appointed guardian to the young emperor, and regent to the empire, with an unlimited power; though it was by the princeſs of Brunſwic his mother, that the young prince Iwan could aſpire to the throne, according to their plan of calling the elder branch of the family of Romanow to the imperial ſucceſſion; and this prince, who might ſucceed to his mother, could never in the natural order of ſucceſſions go before her: but this was a plan haſtily contrived by the empreſs Ann to raiſe her favourite Biron to the higheſt degree of power, though not well enough digeſted to withſtand all the aſſaults of his enemies in ſuch a turbulent court as that of Ruſſia.

As Biron was now inveſted with all the power and authority of the ſtate, and with the greateſt deſpotiſm kept the father and the mother of the young emperor at a great diſtance, ſurely he muſt have thought himſelf only ſurrounded by a ſet of ſlaves who would take the firſt opportunity of breaking their chains. It is true, Biron, without abandoning any thing of the prerogatives of his place, took every means to make them ſupportable by his generoſity and affability. In any other court, or with any other perſons, ſuch conduct might have been productive of ſome good effect: but what conſideration could he offer to the ducheſs of Brunſwic as a compenſation for holding the reins of deſpotic government? In fact, this princeſs, impatient to

reign under the name of her ſon, aſſembled all the enemies of the miniſter, which in a court like that of Ruſſia are generally not only numerous but violent, and informed them, that ſhe would partake the authority of the regent with them, if they would aſſiſt her in ſeizing upon it. As there are always great numbers of people about the court of Ruſſia who are ready to carry any deſperate enterprize into execution, no ſooner were her intentions known, than it was reſolved to arreſt the duke; and having ſecured the guards in their intereſt, who were at this time become, and have ever ſince continued, as turbulent and fond of revolts, as were the antient Strelitz, general Munich charged himſelf with this commiſſion, and arreſted the duke; who it is ſaid was found guilty of ſuch enormous crimes, that his judges condemned him to death; but the princeſs of Brunſwic having become regent of the kingdom by his fall, ſoftened the rigour of his puniſhment, and ſent him into Siberia with all his family.

In the beginning of the year 1741, when the queen of Hungary and Bohemia was attacked by ſuch powerful enemies, after the death of her father the emperor Charles the Sixth, and the court of Ruſſia was ſuppoſed to have been engaged to take an active part in this war, the court of France induced Sweden to enter into the confederacy, and to avert the force of the Ruſſian arms from the ſide of Germany, by attacking it in Finland, which was made the theatre of war: but the Ruſſian field-marſhal Laſſy beat the Swedes near Williamſtrand, took the town, and afterwards purſued the Swediſh army, which retired, and always preſerved the ſuperiority which he had gained.

The ducheſs of Brunſwic not having it in her power to reward thoſe who were concerned in the late revolution as they expected, and not having been, as they ſuppoſed, ſufficiently generous towards the guards, both the civil and the military ſlaves of the court began to murmur againſt her; and the latter, ſuppoſing that a ſubſequent revolution would be more advantageous to them than that which had preceded, indirectly offered their ſervice to the princeſs Elizabeth Petrowna, who till now had been very quiet, notwithſtanding all the injuſtice which had been done her. Some days were ſufficient to form a party in favour of this princeſs. The laſt will of Peter the Great and of Catherine not being executed, was regarded as the only cauſe of all the troubles and confuſion which had diſturbed the empire for fifteen years paſt: the miniſters, the generals, and the greateſt part of the clergy, now acknowledged this momentous truth: and having by large promiſes ſecured the guards, the ducheſs regent, the emperor her ſon, and the duke her huſband, with the principal of their friends and confederates, were arreſted in one night; the three former were ſent priſoners into a ſtrong fortreſs, and the latter were exiled to Siberia: this great revolution was effected in one night without any bloodſhed, and the next morning Elizabeth was proclaimed empreſs, and obeyed as if ſhe had been twenty years upon her throne.

The empreſs Elizabeth, who had much of the benevolent character of her mother, particularly deſired that if her ſubjects would elevate her to the throne, the revolution might be effected without any bloodſhed; ſhe was obeyed; and after having reformed the enormous abuſes which had been introduced into every part of the government, and re-eſtabliſhed the plan which her father Peter the Great had adopted, ſhe parted from Moſcow

to

to be crowned in the ancient cathedral church according to the ceremonial which had been obſerved at the coronation of the empreſs Catherine her mother. The ſucceſſive revolutions which had happened in the government, and the turbulent diſpoſition of the guards and of a great part of the nation, ſufficiently inſtructed the reigning empreſs in the inſtability and barbarouſneſs of their ſentiments; and knowing that ſhe could not legally have come to the throne before the young duke of Holſtein her elder ſiſter's ſon, to preclude any apparent pretence of murmuring from the ill-diſpoſed part of the nation, ſhe brought the duke her nephew to St. Peterſbourg, named him lieutenant-general of the troops of the empire, ordered him to be inſtructed in the Greek religion, and declared him her ſucceſſor to the throne.

This young prince was likewiſe heir to the crown of Sweden, and as the king was very old, the diet and ſenate of this kingdom propoſed, in the year 1742, to elect him a ſucceſſor, when all the voices united in favour of the young duke of Holſtein, as the legal heir of the houſe of Guſtavus Vaſa. The Swediſh ambaſſadors arrived at the court of Ruſſia the day after the young duke, as having been declared ſucceſſor to the throne, had taken the title of great duke, and had changed his baptiſmal names for thoſe of Peter Fœdorowitz. The ambaſſadors were received with all the regard which was due for the honour which the Swediſh nation had done to his imperial highneſs, who informed them that he could not now accept their crown, but propoſed in his place Adolphus Frederic his uncle, then biſhop of Lubeck.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding this extraordinary act of the Swediſh nation, they were ſtill at war with the Ruſſians, who had conquered the greateſt part of Finland.

However the following year a peace was concluded between the two powers, and ſigned at Abo; the principal articles of which are as follows: "That the duke of Holſtein Eutin, "biſhop of Lubeck, and adminiſtrator of the duchy of Hol-"ſtein Gottorp, ſhall be elected and declared ſucceſſor to the "crown of Sweden; that Sweden ſhall cede to Ruſſia in per-"petuity all the province of Keymengard, with the river Key-"men, the town and fortreſs of Nyſlot, and a ſmall tract of land "to the eaſt, and to the north thereof about four leagues large. "That Ruſſia ſhall reſtore to Sweden for ever and irrevocably "all the conqueſts which ſhe had made in Finland, in the "eaſtern Bothnia, in Riomeberg, about Abo, the iſlands of "Aland, Tavaſthus, and Nyland, and all that part of Carelia "which fell to her ſhare by the treaty of Neuſtadt concluded "in the year 1721."

The famous Thamas Kouli Kan, at the head of a great army, threatened the frontiers of Ruſſia ſeveral times in the courſe of this year; on which the empreſs Elizabeth aſſembled all the troops which ſhe had on the ſide of Aſtracan, and ſent a great number of officers into Circaſſia to engage the Tartars of this country to put themſelves under her protection, and to furniſh her with a certain number of ſoldiers; ſo that every thing was now diſpoſed for a bloody war; but Kouli Kan ſoon perceived that his troops, though active and brave, were not in a ſituation to oppoſe the European diſcipline, and therefore made propoſitions of peace, which were accepted.

In

In the beginning of the year 1745 the courts of St. Peterſbourg and of Stockholm entered into a treaty of defenſive alliance, wherein they engaged, in the caſes therein ſpecified, to ſuccour each other mutually; Sweden engaged to furniſh Ruſſia with 8000 foot ſoldiers and 2000 horſe, together with ſix ſhips of the line and two frigates; and Ruſſia engaged to furniſh Sweden with 12,000 foot, 4000 horſe, nine ſhips of the line, and three frigates.

This treaty gave great uneaſineſs to the king of Denmark, eſpecially as the duke of Holſtein, nominated ſucceſſor to the crown of Sweden, was ſo nearly allied by blood to the ſucceſſor of the crown of Ruſſia.

The empreſs Elizabeth having formed the deſign of marrying immediately the young duke, made choice of Sophia Auguſta of Anhalt Zerbſt; who, after ſhe had embraced the Greek religion, took the name of Catherine Alexiowna, married the great duke, and was declared great ducheſs of Ruſſia; and moreover, ſuppoſing the great duke and the empreſs to die without heirs, ſhe was declared their ſucceſſor to the crown. Catherine had rendered herſelf ſo much beloved by her affability and good conduct at her firſt coming into Ruſſia, that the whole nation appeared to be well ſatisfied with this regulation. The great duke, who was now become of age, was declared reigning duke of Holſtein Gottorp; and during the firſt years of his marriage he occupied himſelf particularly with his affairs in Holſtein, and a coolneſs was ſoon perceived between him and the grand ducheſs. The empreſs having been informed that he had left ſeveral debts in Holſtein, ordered 2000 roubles to be advanced immediately for their payment, which act of generoſity was extremely

tremely well received by all the ſenſible part of the Ruſſian nation.

In the year 1754 the great ducheſs became pregnant, after having been nine years married, and was happily delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Paul Petrowitz, and declared hereditary prince of the imperial crown.

About this time likewiſe the empreſs Elizabeth, by the artful intrigues of the miniſters of the courts of Vienna and Dreſden, was induced to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with theſe courts againſt the king of Pruſſia, who on his having diſcovered the plan which was concerted againſt him, in the year 1756 entered Saxony at the head of a powerful army. This meaſure having greatly diſconcerted the arrangement of the three courts, irritated the empreſs Elizabeth to the laſt degree; and orders were immediately iſſued to precipitate the march of the Ruſſian army, which was to make a powerful diverſion in Pruſſia.

In the beginning of the following year, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who was charged with this commiſſion by his Britannic Majeſty, made ſome ſtrong repreſentations to the court of Ruſſia to engage the empreſs to mediate between the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Dreſden; but he was anſwered, that ſuch a mediation would be incompatible with the reſolutions and meaſures already taken by her imperial majeſty; and moreover, that her majeſty would not recall her army before the two powers, who were ſuppoſed to have been wronged, as the king of Pruſſia had now marched into Bohemia, ſhould have received a ſatiſfaction proportioned to the nature of the offence.

This miniſter was not more ſucceſsful in the demand which he made for permiſſion to buy up a certain quantity of grain in Livonia for the uſe of the electorate of Hanover, where there was then ſuch a ſcarcity, that it was feared a famine would enſue, unleſs ſome ſudden ſupply was ſent.

The Ruſſian army, commanded by the field-marſhal Apraxin, advanced towards Pruſſia, and had no ſooner entered into the territories of the king, than they were rudely attacked by a Pruſſian army under the command of field-marſhal Lehwald; but the Ruſſians, from the ſtrict diſcipline which is now obſerved in their army, defended themſelves with uncommon reſolution; and though the Pruſſians renewed their attacks with great intrepidity, they were obliged to give way, after leaving 3000 men dead upon the field, and nine-and-twenty pieces of cannon in the hands of the enemies.

The field-marſhal Apraxin, to the aſtoniſhment of all mankind, inſtead of purſuing the enemy and marching into the heart of Pruſſia, returned towards Courland and Poland, and ordered his troops into winter-quarters; declaring, that as he had no magazines formed for their ſupport, he dared not take up his winter-quarters in the enemy's country. The empreſs, highly offended at this conduct of her general, ordered him immediately to leave the command of the army to general Fermer, and to return to Peterſbourg to anſwer to the accuſations which were laid againſt him; at the ſame time declaring to all the foreign miniſters reſiding at her court, that ſhe had ſent particular orders to her army to quit the ſurrounds of Memel and Courland, where they were then quartered, and penetrate a ſecond time into the heart of Pruſſia.

Early in the following ſeaſon the Ruſſian army, now under the command of general Fermer, took Koningſberg, the capital of the little kingdom of Pruſſia, and laid its whole territories under contribution; afterwards, purſuing their operations, they took the town of Cuſtrin; and on the 25th and 26th of Auguſt gained a complete victory over the Pruſſian army.

The field-marſhal Apraxin, who had been kept priſoner at Narva, was removed to Peterſbourg to anſwer for his conduct in the laſt campaign; but though his bad behaviour was manifeſt to all the world, for reaſons which were not then known, but which afterwards appeared, his judges acquitted him of any capital crime; and he would very ſoon have been reſtored to favour, had not a ſtroke of the palſy carried him off ſuddenly.

The chancellor Beſtucheff, though he was one of the empreſs's great favourites, was at this time arreſted, diveſted of all his employments, and condemned to be exiled to one of his country houſes, there to be kept under ſtrong guard all the reſt of his life. The chancellor underwent a formal trial, and various accuſations were laid againſt him; but the ſecret cauſe of his diſgrace was his being gained over by the great duke to retard the operations of the Ruſſian army againſt the Pruſſians, which were diſagreeable to the duke.

In the year 1759 the general Fermer, pretending that his health was greatly weakened by the fatigues of the former campaign, but the true meaning was, becauſe his activity had made him diſagreeable to the great duke, deſired leave to retire; and the empreſs entruſted the command of her army to general Soltikoff, who departed

immediately from Peterſbourg to begin his operations againſt the Pruſſians in concert with the generals of the empreſs-queen of Hungary. The firſt operations were near Croſſen, where a body of Pruſſians attacked the Ruſſian army, and made ſome powerful efforts to throw them into diſorder, but without any effect. The Pruſſians loſt 2000 men, who were killed upon the ſpot, 4000 priſoners, and more than 3000 deſerters, and were obliged to retire and leave twenty-one pieces of cannon in the hands of the enemy, who marched immediately to Croſſen, and from thence to Francfort on the Oder, which they took, and ſent their detachments even to the gates of Berlin. The king of Pruſſia, far from being diſconcerted at this check, made ſome forced marches, with 20,000 men, to reinforce his army, and to prevent the Auſtrian generals Laudon and Haddick from joining the Ruſſians with a large body of their troops; but he arrived too late to prevent this manœuvre. The king, to retrieve the honour of his general, attacked the Ruſſians on the twentieth of Auguſt with the greateſt vigour; and the Ruſſians, to maintain the honours which they had gained, defended themſelves with equal bravery; the battle was a bloody one, and during ſeveral hours the Pruſſians had greatly the advantage, notwithſtanding the prodigious defence which the Ruſſian infantry made againſt the Pruſſian attacks; but at length the Pruſſians were overpowered by numbers and obliged to retire, leaving 8000 men dead upon the field of battle, and 7000 wounded and deſerters fell into the enemy's hand, together with 150 pieces of cannon, and a great part of their baggage. But this terrible battle coſt the Ruſſians near 20,000 men killed and wounded.

This

This news was received at St. Peterſbourg with great joy: the empreſs diſtributed large preſents to all her generals, and half a year's pay to the victorious army; moreover, every ſoldier, who could prove his preſence in this battle, was declared, by an ukaſe or law, to be free and independent during the reſt of his life.

In the beginning of the following year the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia made ſome propoſals to the empreſs Elizabeth to hold a congreſs to ſettle the differences of the belligerant powers; but the empreſs, who, in conſideration of a great ſubſidy which ſhe received from the court of Vienna, ſtill continued in the diſpoſition to procure her allies a ſatisfaction proportionate to their loſſes, declared that ſhe was ſenſible how much innocent blood had been ſhed in this war, and wiſhed to ſee a firm and laſting peace eſtabliſhed; but ſhe could never think of entering into any negociations but in concert with her faithful allies. A copy of this anſwer was likewiſe ſent to all the foreign courts, to be there communicated by the Ruſſian miniſters; and at the ſame time orders were given out to enroll, with the greateſt expedition, every 128th man in thoſe provinces which were obliged to furniſh recruits, which compoſed a body of 45,000 men, without comprehending the provinces of Livonia, Eſtonia, Finland, the Ukraine, and the kingdom of Siberia; ſo great are the reſources of this extenſive empire.

General Soltikoff, who was given to underſtand how diſagreeable his operations were to the great duke, made no uſe of his victory, but remained inactive all the reſt of the campaign and the beginning of that of the following year.

In

In the middle of the ſummer 1760 the Ruſſian fleet, compoſed of ten ſhips of the line, five frigates, and three bombſhips, carrying 3000 land forces, attacked the town of Colberg. The debarkation was made without any difficulty, and batteries were raiſed which produced a great effect: the bombs from the ſhips deſtroyed a great part of the town; and the 3000 ſoldiers, though almoſt all recruits, ſhewed great reſolution and firmneſs on this occaſion, made a great part of the garriſon priſoners of war, and carried off ſeveral pieces of cannon from their out-works; but when the town was ready to fall into the hands of the Ruſſians, general Werner, whom the king of Pruſſia had diſpatched with 4000 men to ſuccour the beſieged, attacked the advanced poſts of the beſiegers with ſuch fury, that, ſuppoſing they had at leaſt 20,000 men to contend with, they retired, and re-embarked themſelves with the greateſt precipitation, leaving all their artillery and ſtores in the hands of the enemy.

In the year 1761 the empreſs Elizabeth, who was no better pleaſed with the reſult of the operations of Soltikoff than ſhe had been with thoſe of Apraxin and Fermer, gave the command of her army to the field-marſhal Butterlin, who, in all his operations againſt the Pruſſians, was ordered to act in concert with the field-marſhal Daun and the general Loudon.

The Ruſſian fleet, which had been joined by that of Sweden, came a ſecond time and blocked up the port of Colberg, while the general Romanzow inveſted the place by land. The ſiege, which was a bloody one, the Ruſſians having loſt great numbers of men, was continued from the month of July to the 17th of December, when the governor capitulated, and obtained honourable terms.

The

The news of the taking of this place apparently gave great joy to the court of St. Peterſbourg; but this joy was very ſoon changed into mourning by the death of the empreſs Elizabeth the 25th of the ſame month.

Elizabeth inherited many of the good qualities of the empreſs Catherine her mother: when ſhe mounted the throne ſhe uſed her utmoſt endeavours to carry all the regulations which had been planned by her father Peter the Great into execution, but ſhe adopted no part of Peter's ſeverity: ſhe governed this great empire for twenty years with a moderation and clemency which gained her the love of all her ſubjects and the admiration of all Europe. She faithfully kept the oath which ſhe made when ſhe came to the throne, that no criminal ſhould loſe his life during her reign; and the victories which were gained by her armies made her ſhed tears when ſhe heard how many innocent perſons had loſt their lives by them. During her laſt illneſs ſhe ordered 13 or 14,000 poor people, who were detained in the different priſons of the kingdom for ſmuggling, to be ſet at liberty, and all their effects which had been confiſcated to be reſtored to them, the laws of this country being very ſevere againſt ſmugglers: ſhe likewiſe opened all the priſons where poor debtors were detained for ſums not exceeding 500 roubles, or 100l. ſterling, and ordered their debts to be paid out of her private purſe; 25,000 priſoners were ſet at liberty in conſequence of this order: ſhe moreover ordained that 1,500,000 roubles ſhould be diminiſhed of the tax ariſing from ſalt, becauſe it was an article of the firſt neceſſity for the common people.

Elizabeth ſoftened the rigour of many of the laws which her father and her anceſtors had enacted. Before her time all the family

family of a criminal were more or leſs comprehended in the puniſhment which he was condemned to receive; a law unjuſt in itſelf, and contrary to the laws of God and nature; Elizabeth was ſhocked at the idea of it, and ordered it to be repealed. The code of laws which her father had begun ſhe ordered to be finiſhed; but it is a very imperfect one, though Peter's ſeverity and Elizabeth's clemency have made an heterogeneous mixture which in ſome reſpects is not diſagreeable. The Ruſſians were not civilized enough to be governed by ſuch an humane and clement princeſs as was Elizabeth, and made a bad uſe of her great lenity and goodneſs. Elizabeth was a great lover of the fine arts, and protected them; ſhe encouraged commerce, and invited ſtrangers to come and ſettle in her dominions.

This empreſs was never married, though ſhe was always of a very amorous diſpoſition; and many of the Ruſſian witlings have from thence obſerved, that her great clemency towards ſmugglers was, becauſe ſhe was very fond herſelf of dealing in this ſpecies of buſineſs.

No ſooner had the empreſs Elizabeth breathed her laſt, than the field-marſhal Trubeſkoi came into the anti-chamber, and declared that the Moſt High had taken the empreſs Elizabeth Petrowna to himſelf, and that the emperor Peter the Third had taken the reins of government into his own hands. This great event was immediately made public by a proclamation, in which the new emperor, after having notified to all the Ruſſian nation his having taken the charge of the government according to the legal order of ſucceſſion, declares, that he is reſolved to make the example of the late empreſs Elizabeth, of glorious memory, the principal rule for his conduct in the government of the

Ruſſian empire; to imitate her clemency and humanity;—but in what regarded the improvement and reformation of the nation, he declared his intention was to follow the ſteps of his grandfather Peter the Great.

After the nobility and gentry of Ruſſia had done homage to the emperor and to the empreſs; after all the troops had taken the oaths of fidelity; and after all the funeral ceremonies of the late empreſs were finiſhed, the emperor gave himſelf up entirely to the cares of government, and to the arrangement of the moſt proper means to accompliſh the great changes which he projected. To ſignalize the great event of his advancement to the throne, and to ſecure the love and affection of his ſubjects, he ſet all the priſoners of ſtate at liberty, and recalled all who had been exiled into Siberia in the preceding reigns, particularly Biron duke of Courland, the field-marſhal Munich, and all their reſpective families, and reſtored them to their rank and honours.

The empreſs Elizabeth, when ſhe was upon her death bed, recommended it to the Great Duke her ſucceſſor to fulfil faithfully all the engagements which ſhe had entered into with her allies; but as ſoon as Peter the Third came to the throne, all the Pruſſian officers who were priſoners of war were ſet at liberty, and the emperor gave each of the field officers 1000 ducats to pay the expences of the journey into their own country; he likewiſe ſent a large ſum of money to the inhabitants of Pruſſian Pomerania, to indemnify them in ſome meaſure for what they had ſuffered from the Ruſſian troops; and promiſed them, that as ſoon as the ſea was clear of froſt, he would ſend them grain and other neceſſaries. The empreſs Catherine was put in poſſeſſion of the lands which the late empreſs Elizabeth poſſeſſed,

which were valued at 45,000 roubles a year: but the emperor was particularly generous to all his relations of the houſe of Holſtein. The duke George Lewis his uncle was declared generaliſſimo of all his armies, governor general of the ſtates of Holſtein, colonel of the regiment of horſe-guards, and the emperor permitted him to take the title of imperial highneſs; at the ſame time ordering that all the princes and princeſſes of Holſtein ſhould, on all occaſions, have the pre-eminence over all the nobility of Ruſſia, as being of his family.

The empreſs likewiſe, in imitation of her huſband, was no leſs generous and liberal towards the princeſſes of Holſtein. It was very natural for Peter the Third to ſhew the greateſt reſpect to the princes and princeſſes of his houſe, and to put them in a ſituation to ſupport their rank and dignities; but ſuch immenſe liberalities beſtowed upon ſtrangers are always regarded in monarchies as ſo many robberies upon the nation.

After he had provided for his family, the emperor turned his attention towards Holſtein and the duchy of Sleſwick; he ſent ſixteen regiments of infantry and cavalry into that province, which clearly gave the king of Denmark to underſtand, that he was determined to poſſeſs by force of arms what he never could obtain by long negociations. As ſoon as Peter the Third came to the throne, he likewiſe removed the field-marſhal Butterlin from the command of the army which was acting againſt the king of Pruſſia, and reinſtated general Fermer in that command; and ſome days after a ceſſation of arms was publiſhed between the Ruſſians and Pruſſians, together with orders to make an exchange of priſoners; and theſe were ſoon followed by the following declaration, which the emperor made to his allies:

"The

" The firſt duty of a ſovereign," ſays he in this extraordinary piece, " is to extend and increaſe the happineſs and welfare of " his ſubjects; and it is with the greateſt regret that we ſee that " the fire of the preſent war, which has continued ſix years, " and which for ſome time paſt has been greatly diſtreſſing to " the powers which are engaged in it, far from coming to an " end, is, on the contrary, extending itſelf more and more, to " the great detriment of all the neighbouring nations, and to " the deſtruction of multitudes of the human ſpecies. Moved " by the principles of humanity, we do hereby declare to all " the allies of the Ruſſian empire, that preferring above all " conſiderations the firſt law that God has preſcribed to ſovereigns, " which is the preſervation of the people who are entruſted to " them, we wiſh to procure peace to our empire, to which it is " ſo neceſſary and ſo precious; and at the ſame time to con- " tribute, as much as it is in our power, to re-eſtabliſh it in all " Europe. It is with this view that we are ready to give up " all our conqueſts, in hopes that the other powers, our allies, " on their ſide will equally prefer peace and tranquillity to the " advantages which they may acquire by the war, and which " they can never obtain but by ſhedding a torrent of human " blood."

Peter the Third had drawn up a plan for a general peace, which he ſuppoſed would be infallible; and as it was a very extraordinary one in many reſpects, and would undoubtedly have made great changes in Germany and in many other parts of Europe, I will detail the principal parts of it.

To balance the family compact of the houſe of Bourbon this prince propoſed to eſtabliſh one of the ſame kind in the North,

compoſed of the three principal ſovereign branches of the houſe of Holſtein; namely, the kings of Denmark and of Sweden, and the emperor of Ruſſia, to which he would have joined his great favourite the king of Pruſſia; but the king of Denmark was not to be admitted into this union till he had formally ceded all his pretenſions to the duchies of Sleſwic and Holſtein; and if he refuſed this, the king of England was to be invited to enter into this compact. With regard to the plan for the general peace, the great duchy of Sileſia alone embarraſſed Peter the Third: he was of opinion that the king of Pruſſia ſhould keep it, and that it ſhould be guarantied upon the ſame footing that it was by the treaties of 1742 and of 1745, except the county of Glatz, which ſhould return to the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia: but as there was a great appearance that this princeſs would not conſent to ſuch an arrangement, it was his opinion that this province ſhould be reſtored and guarantied to her, or to her poſterity, for ever, in caſe that the duke of Mecklenbourg ſhould die without children, and that his duchy was united to the houſe of Brandenbourg, according to the family-compact which exiſted between the two houſes; and that his Pruſſian majeſty, to prevent the complaints and pretenſions of the other princes of the houſe of Mecklenbourg, ſhould cede to them a part of his poſſeſſions upon the Lower Rhine, which ſhould be to the mutual ſatisfaction of all the intereſted parties; and moreover the king of Pruſſia ſhould cede Eaſt Friezland to the king of Denmark. To make good the loſſes which the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, had ſuſtained, not only by the court of Berlin, but by that of Vienna, was a point which gave ſome little embarraſſment to Peter; nevertheleſs he imagined that he could provide for this, at leaſt in part, if not in whole: he propoſed that his Pruſſian majeſty ſhould cede to him the

duchy

duchy of Croſſen and what he poſſeſſed in Luſacia; and that the Germanic body ſhould revive in his favour the landgraviate of Thuringia, in which ſhould be comprehended the county of Mansfield, to be united for ever to the electorate of Saxony; that the biſhopric of Munſter ſhould be ſecularized in favour of prince Zavier of Saxony; and that the king of Pruſſia ſhould cede to him ſome part of the territories which he poſſeſſed upon the Lower Rhine and his pretenſions to the ſucceſſion of Juliers; that the prince Clement of Saxony ſhould have the firſt eccleſiaſtical electorate which ſhould become vacant; and that the emperor ſhould ſo concert it with the chapters, that the thing ſhould be abſolutely certain. Moreover, Peter had ſo ordered it, that the prince Henry of Pruſſia ſhould have the crown of Poland after the death of king of Auguſtus, which was likewiſe to deſcend to his poſterity: Peter would not that he ſhould receive it by the right of election, according to the laws of the kingdom, but by the right of conqueſt; and he would oblige himſelf in conſequence of this, when the throne ſhould become vacant, to enter Poland at the head of 100,000 men, and he deſired the king of Pruſſia to do the ſame on his ſide; that the two armies ſhould excite the people to ſupport this project under the promiſe of diſſolving their ſlavery, and by this means to bring them to proclaim prince Henry king of Poland, and to declare the ſucceſſion to the throne hereditary in his family, and in default of iſſue, in that of the electors of Brandenbourg. He propoſed to aboliſh all the laws of Poland, as thoſe of a monſtrous government, without conſiſtence and without conſideration, and to ſubſtitute new ones in their place, more conformable to the rights of mankind and to the laws of nature; that the Poliſh nobility ſhould not any longer have the right of life and death upon their vaſſals, nor the property of

their

their lands and of their crops; that the great duchy of Lithuania ſhould be ſubjected to the ſame laws and to the ſame adminiſtration; that the ſovereignty ſhould reſide eſſentially in the perſon of the ſovereign; that the diets ſhould be aboliſhed, and that there ſhould be courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed for all ordinary caſes according to the plan preſcribed in the Pruſſian code. Prince Henry of Pruſſia being king of Poland was, by this arrangement, to cede to the king his brother all that part of Pruſſia appertaining to Poland, which was to be united for ever to the little kingdom of Pruſſia. A great part of the duchy of Lithuania was to be added to that of Courland, which was to be formed into a ſtate for the duke of Holſtein, who in conſideration of it was to cede Holſtein and Sleſwic to Ruſſia. Peter had likewiſe propoſed that the biſhopric of Oſnabrug ſhould be ſecularized and united to the electorate of Hanover; a meaſure which he thought would pleaſe all parties, as this biſhopric is poſſeſſed alternatively by a Catholic and by a Lutheran biſhop; and therefore he thought that this ſecularization would be agreeable both to the Catholics and to the Lutherans, as the firſt ſhould have always a Catholic biſhop and the ſecond a Lutheran ſovereign, who ſhould eſtabliſh in favour of the biſhop a ſufficient revenue to ſupport his rank and dignity. The town of Bremen was likewiſe to be annexed to this electorate. To make ſome recompence to the king of Denmark for his ceding of all his pretenſions to Sleſwic and part of Holſtein, Peter propoſed to abandon all his pretenſions to Oldenbourg and Delmenhorſt, and that Eaſt Friezland ſhould be annexed to it. The biſhopric of Hildeſheim was to be ſecularized in favour of duke Ferdinand of Brunſwic, with the title of duchy, as a reward for his great military ſervices.

This

This was the plan of the arrangement which was projected by the late emperor Peter the Third: I will make no remarks on it, only juſt to obſerve, that there cannot be the leaſt doubt but that it would have been very ill received by many of the belligerant powers. If Peter ſaw ſuch a monſtrous abſurdity and inconſiſtency in the Poliſh laws, becauſe of the tyranny and oppreſſion of the nobility over their vaſſals, in which undoubtedly he was right, why did not he begin to make the regulations propoſed in his own country, where the poor are equally in a ſtate of ſlavery, and no leſs oppreſſed than they are in Poland?

Peter the Third, perſuaded that the moſt ſure and certain means of augmenting the commerce of a ſtate conſiſted in giving it the greateſt freedom poſſible, took off the duty of two per cent. that had been laid upon all the merchandizes which were imported or exported at Archangel, or into or from Perſia, and ordered that larger duties ſhould be paid at St. Peterſbourg, Riga, and Narva, where the commerce is better eſtabliſhed. He forbad his privy council to take cognizance of any criminal matter, as they had heretofore done, and reſerved to himſelf the deciſion of all the extraordinary caſes in which the laws of the empire had not yet been explained, which were at leaſt the one third of all thoſe that came before the courts of juſtice.

Peter the Great and Elizabeth had not foreſeen all the different kinds of conteſts which would ariſe among individuals when the manners and cuſtoms of the country came to be more refined, neither had they guarded, in their arrangements of the police, againſt many acts which are regarded as criminal among civilized

civilized people, and which perhaps were thought otherwiſe among the ancient Ruſſians.

Peter eſtabliſhed a college or tribunal of police, that was to take cognizance only of ſuch things as tended to the refinement, glory, and utility of the nation: but one law of this police, which was no leſs ſingular than capricious, was to forbid any of his ſubjects to make uſe of the French language, and to compel them to uſe only the Ruſſian and German languages in all the memorials which ſhould be preſented either to the court, or in the different tribunals of the empire.

Before the reign of Peter the Great the Ruſſian nobility were not permitted to go out of the kingdom on any conſideration, except they were ſent by the expreſs order of the court; but this great emperor gave his nobility the liberty of travelling after they had obtained the ordinary permiſſion of the ſovereign for that purpoſe: Peter the Third declared, that in future the Ruſſian nobility ſhould be at liberty to travel without even ſubjecting themſelves to the regulations of Peter the Great; and if they thought proper, to enter into the ſervice of any foreign power, provided that ſuch power was not at war with Ruſſia. He likewiſe publiſhed a law to enable the nobility to diſpoſe of their property agreeably to their inclination, and without demanding the conſent of any perſon for this purpoſe. He had alſo projected an eſtabliſhment of a kind of bank for the nobility, where they might borrow conſiderable ſums of money in copper coin without any intereſt, provided that this money was repaid in gold or ſilver in the ſpace of fifteen years. The merchants likewiſe were to be at liberty to borrow from this bank, upon paying an intereſt of four per cent. He diſſolved the inquiſi-

tion or ſecret chancery, which was no leſs abominable and tyrannical than that of Venice. He ſuppreſſed the law which made it neceſſary that criminals ſhould make a confeſſion of their crimes, and publiſhed a very rigorous edict for the reformation of luxury.

So far the regulations which Peter the Third was willing to introduce into his dominions were laudable and praiſe-worthy; and undoubtedly if he had continued in this train, he would have had nothing to fear: but without the abilities, reſolution, or power of Peter the Great, he attempted to reform his clergy, and this in a very capricious manner; an attempt which his grandfather found to be very difficult, and which more than once ſhook him upon the throne.

As Peter regarded himſelf to be chief of the eccleſiaſtical as well as of the civil power, he undertook to carry into execution the great plan which his grandfather had formed; namely, that of ſecularizing all the property of the eccleſiaſtics, and the revenues of the monaſteries: it was found on a calculation that the number of the poor ſlaves who cultivated the church-lands, and who were tributary, amounted to 899,100, who, reckoning only one rouble a year for each, brought a large ſum of money into the hands of the clergy. Peter the Firſt ſeized upon the greateſt part of this property in the year 1704; but he reſtored moſt of it again to the church in 1711, and the empreſs Elizabeth reſtored the remainder in 1744. Peter the Third reunited all this property to the crown: he forbad all the religious houſes to receive any novices, and to ſuffer them to take the vow before they had reſpectively obtained the 30th year of their age. He aſſigned to each of the three firſt biſhops 5000 roubles a

year, and 3000 each to all the other. He divided all the eccleſiaſtics of his empire into three claſſes; to thoſe of the firſt claſs he gave 500 roubles a year each; to thoſe of the ſecond claſs 300; and to thoſe of the third claſs 150 each. He ordered the archbiſhop of Novogorod to remove out of the churches a great number of the pictures which were fixed in thoſe holy places, and which he regarded as ſuperfluous; and only to leave there the crucifixes, and the images of the Virgin Mary. He ordered that all the eccleſiaſtics ſhould ſhave their beards, and wear ſuch cloaths as are worn by the Calviniſt and Lutheran clergy. The archbiſhop of Novogorod made a vigorous oppoſition to theſe regulations, and refuſed to publiſh them; on which the emperor ſent him into exile; but being informed what bad effects this exile might produce, and how much the minds of the people were diſturbed, he recalled him ſoon afterwards.

Not content with all theſe changes in the eccleſiaſtical and civil government, Peter the Third broke the regiment of guards which the late empreſs Elizabeth had created, and formed a new one out of it, cloathed in the Pruſſian manner, of which all the officers were Germans: he ordered that in future all his troops ſhould be cloathed in blue inſtead of green, after the Pruſſian manner: he aboliſhed their ancient exerciſes, in order to ſubſtitute thoſe of the Pruſſians.

It was very eaſy to foreſee how all theſe premature and precipitate meaſures would terminate: the clergy chagrined to the laſt degree, the military diſcontented, a great part of the nobility forgotten in the late diſtribution of places, and the nation violently bent againſt the peace, which they judged to be contrary to the intereſt and honour of the empire.

The

The particular peace which Peter the Third had concluded with the king of Pruſſia gave great uneaſineſs to all his allies, as well as to all his ſubjects, who publiſhed declarations againſt this meaſure. The courts of Vienna and Warſaw, as well as that of France, exclaimed violently againſt the emperor's conduct, and declared their intentions to carry on the war. When the deputies of the nobility of Courland came to Peterſbourg to compliment the emperor upon his coming to the throne; this prince, in aſſuring them of his protection and of the care which he would take to ſupport them in their rights and privileges, informed them, "That it was not compatible with "the fundamental laws of Courland to have a Catholic prince "for their maſter." Such a declaration was very diſagreeable to prince Charles, the third ſon of the king of Poland, who had been elected duke of Courland in the place of Biron; and ſoon after his royal highneſs received an order from the court of Peterſbourg to leave Mittau, and the territories of the duchy immediately: if any thing could add to the chagrin of the king of Poland it was this meaſure.

Theſe were the principal changes which preceded the dethroning of Peter the Third, and the great revolution which happened in the middle of the year 1762; but what haſtened this great event, and animated many of his ſubjects more particularly againſt him, was the imprudent declaration which he made to ſeveral of his friends of his having formed a reſolution to diſſolve his marriage with the empreſs, to declare his ſon illegitimate, to ſhut up both the mother and the ſon in a convent all the reſt of their lives, and to marry the counteſs Elizabeth Woronzoff his miſtreſs.

The empreſs and all her party took fire at this declaration; and the chiefs of this party, finding the whole nation ready for a revolt, immediately formed a conſpiracy to dethrone the emperor, and to place the empreſs upon the throne, into which great numbers of perſons of all ranks entered; and having corrupted the guards, the field-marſhal Raſomowſki, the count Pannin, governor of the great duke Paul Petrowitz, the prince Wolkonſki, the three brothers, counts Orlows, and the field-marſhal Butterlin, put themſelves at the head of the conſpiracy. But in order to be the more ſure of having it in their power to ſave themſelves in caſe they were diſcovered or betrayed, they had always near them an able ſpy upon whoſe conduct they could depend, in order that if any one of them was arreſted, the others might be immediately informed of it, that they might have time to ſave themſelves. The conſequence will ſhew how much this precaution was neceſſary. A lieutenant of the guards was diſcovered to be of this conſpiracy, by ſome imprudent words which fell from one of the ſoldiers of his company, and was immediately arreſted. The ſpy who was near him, immediately gave an account of this to the other conſpirators, who ſeeing that their project would be immediately diſcovered, and that they had not a moment to loſe, reſolved to be before-hand with the emperor, who was then at Oranienbaum, one of his country houſes near the ſea, ſome leagues from Peterſbourg. The empreſs was at this time at Peter's Hoff: the princeſs of Aſkhoff, the ſiſter of the counteſs of Woronzoff, the emperor's miſtreſs (at whoſe houſe the aſſembly of the conſpirators was held, and who had treacherouſly diſcovered her ſiſter's ſecrets, and the emperor's reſolution concerning her) on the ninth of July in the morning ſent a coach to the empreſs, who diſguiſed herſelf, and count Gregory Orlow conducted her to Peterſbourg to the

quarters

quarters of the Iſmailoff regiment of guards: when all the ſoldiers of this regiment, who had been before gained over by their officers, and who were ready to receive her, proclaimed her empreſs and ſole ſovereign of all the Ruſſias: all the ſenators and the chiefs of the colleges, who had long before murmured on account of the emperor's extraordinary behaviour, immediately joined the troops, and the count Raſomowſki led the new empreſs to the church of Caſan, where her majeſty took an oath to preſerve the privileges of the nation, and where all the aſſembly likewiſe took the oaths of fidelity and obedience, and aſſiſted at the Te Deum which was ſung by the archbiſhop of Novogorod and all the clergy.

The whole day was afterwards employed in ſtrengthening the party of the new ſovereign in the capital where all the troops were aſſembled that were in the neighbourhood, together with three regiments who had juſt left this place, to join the army in Germany, and who received orders to return immediately: they had likewiſe taken the precaution to guard all the roads and paſſages by which advice might be tranſmitted to Peter the Third of what was tranſacting at St. Peterſbourg.

About ſix o'clock in the evening the empreſs, dreſſed in the uniform of the body guards, mounted her horſe, and reviewed all her troops, who compoſed a body of 15,000 men.

The next morning however Peter was informed of the danger which threatened him, and departed immediately for Peter's Hoff, accompanied by his Holſtein guards, but he was forced to return again to Oranienbaum, where he thought to have received ſuccours; but perceiving that all the troops were gained over by the other

other party, he determined to paſs over in his yatch to Cronſtadt, in hopes that his fleet would be more faithful to him than his land forces; but the empreſs and her party had taken the moſt early precautions to ſecure the fleet, and all the marine officers had already taken the oaths of fidelity and obedience to her; as ſoon as Peter the Third therefore appeared, the centinel ordered him to retire immediately, or otherwiſe they ſhould be obliged to fire upon him.

If Peter had now taken the reſolution to put himſelf at the head of his army, which was in Germany under the command of general Fermer, he would have diſconcerted all the ſchemes of the new government of Peterſbourg, and in all probability have re-eſtabliſhed himſelf. But the emperor, as well as all thoſe who were about him, was ſurprized at the ſuddenneſs of the meaſure; though it is ſaid that the old field-marſhal Munich adviſed him to ſet off inſtantly and join Fermer's army. In this cruel ſituation Peter returned to Oranienbaum, and attempted to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, with ſome companies of Holſtein guards who were with him; but foreſeeing that it would not be in his power to reſiſt all the forces that were on their march to attack him, he determined at laſt to enter into a negociation. The articles which this prince propoſed were not received; his Holſtein guards laid down their arms, and he was arreſted by the general Iſmailoff, and conducted from Oranienbaum to Peter's Hoff, where he was guarded in an apartment. It was in this place that the unhappy emperor was perſuaded to ſign a declaration, whereby he renounced the empire, and deſired only to govern in Holſtein, ſuppoſing by this that the empreſs would have had compaſſion upon him. The duke of Holſtein his uncle was arreſted with all his family, and their houſes were pillaged by

by the populace, which was likewiſe the caſe with count Woronzoff father of the counteſs Elizabeth, and of ſeveral others.

The ſame day that this great revolution was brought about, the empreſs publiſhed a formal manifeſto; in which, after having recapitulated all that Peter had done againſt the clergy and others, ſhe obſerves that, "Our true and orthodox religion was "upon the point of being entirely overturned by the introduc-"tion of a foreign religion, and all the true ſons of Ruſſia ſaw "with the greateſt concern, a peace made with the enemy "which trampled under foot all the glory which the empire had "gained with ſo much blood and treaſure. But, independently "of the love which he ſhould have cheriſhed for his Creator, "which he had abſolutely laid aſide, the late emperor would like-"wiſe trample under foot all the laws of nature, ſince at his "coming to the throne he would not declare his only ſon "Paul Petrowitz for his ſucceſſor, in conſequence of a deſign "which he had formed either to ſet aſide the right of ſucceſ-"ſion, in virtue of which he had inherited the crown from the "late empreſs his aunt; or to deliver the empire into the hands "of ſtrangers, without conſidering the great principle of natural "right; namely, that no perſon can give a greater right to ano-"ther, than that which he has himſelf received. Although we "immediately ſaw through his deſigns, and were much diſquieted "by them, we could not have ſuppoſed that he would have carried "his perſecutions ſo far againſt us and our ſon. But great num-"bers of our faithful ſubjects ſaw from that moment that his "deſign was to deſtroy us and our ſon, who is the heir to the "empire, and it was ſurprizing that the public diſcontent did "not break out ſooner. After having therefore implored the "protection of heaven, we formed the reſolution either to fall

"a victim

" a victim to the honour and proſperity of this country, or to
" deliver her from thoſe inteſtine troubles which were ready to
" tear her to pieces, and to turn off that torrent of human
" blood with which ſhe was hourly threatened. It is with great
" difficulty that we brought ourſelves, by calling upon the Al-
" mighty to give us aſſiſtance, to undertake this great taſk;
" but we had ſcarcely made known to our faithful ſubjects,
" who were deputed to us by the nation, our conſent to what
" they demanded of us, than the general deſire to be ſubmitted
" and attached to us manifeſted itſelf immediately, and was
" confirmed by the oath of fidelity which was taken to us,
" freely, and with the greateſt joy, by all the orders of the ſtate.
" —In conſequence of the natural love which we always had for
" the good of the human ſpecies, and particularly for the tender
" care which we have for our faithful ſubjects, it was neceſſary
" that we ſhould now endeavour to prevent the inconſiderate re-
" ſolutions which the heretofore emperor might take, as he
" placed ſuch confidence in the force and bravery of the Hol-
" ſtein troops which he had with him at Oranienbaum; and
" that to prevent the torrent of blood which our regiments of
" guards and other regiments were ready to ſhed, as the effect
" of their zeal for their religion and country, for our perſon,
" and for our dear ſon; therefore we were firmly perſuaded that
" it was a duty which we owed towards God, and towards our
" ſubjects, to prevent immediately by good and ſalutary arrange-
" ments all the ill conſequences which the reſolutions of the here-
" tofore emperor might bring upon us and upon our faithful ſub-
" jects; and in conſequence of them we put ourſelves at the head of
" our troops, with the intention to defeat all the projects of which
" we were informed he was preparing againſt us; but we were
" ſcarcely departed from this city, when we received two letters

" from him conſecutively; in the firſt, he demands our permiſ-
" ſion to retire into Holſtein, his own country; in the ſecond,
" which was given into our hands by major general Iſmailoff,
" he offers to renounce all his right to the crown of Ruſſia,
" provided that he is permitted to retire into Holſtein with
" Elizabeth Woronzoff. Theſe two letters were filled with the
" moſt flattering expreſſions towards us, although they were
" written ſome hours after the formal order which he had ſigned
" to take away our life; a fact which was related to us, and
" averred in the moſt circumſtantial manner by the very perſons
" whom he had ordered to commit the murder. We had in fact
" declarations freely made and written with his own hand, but
" he was not the leſs in a ſituation to arm his Holſtein troops,
" and other detachments of the country regiments which were
" about him, to extort from us many conditions which might be
" very prejudicial to the country; and particularly as ſeveral prin-
" cipal perſons of our court were in his power, whom our huma-
" nity would not ſuffer us to leave him to deſtroy: we may be
" even obliged to re-eſtabliſh, by an accommodation, many of the
" evils which are already done, with the view of delivering thoſe
" perſons who are retained in his power, and whom he keeps as
" hoſtages in the palace of Oranienbaum, ſince he has been in-
" formed of what we have been forced for the good of our
" country to undertake againſt him. The moſt diſtinguiſhed
" of our faithful ſubjects, who were about our perſon, preſſed us
" to write to him, and to propoſe to him to ſend us, for the
" general tranquillity, a voluntary and free abdication, written
" in a proper form with his own hand, whereby he renounced
" formally the imperial throne of Ruſſia. We wrote him to
" this purpoſe by the general Iſmailoff, and we have re-
" ceived the following anſwer, written with his own hand."

" —During the little period of time that I have reigned over the " Ruſſian empire, I have experienced that my ſtrength and " faculties were not ſufficient to ſupport ſuch a burden, and that " I am not in a ſtate to direct the Ruſſian empire in any manner " whatever, and much leſs with a deſpotic power. I alſo acknow- " ledge that I have been the cauſe of all the interior troubles of the " ſtate, which, if they had continued much longer, would have " overturned the empire, and conſequently covered me with " eternal ſhame. Having well weighed theſe conſiderations, I do " ſolemnly and without any conſtraint declare by theſe preſents " to the whole Ruſſian empire, and indeed to the whole world, " that I renounce the government of this empire for all the time I " have to live, and that I do not demand to reign here neither " with a limited power, nor in any other manner whatever; de- " claring alſo at the ſame time that I will never endeavour to re- " aſſume the government by the aid of any perſon upon earth; " and I confirm this with an oath, and with a ſincere and pure " heart before God, and before the whole world. I have written " and ſigned the whole of this renunciation with my own hand, " this 29th of June (old ſtile) 1762.—PETER." —— " It is in " this manner, thank heaven, that we are come to the throne " of this empire without ſhedding of blood; we were guided in " this enterprize by God alone, whoſe impenetrable conduct we " ſhall always adore; and we do hereby aſſure our moſt faithful " ſubjects that we will always pray the Divine Majeſty to aid us " to carry the ſceptre for the ſupport of our true belief, and in " defence of our dear country, for the extirpation of all iniquity, " injuſtice, and oppreſſion, &c. &c."

While Catherine the Second was giving her orders for ſupport- ing herſelf upon the throne, they conducted Peter the Third to Czarkazelo,

Czarkazelo, where this prince, it is ſaid, was attacked with a violent cholic, of which he died, notwithſtanding all the ſuccours which the Orloffs could give him. It would be very improper for me to mention in this place the report which many of the ſenſible Ruſſians have propagated on this occaſion; indeed this part of the ſcene was ſo badly acted, that the moſt impartial perſons were ſhocked at it; and the empreſs, to prevent any reflections which might be made upon her conduct, immediately ordered that the body ſhould be expoſed in public, and be opened in the preſence of all thoſe who would ſee the operation; but what end could this anſwer, when thoſe who ſaw the operation were forbid to declare what they had ſeen?

The part which the empreſs acted in this tragedy was a very affecting one, and ſhe acted it to the admiration of all the world; but indeed it required all her great talents to carry her through the various changes which ſhe was to undergo. Much has been ſaid for and againſt her whole conduct in Ruſſia; ſhe has been condemned by ſome, and applauded by others. Certainly in her political capacity, and as the ſovereign of the Ruſſias, ſhe has manifeſted great talents and many amiable qualities, and how far her conduct as a private perſon can be juſtified is not my buſineſs to enquire particularly after: however ſo much I muſt undertake to ſay in her favour, that her caſe was ſuch as would merit the compaſſion of the beſt diſpoſed people. When Catherine left Germany, ſhe was one of the moſt amiable and beſt diſpoſed creatures in the world, and certainly if ſhe had been ſo fortunate as to have had a huſband who would have treated her properly, her conduct in private life would have been as great and amiable as it has been in many reſpects ſince ſhe has been a ſovereign; but, unhappily for her, ſhe was married to a debauched young man,

in every reſpect as diſagreeable as ſhe was amiable, who neglected her entirely as a huſband, and treated her with the greateſt brutality: notwithſtanding this ſhe ſupported her misfortunes for ſeveral years with the greateſt gentleneſs and good-nature; but at laſt ſhe was forced to give way to the torrent of a debauched and luxurious court.

When her huſband came to the throne, he immediately formed a reſolution to deſtroy both his wife and her ſon, notwithſtanding they had been declared heirs to the imperial throne by the ſame authority which had placed the crown upon his head; even his advocates declare that he had reſolved to ſhut up his wife and ſon in a convent, to place his miſtreſs upon the throne, and to change the order of ſucceſſion: there is the greateſt reaſon to conclude therefore that Catherine was led to take the ſteps which ſhe took for her own and for her ſon's preſervation; but how far ſome other parts of her conduct are to be juſtified before the tribunal of humanity, is a matter which the writers of the next age muſt determine.

The character of Peter the Third will be difficult to portray, if he had any determined character at all; his whole conduct ſhews that he was naturally violent and paſſionate, and opinionated to the laſt degree, notwithſtanding the moſt judicious reflections and reaſons were alledged to ſhew him his errors; all his ſentiments of love or hatred were directed by an uncommon capriciouſneſs. He took great pleaſure in eating as well as in drinking to exceſs, and at thoſe times the little reaſon and reflection which nature gave him were intirely abſorbed in brutality and an unruly paſſion. Peter was not malicious; and when his reaſon predominated, if we may judge from the regulations which he intended

to

to have made, was desirous of doing great and praise-worthy actions; but he had not a genius for such undertakings, and was too obstinate to be directed. Peter was an admirer of the great qualities of his grandfather, and wished to have followed his plans; but what a great man projects and carries into execution, becomes in the hands of a person who has but a moderate capacity, an ill digested project, which may involve him in the greatest difficulties.

Peter the First was the reformer of his empire, and civilized a brutal and barbarous people: Catherine the First finished in some measure the plan which her husband had laid down; and his laws gained credit and force during her short reign, and were vigorously carried into execution during the reign of Elizabeth, whose clemency softened many of the rigorous laws of her father, and made them agreeable to the whole nation, to whom at first they were quite the contrary, and therefore it might have been supposed that the least change must have appeared to have been dangerous to Peter the Third.

The whole body of the clergy, who in such a bigotted country as Russia will always be very formidable, thought themselves much injured by Peter the Great, who stripped them of a considerable part of their riches, but the military character, resolution, and great qualities of this prince kept them in awe: Elizabeth, who was all clemency and good nature, restored all their property to them, and endeavoured to make them forget what they had suffered from her father; but Peter the Third, without either talents or credit, in a fit of passion attempted to do what his grandfather could not do during his whole reign, and fell a sacrifice to his own folly and vicious conduct.

To efface, in ſome meaſure, every idea of this extraordinary revolution, and the memory of Peter the Third, it was ordered that all thoſe who had any pictures or engravings of this prince ſhould bring them to a certain place, where proper perſons were appointed to receive them; and as his death was not notified to foreign courts with the ceremonies uſed in ſuch caſes, no court went into mourning for him, except that of Sweden, to the royal family of which he was nearly related.

As ſoon as all the danger was paſſed, the duke of Holſtein, who had been arreſted and guarded, was ſet at liberty, and the empreſs continued him in the high office of adminiſtrator-general of Holſtein during the minority of the preſent great duke Paul Petrowitz. The chancellor count de Beſtucheff, who had been diſgraced and condemned as being guilty of the crime of treaſon in the higheſt degree during the reign of the empreſs Elizabeth, was by the empreſs Catherine the Second recalled from his exile and reſtored to his honours and fortune; as this princeſs declared that ſhe was convineed of the chancellor's innocence, and that he had been unjuſtly accuſed by an odious cabal: ſhe likewiſe reſtored the duke of Courland the duchies of Courland and Semigall, which had been for ſome time before occupied by the ſon of the king of Poland.

The empreſs having ſent orders for part of her army to return into her own dominions, departed for Moſcow, and was there crowned with the greateſt magnificence a few days after; but the public joy which this great event occaſioned was troubled by the diſcovery of a horrid plot againſt the perſon of her imperial majeſty. The traitors were immediately arreſted, interrogated, and confronted the one with the other, and having confeſſed

their

their crimes, the ſenate, to whom the judgment of this matter was remitted, condemned them to die, as having been guilty of the crime of high treaſon; but the empreſs, who would not that her reign ſhould commence by executions, having given time to theſe miſcreants to conſider the atrociouſneſs of their attempt, and to repent, ſpared their lives, and ordered that "Peter Chrowſzczeff and Simeon Gouriew ſhould be deprived "of their rank and of the name of their family, and be excluded "from among the number of the nobility and of honeſt men; "and that after having been rendered thus publicly infamous, "they ſhould be ſent into exile for the reſt of their lives to the "fort Bolcherietſkoi near Kamſchatka; that John and Peter "Gouriew ſhould loſe their rank, and be exiled for the reſt of "of their days to Yakoueſka; and that Alexis Chrowſzczeff "ſhould be equally diſmiſſed from his employments and paſs "the reſt of his life upon his eſtates, and, upon pain of "life, never to ſet his foot again in any of the imperial re-"ſidences."

I have already obſerved, that when the empreſs Elizabeth came to the throne ſhe declared that no perſon ſhould ſuffer death for any crime, which order was obſerved during her whole reign; but the abuſe of this clemency was become ſo intolerable, that the ſenate requeſted Catherine the Second to reeſtabliſh the law which ordered that certain crimes ſhould be puniſhed with death.

The year 1762 produced more events in the Ruſſian empire, and was more intereſting to this people, than any year ſince the foundation of their government. The clement Elizabeth, who was loved by all her ſubjects, and even eſteemed by her enemies,

died in the month of January. The Grand Duke, whom this princeſs had declared to be her ſucceſſor to the imperial throne in the year 1743, immediately ſeized the reins of government, and took the name of Peter the Third; but far from adopting the ſyſtem of the late empreſs, he was ſo bad a politician, that, without talents and without reflection, he determined to brave the prejudices of his people, with whoſe character he ſeems to have been totally unacquainted. Scarcely was he ſeated on the throne before he would change every thing, and capriciouſly reform the whole empire. All thoſe perſons who had been exiled as criminals during the reign of Elizabeth were recalled by him, and loaded with honours and riches. The enemies of Elizabeth he declared to be his friends, and her allies were regarded as troubleſome neighbours, with whom he would have little to do. The interior of the ſtate was to be entirely changed by the novelties which he was about to introduce. The admiralty and dock-yards which Peter the Great had eſtabliſhed at St. Peterſbourg, were removed to Cronſtadt; the uniforms and diſcipline of his troops were changed for thoſe of Pruſſia; all the church-lands were re-united to thoſe of the crown; the Greek prieſts were ordered to quit their long robes for the common cloathing of the Proteſtant clergy; all the common people were ſhocked to ſee the images, for which they had ſo much veneration, carried away out of their churches, and as the greateſt part of their religion conſiſted in them, they imagined that their new maſter deſpiſed the Greek church, and attached himſelf to the doctrines of Luther, notwithſtanding the proteſtations that he had made to the contrary. But during the time that he was, if I may uſe the expreſſion, preparing all his ſubjects for a revolt, and when there was a general diſcontent among all orders of people, he formed the reſolution to deſtroy his wife and ſon,

change

change the order of ſucceſſion, and to advance his miſtreſs to the throne; which precipitated his fall, and brought about the great revolution before mentioned.

No ſooner was Catherine eſtabliſhed upon the throne than ſhe began to reform all the abuſes which her late huſband had introduced in the empire; ſhe ſigned the peace which had been concluded with the king of Pruſſia, and reſtored him all the provinces which had been conquered from him by the Ruſſian arms during the late war: ſhe adopted her huſband's plan reſpecting Biron duke of Courland, aſſured that prince of her high protection, and ſent a memorial into all the courts of Europe, declaring that ſhe could not diſcover any juſt reaſon for depriving this duke and his heirs of the duchies of Courland and Semigall, and therefore, without acting contrary to juſtice and equity, ſhe could not avoid acknowledging him as the legal duke of Courland, &c. and eſtabliſhing him in the entire poſſeſſion of his duchies. This empreſs, after the example of her predeceſſors, not only took the title of imperial majeſty, but to avoid every kind of miſinformation capable of cauſing any coolneſs between her and the other ſovereigns of Europe, ſhe declared her intentions touching this matter to all their miniſters at her court, and at the ſame time preſented memorials to thoſe courts expreſſive of her intentions.

The empreſs Catherine, even before ſhe came to the throne, had frequent examples of the inſufficiency of the civil laws of this empire, which were in many particulars repugnant to each other, and ill digeſted; and ſhe ſaw the neceſſity that there was of reforming them. Peter the Great had inſtituted many good laws and civil regulations, but the violence of his diſpoſition, and

the neceſſity that he was oftentimes laid under of uſing ſeverity, made his laws appear to be very unreaſonable, unjuſt, and, in fact, to have been better calculated for the Tartars or for the Calmoucks than for a civilized people. The empreſs Elizabeth, on the contrary, who meant well, and who gave an unparalleled example of clemency, which, by the way, was by no means calculated for the Ruſſian nation, not yet ſufficiently civilized for ſuch a government, ſoftened in a great meaſure the rigour of Peter's regulations, but at the ſame time introduced ſuch confuſion in the deciſions of their courts of juſtice, as produced a great number of abuſes and much injuſtice. The Ruſſian judges, who in general were very ignorant, but intelligent enough to convert many of the contradictions in the Ruſſian code to their own advantage, oppreſſed the people in a great variety of civil matters, and moſt ſcandalouſly abuſed their authority, from the inſufficiency of the laws. The empreſs Catherine the Second reſolved therefore to eſtabliſh a new code of laws; and to carry this matter effectually into execution, ſhe, with a greatneſs of ſoul which will always do honour to her memory, called a certain number of the moſt enlightened men of every province into her dominions, not only to have their opinion in delineating a plan for this code, and to form the inſtructions which they were to follow in framing the different articles of it, but alſo to ſtate and anſwer all the caſes which might poſſibly happen in the preſent ſituation of the empire. As an admirer of the Pruſſian code, ſhe likewiſe conſulted Frederic upon her plan, who informed her, among other things, "that the good laws which ſhe pro-"poſed to form, upon the plan which ſhe had publiſhed, would "require proper lawyers to carry them into execution;" and therefore he adviſed her to eſtabliſh, at the ſame time, an academy of law for forming thoſe who were to be bred up for

judges

judges and advocates: for, as he very juſtly obſerved, though the laws are very ſimple, litigious, complicated, and obſcure caſes will often come before the courts, where it demands a good deal of judgment and experience to inveſtigate the truth, and to diveſt it of chicanery.

The inſtructions which this empreſs has publiſhed, to be followed by her lawyers in forming her new code, are in many reſpects very judicious, as they are literally copied from ſome of the beſt authors who have written upon this ſubject in Europe, and connected with many pertinent remarks upon the nature of civil government in general, and upon that of the Ruſſian empire in particular: but notwithſtanding all this, from what I have have ſeen of the Ruſſian nation, I am fully perſuaded that this code, upon the plan there laid down, will by no means anſwer the laudable intention for which it appears to have been calculated. I will briefly ſtate my reaſons for embracing this opinion, which are with great deference ſubmitted to the judgment of thoſe who are intereſted in this matter.

I have already obſerved, that the greateſt part of the inhabitants of this great empire are to this day in a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery; are bought and ſold with the lands upon which they inhabit; are kept in ſuch a ſtate of ignorance, that though they are called Chriſtians, except from their figure it would be difficult to diſcover that they were human beings; and are in general more cruelly treated than the taſk-maſters of Egypt uſed the deſcendents of Jacob: their maſters are ſo many little tyrants, who treat them as ſo many animals, whoſe buſineſs it is to cultivate the earth, and to procure them a revenue.

The world in general have been miſled in their ſentiments reſpecting the feudal tenures, and the rights which the ſuppoſed proprietors of fiefs have upon the inhabintants who are ſo unhappy as to be born upon theſe tracts of land: I have already obſerved, in my account of Denmark, how theſe proprietors of fiefs firſt acquired their ſuppoſed rights and prerogatives, which we may juſtly call uſurpations, over the perſons and property of thoſe who were born on them.

In the dark ages of the world, when Monkiſh ſuperſtition and bigotry, thoſe peſts to human ſociety, enveloped all kinds of knowledge and reaſon, the clergy joined themſelves to the nobility to extort particular grants from the civil governor, which the latter had no right to grant nor the former to receive, to enſlave and to oppreſs their fellow-creatures, who, by the fundamental laws of civil ſociety, were equally entitled to protection with themſelves.

The ſame wicked practices that were uſed in Denmark to oppreſs and tyrannize over the poor farmers, and to bring them into a ſtate of ſlavery, were uſed in Ruſſia about the ſame time, and continue to be practiſed to this day, for the ſame purpoſes.

All laws or regulations made by a ſovereign or civil governor, which are contrary to the laws of God and of nature, are null in themſelves, and ſubjects are not bound to obey them; the intent of all civil government being to protect and defend thoſe who are governed. Whenever therefore a ſovereign makes a law, which is evidently calculated to oppreſs and to enſlave a part of his ſubjects, ſuch law is null in itſelf; for every rational being,

being, who ſubmits himſelf to the rules of ſociety, is entitled to protection, except he forfeits that right. Thoſe ſovereigns who have aſſumed a right to diſpoſe of the lives and properties of their ſubjects as they think proper, without ſuch ſubjects having offended againſt the civil laws of their reſpective governments, and ſuppoſing ſuch laws to be juſt and equitable in themſelves, have aſſumed a power which no human being has a right to aſſume, and all laws which delegate this power to others are null in themſelves. When a farmer cultivates my land, I have a right, as proprietor of the ſoil, to a part of the fruit of his labour, but I have no right to his perſon, nor to the perſons of his children who are born upon my land; ſo long as he pays me the part ſtipulated by our contract, and otherways conforms to our agreement, he is in every reſpect a free agent, and the reſt of his property ſhould be ſecure.

Delegating a power from the crown to the nobility, clergy, and other proprietors of fiefs, to make all thoſe who were born upon ſuch fiefs ſlaves, to fix them to the lands upon which they were born, and to diſpoſe of their property in an arbitrary manner, or rather not to ſuffer them to have any property at all, as was the caſe in Ruſſia, Poland, and Denmark, and other parts, was a moſt wicked and vicious inſtitution, contrary to the laws of God and nature, and conſequently the ſubjects were juſtly authorized to oppoſe it; but when the ſovereigns of theſe ſtates likewiſe inveſted theſe feudal lords with power to puniſh their farmers, and even to deprive them of their lives and properties as they thought proper, which is the caſe in Poland to this day, there cannot be ſaid to be any civil government exiſting in ſuch a ſtate, but rather a ſyſtem of tyranny and oppreſſion more proper for Hottentots than for rational beings.

During the time that the Chriſtian world were, if I may uſe the expreſſion, buried in Monkiſh ignorance and ſuperſtition, the poor ſuffered oppreſſion and tyranny, as being utterly unacquainted with the means of ſupporting themſelves; but as mankind are now becoming more and more enlightened, they begin to ſee the wretched ſituation in which they were plunged by the infamous and diabolical arts of their oppreſſors, and will naturally ſtruggle as faſt as poſſible to extricate themſelves. This is the only fixed and great fundamental principle of the Ruſſian government, and certainly whoever attempts to build upon it, will be like the man who built his houſe upon the ſand.

The Ruſſians, though they have been for a long time kept in a ſtate of ignorance and barbarity, are human beings, and will one day come to ſee through the wickedneſs of their ancient oppreſſors, who involved them in the wretched ſituation they are in at preſent; regard all the laws which have been made to enſlave them as null, from their being directly contrary to the laws of God and nature; and ſtrive to regain their rights as members of civil ſociety.

No code of good laws can be eſtabliſhed in this country which does not tend to this purpoſe; and as I do not ſee any notice taken of it in the inſtructions which were publiſhed for forming the new code by the empreſs Catherine the Second, I cannot help thinking, that notwithſtanding this code was undertaken with a laudable intention, like the whole ſyſtem of the civil laws now exiſting in that country, it will one day be regarded as partial and unjuſt, becauſe more than ten millions of the poor ſubjects of this empire will thereby be deprived of the

rights

rights of humanity as well as of the privileges of members of civil ſociety.

It is true, the empreſs Catherine the Second, whoſe amiable qualities are in many reſpects equal to her great talents, had formed a reſolution to annihilate the ſtate of ſlavery in the Ruſſian dominions, and upon that foundation to form the code of laws which ſhe projected; but ſhe was oppoſed by many of thoſe who called themſelves nobility, and by the clergy, who alledged that they drew the greateſt part of their revenue from the farmers being kept in a ſtate of ſlavery with their families, and that the publiſhing of ſuch a law would be violently oppoſed by all the nobility and landholders, bring about another revolution, and perhaps end in a civil war.

I think my readers will not want any more obſervations to judge of the principles and ideas of the greateſt part of the Ruſſian nobility and clergy, and will alſo from hence perceive that their ignorance of their own intereſt is at leaſt equal to their inhumanity. Some years ago indeed the free and œconomical ſociety of St. Peterſbourg publiſhed a reward for the ſolution of the following queſtion, "Whether it is moſt advantageous, and "moſt uſeful for the good of the public, that the farmers "ſhould poſſeſs a landed property, or only a perſonal property; "and to what point the right of the farmer to this property "ſhould extend, that the public may receive the greateſt ad-"vantage from it?"

I know of no better anſwer to be given to this queſtion, which to the ſhame of humanity is ſtill undecided among many of the moſt reaſonable people in ſeveral ſtates, than exhibiting the example

of a gentleman, who was proprietor of a large fief in Holſtein, and who, as he was an enemy to ſlavery, and had ſome juſt ideas of humanity as well as of ſound policy, in the year 1739, ſenſible that this ſtate of ſlavery was the bane of induſtry and of good government, gave one of his farmers a piece of land to hold to him and his heirs as an hereditary farm, upon which he likewiſe built a houſe, and furniſhed him with every thing neceſſary for cultivating and improving the ſoil. At the end of five years the farmer was in a ſituation to reimburſe his benefactor, and had moreover acquired a conſiderable fund for himſelf. Since this time the gentleman has, every year, given freedom to two families: and theſe people, who were heretofore lazy, and to whom labour appeared a burden, becauſe it was impoſed upon them, being free, and having property of their own, are now become extremely aſſiduous, and ſtrive to ſurpaſs each other in diligence.

Certainly, if this example was followed in Ruſſia, this country might be made in leſs than half a century one of the moſt flouriſhing and powerful empires in the world; but except this regulation is firſt made, the new code of laws which the empreſs has projected will not anſwer the end for which it was calculated, and, like the code of Peter the Great, in leſs than a century will be diſregarded.

Scarcely was Catherine the Second ſeated upon the throne of Ruſſia, to which ſhe was raiſed, as it was ſaid, for the protection of the Greek religion, than ſome of the turbulent and ſeditious clergy and others, not content with making the moſt ſevere reflections upon the empreſs, who, they ſaid, would have married the perſon who ſent her huſband into the other world,

but

but publiſhed their reflections in writing, which at length came under the inſpection of the ſynod. Some of theſe papers were ſigned by the archbiſhop of Raſtow; and the matter was ſo clear that he could not diſavow it. The ſynod was much troubled to find one of their own prelates guilty of ſuch a fault; the members of this body laid it before the empreſs, repreſenting to her the wickedneſs of the archbiſhop, and praying that he might be proceeded againſt with all the rigour of the laws. But the empreſs, who very prudently declined the deciſion of a caſe which regarded her perſonally, referred it to the judgment of the ſynod: the archbiſhop was on this conducted before the aſſembly, where he acknowledged his fault, was convicted of the crime of high treaſon, condemned to loſe his dignity of biſhop, degraded from the order of prieſthood, and afterwards he was to have been delivered over to the civil juſtice. The archbiſhop was now on the point of loſing his life, but the empreſs would not ſign ſuch a ſevere ſentence; ſhe contented herſelf with ordering the ſynod to reduce the archbiſhop to the ſituation of a common Monk, and ſend him to a convent on the frontiers of the empire.

Towards the end of the year 1763, whilſt the empreſs was uſing her utmoſt endeavours to determine ſome differences which had again ariſen between her ſubjects and thoſe of China on account of commercial matters, ſhe alſo preſſed the republic of Poland to regulate with her, by commiſſaries, the limits of the two ſtates; ſhe likewiſe complained in the memorial which her miniſter preſented at Warſaw upon this ſubject, that a great number of ſervants, of deſerters from her troops, and of day-labourers, with their families, paſſed from the frontiers of Ruſſia into the territories of Poland, and were there received by the inhabitants

contrary to the ſtipulations of the treaty of peace, whereby all thoſe fugitives ſhould have been delivered upon the firſt demand: and moreover that theſe emigrations were ſo much the more diſagreeable, as theſe ſame deſerters often formed themſelves into bodies, and with arms in their hands re-entered into the Ruſſian empire, and having there joined maſſacre to their robberies, they ſaved themſelves again in Poland, where they enjoyed with impunity the fruit of their crimes, as in a place of ſecurity. The empreſs finiſhed this memorial with declaring that ſhe could not ſupport any longer ſuch infractions of the treaty of peace, and the dreadful conſequences which reſulted from them to her empire, and that if the republic did not immediately take ſome meaſures to regulate the limits of the two ſtates, ſhe was reſolved to force her Ruſſian ſubjects to re-enter their territories, and to ſend detachments of her troops to arreſt them wherever they found them.

Affairs were in this ſituation between the two crowns, when the court of Ruſſia was informed of the death of Auguſtus the Third, king of Poland, which made a great change in the plan of operations that the empreſs had propoſed, and opened the ſcene for a new plan of politics, which has ſince been adopted and carried into execution.

I have already obſerved, that upon the preſſing repreſentations of the ſenate, Catherine the Second had renewed the laws which inflicted death upon murderers, and which, ſince the time that the empreſs Elizabeth came to the throne, had not been inflicted upon any perſon; an opportunity ſoon after preſented for exerciſing theſe laws with the greateſt rigour: four villains were convicted of having murdered three women, and were condemned

to be broken alive upon the wheel; but while they were conducting theſe murderers to the place of execution, the empreſs, from an impulſe of humanity and compaſſion, but whether well placed or not is not my buſineſs to determine, wrote the following note to the judges: "At the moment theſe four criminals "are going to ſuffer the moſt ſevere puniſhment before the "whole aſſembly of the people, I find myſelf touched with the "idea of their dreadful deſtiny; my natural ſentiments of com-"paſſion incline me to mercy, and my love of humanity predo-"minates over the rigour of juſtice: notwithſtanding their "crimes have been enormous, we will ſuſpend the puniſhment "which the law has ordered to be inflicted upon them; and we "do hereby order that theſe criminals, in the place of being "puniſhed with death as they have merited, ſhall be condemned "to the public works during the reſt of their lives, to expiate "their crime by hard labour and chaſtiſement: we are in hopes "that this new mark of our love for humanity, and of our in-"clination to ſhew mercy, will make ſome impreſſion upon our "ſubjects, and will excite them to conduct themſelves better in "future, that they will apply themſelves to contribute to the public "good, and endeavour to avoid all occaſions which may engage "us to have recourſe to the ſword of juſtice; and in fact, that "theſe motives of pardon will bring thoſe turbulent and wicked "perſons who are diſpoſed to be criminal, to a juſt ſenſe of the "atrociouſneſs of ſuch a mode of thinking."

In the beginning of the year 1764 the active part which the empreſs Catherine the Second took in the affairs of Poland, engaged her to ſign a treaty of defenſive alliance with the king of Pruſſia, and a formal guaranty of all the actual poſſeſſions of the two ſovereigns, together with a reciprocal promiſe, in caſe

of war, to aſſiſt each other with 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry: a ſecret article of this treaty, and which in all probability was the moſt intereſting of the whole, contained a reciprocal engagement not only to prevent all foreign powers, and even the great nobles of the kingdom, from endeavouring to deprive the Poliſh republic of her right of free election, and to make the kingdom hereditary, or to make the king more abſolute in any manner whatever, but alſo to prevent, and in concert to deſtroy, by all poſſible means the views and deſigns which tended to this end, as ſoon as they were diſcovered; and for this purpoſe to have recourſe to force of arms, to guaranty the republic againſt the overturning of her conſtitution and of her fundamental laws: how far theſe two powers adhered to this treaty, when they found the ſituation of the affairs of the republic permitted them to break it, will hereafter appear.

During the courſe of this year another great event happened in Ruſſia, which had no ſmall influence upon her government, and which drew the attention of all Europe upon her: we have already ſeen the young prince Iwan mount the throne of Ruſſia, and by the revolution which procured the empreſs Elizabeth the reins of government, diſappear again ſoon afterwards. I have already obſerved that this young prince, who was born of the marriage of the duke of Brunſwic with the young princeſs of Mecklenbourg, as ſoon as he came into the world, was deſigned, though unjuſtly and illegally, to wear the imperial crown of Ruſſia after the death of his great aunt, the empreſs Anna Iwanowna, who by the way was herſelf illegally elevated to the throne, and to exclude all the deſcendents of Peter the Great; but by the advancement of the empreſs Elizabeth he was condemned to lead an obſcure life in the caſtle of Schluſſelbourg under a

ſtrong

ſtrong guard, who had particular orders that if any perſon or any armed force attempted to deliver him, they ſhould kill him immediately.

He lived quietly in this priſon when the empreſs Catherine the Second mounted the throne, and as the revolution which depoſed Peter the Third, and accompliſhed this great event, had raiſed a ſtrong fermentation in the minds of the people, Catherine was fearful leſt ſome ill-intentioned people would make uſe of Iwan to trouble the public peace; and as the only means which could be properly uſed to prevent the conſequences of ſuch an attempt, ſhe doubled the guards of this unhappy prince, and particularly entruſted him to the care of two officers who were devoted to her intereſt; but all theſe precautions were of no effect; a lieutenant of infantry, who was born in the Ukraine, undertook to deliver Iwan by force of arms from the fortreſs of Schluſſelbourg, and conſequently was the cauſe of his death. The officers under whoſe immediate inſpection he was placed, fearing that he would eſcape, executed the orders which they had received; the lieutenant who attempted to deliver him was arreſted, and afterwards condemned to be beheaded.

This extraordinary event could not fail to excite the attention of the public, and to give riſe to many, perhaps ill-grounded, reports; and therefore the empreſs publiſhed a long manifeſto to exculpate herſelf from having any hand in this matter; and in a very artful manner to throw the blame upon the lieutenant beforementioned, whom ſhe loaded with injuries, and, without letting him appear before his judges to anſwer to his accuſations, ordered an officer who was devoted to her intereſt to go to the fortreſs of Schluſſelbourg to hear his confeſſion, and to make a

report

report of it to the ſenate, who from that report pronounced the ſentence of death upon the lieutenant, which ſentence was afterwards confirmed by the empreſs, and executed with rigour.

It gives me pain that my impartiality has obliged me to recite this anecdote, becauſe great part of the Ruſſian nation ſtate the fact in a very different manner from what is publiſhed in the empreſs's manifeſto. They ſay, that this lieutenant of infantry, far from being a ſeditious perſon, or being diſpoſed to raiſe a rebellion in the empire, was an ignorant tool of the court, and fell a ſacrifice to their intrigues: they ſay, that he was informed, through different hands, if not from the empreſs herſelf, at leaſt from thoſe who received their inſtructions immediately from her, that ſuch an attempt would be very agreeable to the court, as it would furniſh them with an expedient of ſending Iwan out of the way without incurring the public cenſure, and certainly would advance him to great honour and credit: moreover it is ſaid that this officer was entirely attached to the empreſs's intereſt; and therefore many of the Ruſſians doubt the the ſincerity of her expreſſions of humanity and clemency; for, ſay they, encouraging clandeſtinely a man to attempt ſuch an affair, and afterwards when ſhe ſaw that the public were diſpleaſed, to cut off his head for it, was by no means an act of humanity.

I ſhall not make any reflections upon this tranſaction; I have ſtated the facts, and ſhall leave my readers to judge for themſelves.

While this event drew the attention of the Ruſſian nation, the flames of civil war broke out with great violence in Poland, which was generally the caſe when the throne was vacant. The

prince

prince Radziwill had aſſembled a body of 6000 men under his command, to prevent any foreign troops from entering into the kingdom, while a part of the nobility of Lithuania, who had been gained over by the Ruſſians, formed a confederacy, and addreſſed the empreſs to ſend them ſuccours; whereupon this princeſs declared that ſhe was ſenſibly touched with the deplorable ſituation of Poland; and in the memorial which ſhe addreſſed to the different courts of Europe to juſtify her conduct, ſhe obſerved that ſhe could not ſee with indifference this ſtate ready to periſh by its own hands, and that the rights of humanity alone would not permit her to ſee ſuch torrents of blood ſhed in this kingdom, which would evidently end in its deſtruction. Sovereigns, ſays this princeſs, are the defenders of the human ſpecies, and the power which they have upon one part of mankind gives them the right of intereſting themſelves in what concerns the good of the whole. "But independently of theſe motives," ſays the empreſs, "I have perſonal engagements which abſolutely "demand my aſſiſtance in favour of Poland: being the natural "mediatrix, and authorized by the treaties between the different "ſtates which compoſe the republic, after the example of my "predeceſſors, I will watch over the intereſt of Poland, to pre-"vent any attempts from being made upon the fundamental "conſtitution and laws of this ſtate. I foreſaw the critical cir-"cumſtances of an interregnum; and therefore ſoon after the "death of the king I reſolved to fulfil the ſacred duties of hu-"manity and of the faith of treaties, and aſſured the republic "that I would redouble my attention to prevent the dangers to "which the loſs of the king may expoſe her.—A great part of "the nation has called me to their aſſiſtance, and I ſhould be "guilty not only of a great breach of truſt, but alſo of a breach "of public faith, if I heſitated a moment to comply with ſuch

"preſſing

report of it to the ſenate, who from that report pronounced the ſentence of death upon the lieutenant, which ſentence was afterwards confirmed by the empreſs, and executed with rigour.

It gives me pain that my impartiality has obliged me to recite this anecdote, becauſe great part of the Ruſſian nation ſtate the fact in a very different manner from what is publiſhed in the empreſs's manifeſto. They ſay, that this lieutenant of infantry, far from being a ſeditious perſon, or being diſpoſed to raiſe a rebellion in the empire, was an ignorant tool of the court, and fell a ſacrifice to their intrigues: they ſay, that he was informed, through different hands, if not from the empreſs herſelf, at leaſt from thoſe who received their inſtructions immediately from her, that ſuch an attempt would be very agreeable to the court, as it would furniſh them with an expedient of ſending Iwan out of the way without incurring the public cenſure, and certainly would advance him to great honour and credit: moreover it is ſaid that this officer was entirely attached to the empreſs's intereſt; and therefore many of the Ruſſians doubt the the ſincerity of her expreſſions of humanity and clemency; for, ſay they, encouraging clandeſtinely a man to attempt ſuch an affair, and afterwards when ſhe ſaw that the public were diſpleaſed, to cut off his head for it, was by no means an act of humanity.

I ſhall not make any reflections upon this tranſaction; I have ſtated the facts, and ſhall leave my readers to judge for themſelves.

While this event drew the attention of the Ruſſian nation, the flames of civil war broke out with great violence in Poland, which was generally the caſe when the throne was vacant. The

prince

prince Radziwill had aſſembled a body of 6000 men under his command, to prevent any foreign troops from entering into the kingdom, while a part of the nobility of Lithuania, who had been gained over by the Ruſſians, formed a confederacy, and addreſſed the empreſs to ſend them ſuccours; whereupon this princeſs declared that ſhe was ſenſibly touched with the deplorable ſituation of Poland; and in the memorial which ſhe addreſſed to the different courts of Europe to juſtify her conduct, ſhe obſerved that ſhe could not ſee with indifference this ſtate ready to periſh by its own hands, and that the rights of humanity alone would not permit her to ſee ſuch torrents of blood ſhed in this kingdom, which would evidently end in its deſtruction. Sovereigns, ſays this princeſs, are the defenders of the human ſpecies, and the power which they have upon one part of mankind gives them the right of intereſting themſelves in what concerns the good of the whole. "But independently of theſe motives," ſays the empreſs, "I have perſonal engagements which abſolutely "demand my aſſiſtance in favour of Poland: being the natural "mediatrix, and authorized by the treaties between the different "ſtates which compoſe the republic, after the example of my "predeceſſors, I will watch over the intereſt of Poland, to pre-"vent any attempts from being made upon the fundamental "conſtitution and laws of this ſtate. I foreſaw the critical cir-"cumſtances of an interregnum; and therefore ſoon after the "death of the king I reſolved to fulfil the ſacred duties of hu-"manity and of the faith of treaties, and aſſured the republic "that I would redouble my attention to prevent the dangers to "which the loſs of the king may expoſe her.—A great part of "the nation has called me to their aſſiſtance, and I ſhould be "guilty not only of a great breach of truſt, but alſo of a breach "of public faith, if I heſitated a moment to comply with ſuch

"preſſing

" preſſing motives; therefore, confiding in the juſtneſs of the " principles which guided me, and of the ſentiments which " animated me, I have ordered, according to the deſire of the " general confederacy of Lithuania, that a body of my troops " ſhould march into this province, to aſſiſt the good intentions " of theſe true patriots, to prevent any diſorder there, to main- " tain the liberties of the citizens, and to reſtore the laws " and conſtitutions of the ſtate to their firſt vigour. I owe this " mark of confidence to the patriotic zeal of the confederacy " who, far from oppoſing the holding of a general diet, the only " means of conſolidating the conſtitution of the republic in ſuch " a critical circumſtance as an interregnum, have ordered their " marſhal to ſend deputies to the aſſembly of the ſtates of the " republic, to ſhew them the purity of their intentions and the " juſtice of their deſires."

The empreſs finiſhed this memorial by accuſing the prince Radziwill with being the moſt violent of all the Poliſh nobility to diſturb the public tranquillity; and ſhe aſſured all the foreign courts that the inſtructions which ſhe had given to her generals, were to oppoſe all acts of violence, to avoid ſcrupulouſly the commiſſion of any act of this nature; that they ſhould facilitate as much as poſſible all the free deliberations of the nobility, that they ſhould keep themſelves entirely upon the defenſive, and that they ſhould not make uſe of their arms, except they or their friends were attacked.

Such were the motives, as ſhe declared, which induced the empreſs Catherine the Second to ſend her troops into Poland at a time when, according to the conſtitution of the ſtate, any foreign troops would render null the deliberations of the diet, and

even

even the election of the king. Far from reſting in a ſtate of tranquillity in Lithuania, the Ruſſians were very ſoon obliged to take up their arms; the little army of prince Radziwill attacked them with great vivacity near the town of Slonion; the battle laſted near five hours, and was very bloody, the victory being decided only in favour of the imperial troops from their numbers.

From the moment that the empreſs was informed of the late king of Poland's death, ſhe reſolved to advance her friend count Poniatowſki to the throne, and all the ſteps which ſhe took afterwards were ſo many political meaſures which tended to this purpoſe. The confederacy of Lithuania was formed by her intrigues, and her influence effected a great deal in the diet: if ſhe had reſted there, in all probability Poniatowſki would have been elected, and afterwards things would have gone on regularly; but the ſending a great body of troops into the kingdom to keep the nobility in awe, was a meaſure which tended to deſtroy the fundamental laws and the conſtitution of that kingdom, which ſhe had juſt before declared to all the ſtates of Europe that ſhe was anxious to ſupport.

During the time that her troops were in the northern provinces of Poland, and ſome detachments ſent into almoſt all the ſouthern provinces likewiſe, Poniatowſki was elected king by a diet, which was aſſembled near Warſaw; but by the fundamental laws of the kingdom this election was null; and, together with the meaſures which the empreſs afterwards took reſpecting the government of Poland, was the cauſe of all the troubles and confuſion which have ſince happened in this ſtate, as will be hereafter more fully explained.

Notwithſtanding the turbulent ſituation of Poland, and the offence which the empreſs's conduct gave to many of the neighbouring ſtates, ſhe loſt no time to fix herſelf upon the throne, and to extend her authority in her own empire.

One of the principal faults of which Peter the Third was accuſed, was that of annexing all the church-lands to the domains of the crown; but Catherine the Second, who had more addreſs and prudence, engaged the clergy of the Greek church to reſign their great property into her hands, and aſſigned penſions upon the government to all the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics; from which therefore it will appear that an abſolute ſovereign, who tempers his authority with prudence and juſtice, will never fail to carry any point he deſires.

This arrangement brought great ſums of money into the public treaſure, which was ordered to be applied to the ſupport of the invalids, and to other objects of public utility.

This year likewiſe a great number of Moravians applied to the empreſs for permiſſion to eſtabliſh themſelves in her dominions, and to have a grant of ſome of her uncultivated land; and as the ſynod, after having examined their confeſſion of faith, concluded that the principles of their religion were in many reſpects conformable to the doctrines of Luther and Calvin, the free exerciſe of their religion, and the rights of the church, were granted them in the ſame manner as they were to the other ſects of the Chriſtian communion; moreover her imperial majeſty ordered her ſenate, that when any of the Moravians ſhould be ſummoned to appear before them as a court of juſtice, they ſhould only demand of them a verbal aſſurance, conformable to the

principles of their religion, in the place of the ordinary oath; except nevertheleſs the oath of fidelity according to the common form, and after the example of the other ſubjects of the empire.

The court of Ruſſia had been for ſome time in a ſtate of uncertainty reſpecting the part which the Ottoman Porte would take in the affairs of Poland, and in the troubles which had ariſen on account of the election of the new king as before mentioned; but in the year 1765 they were agreeably ſurprized at Peterſbourg to ſee Dervis Effendi appear at that court as ambaſſador from the ſultan to compliment the empreſs upon her coming to the throne; nevertheleſs the ſhrewd muſſelman, after a ſeries of compliments, confined himſelf to the giving verbal aſſurances that the ſultan was and would always be diſpoſed to fulfil the engagements ſtipulated by the treaties which ſubſiſted between the two empires; and that reſpecting the affairs of Poland, his highneſs would acknowledge as king him who by a free election, that was conformable to the fundamental laws and conſtitution of the ſtate, the nation had placed upon the throne. It was immediately diſcovered what part the Turks would take in the affairs of that government, ſince, according to the fundamental laws of the ſtate, every election is to be regarded as null and void when there are foreign troops in the kingdom, which keep the electors in awe: moreover the court of Ruſſia was already informed that the Kan of the Tartars was aſſembling a great army, and that the new prince of Walachia was diſpoſed to execute the ſecret orders of the Porte, which he had received with the diploma of his dignity. However all theſe conſiderations could not diſſuade the empreſs from leaving a certain number of troops in Poland and in Courland, nor deter her from

preſſing, by her commiſſaries, the definitive regulation of the limits of the two ſtates, and in concert with the king of Pruſſia, from making ſtrong complaints to the king and to the republic of Poland, on account of the little regard which the laſt diet had ſhewn to the remonſtrances of theſe two powers in favour of the diſſidents.

Notwithſtanding the great troubles and embarraſſment into which the empreſs had been thrown on account of the affairs of Poland, and of the preparations which the Turks and Tartars were making to invade her dominions, ſhe omitted none of thoſe changes and regulations which are always neceſſary in a newly reformed and improved empire.

This year great numbers of ſtrangers came into Ruſſia, who were deſigned to people the vaſt deſerts and uncultivated lands of this empire: her commerce was encouraged by ſeveral ſalutary laws and regulations; her inland navigation, as well as her marine, was conſiderably augmented and improved; the riotous behaviour of her troops was reſtrained by a ſevere and indiſpenſable diſcipline; and an academy of arts and ſciences was eſtabliſhed.

The court had likewiſe the pleaſure to hear of the new diſcoveries which were made by a company of merchants of Kamſchatka and Kowima, at the Cape of Iſchuktſchi, in the ſeventy-fourth degree of latitude, and deſcending towards the ſouth by a ſtreight which ſeparates Siberia from Amenea; they likewiſe diſcovered ſome iſlands in the ſeventy-fourth degree of latitude, which were inhabited, where they debarked and eſtabliſhed a commerce for the fineſt furs with the inhabitants, eſpecially

cially for the ſkins of the black fox, which were vaſtly ſuperior to any that they had ever ſeen before; they called thoſe iſlands Aleyut, and they were of opinion, and I think with great reaſon, that they bordered upon the continent of America.

In the year 1766 the empreſs was more than ever embarraſſed by the affairs of Poland. The new king, it is true, took ſome meaſures to endeavour to gain the confidence and affection of his ſubjects; but the idea of having a king forced upon them contrary to the laws of the kingdom, had much foured the nobility; and the ſupport which the Ruſſians were now giving to the Greeks and diſſidents of this ſtate, which was in a great meaſure countenanced by the king, ſet the whole kingdom in a flame.

The Roman Catholic clergy, like thoſe who made the ſilver ſhrines for the Epheſian Diana, thought their craft was in danger; and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſtir up the people, who were very great bigots, to a rebellion, ſo that the whole kingdom was full of confederacies and inteſtine factions, and great numbers of the inferior order of the Poliſh nobility took this opportunity, with their armed veſſels, to rob and plunder their neighbours.

The empreſs of Ruſſia announced, by a memorial which ſhe preſented by her miniſter, to the diet of the kingdom aſſembled this year, that the Greeks and diſſidents, who by the intrigues of the Roman Catholic clergy had been deprived of their churches, and of their rights and privileges as free citizens, ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all their rights and prerogatives, and in the free exerciſe of their religion as they had formerly been; ſhe

ſhe was joined in this requeſt by the king of Pruſſia, who, though he gives himſelf very little concern about religion, or about the happineſs and welfare of mankind, has always been fond of fiſhing in troubled waters. They demanded that the following articles ſhould be eſtabliſhed by the Poliſh diet:—Firſt, That the churches which appertained by right to the diſſidents, and which were illegally taken from them, ſhould be reſtored to them; that they ſhould not be hindered from repairing thoſe which had been damaged by time or by fire; that they ſhould not be troubled in the adminiſtration of their functions, in baptizing of children, in their marriages, burials, in the ſervice of the church, or in praying by ſick perſons; that they be allowed every thing which is decent and reſpectable for the divine worſhip, ſuch as the uſe of bells and proper dreſſes for the Greek and Proteſtant clergy; that they be allowed to have burying-grounds for their reſpective ſects, and in ſhort, be allowed to do every thing which regards the adminiſtration of the ſacraments and of the prayers commanded in each religion, and which comprehends the free liberty of the divine ſervice.—Second, That the conſtant and general liberty of religion be fixed permanently in all the kingdom, it is demanded that it ſhall be paſſed as a law in the preſent diet, that in all the towns and villages where there is no church or chapel for the Greeks, or for the other diſſidents, thoſe of either of the religions, who would eſtabliſh themſelves there, ſhall be permitted to have churches, burying-grounds, clergy, and every thing neceſſary for the exerciſe of divine worſhip; that the clergy of their reſpective religions ſhall not be hindered by the juriſdiction of the Romiſh clergy, to perform their duties, and to adminiſter the ſacraments to thoſe of their religion.—Third, The free exerciſe of religion being a divine right, and a point wherein every citizen is intereſted

in

in the higheſt degree, it is the duty of every well-regulated government to take care that all the ſubjects of the ſtate ſhould enjoy this right, and not depend in any particular upon another religion. After conſidering this principle, we muſt regard the tax which the diſſidents are obliged to pay to the Roman Catholic clergy for their burials, marriages, and baptiſms, as a great abuſe, which is carried to a greater or leſſer degree in the different provinces. Such abuſes, which are vicious in their principles, cannot be made juſt and valid by any particular conſtitution, where thoſe who are intended by them have not the liberty of giving their votes; and therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary that this abuſe ſhould be immediately rectified; and if it is agreed by all the orders of the ſtate to preſerve the diſtinctions of the national religion, they ſhould determine upon ſome regulation and moderate acknowledgment, which ſhould be rather regarded as an honour, than as a tax.—Fourth, The Greek ſeminary at Mohilow ſhall not be diſturbed in any manner, and ſhall always continue to educate the youth of the Greek religion, without being ſubject to be moleſted or troubled on any account whatever.—Fifth, The biſhop and the biſhopric of the White Ruſſia, as it is called, with all its appurtenances, ſhall be forever preſerved in the exerciſe of the Greek religion; and all the churches, whether Greek, or of the other diſſidents, ſhall be ſupported in the free exerciſe of their reſpective communions.—Sixth, That no Greek or diſſident prieſt, or eccleſiaſtic of what degree ſoever, ſhall be obliged to appear before any tribunal compoſed of the eccleſiaſtics of the Roman Catholic communion, and that they ſhall only be appellable before the civil juriſdictions.—Seventh, That it ſhall not be permitted to hinder the marriages between two perſons of different religions, and that their

their children, of the both ſexes, ſhall be educated in the religion of their reſpective parents.

This declaration, preſented to the diet of Warſaw, made a great impreſſion upon the members of this body, eſpecially as they perceived that the empreſs of Ruſſia and the king of Pruſſia would not give up any point in favour of the Greeks and diſſidents, and even that they were ready to ſupport their demands with a great army, if things came to this extremity. However the reading of this memorial occaſioned the moſt violent fermentation in the minds of the people: the prince biſhop of Cracow anſwered it by a long and violent diſcourſe, which would have occaſioned the diſſolution of the diet if the king had not interpoſed, as will hereafter appear; but the empreſs of Ruſſia was not to be frightened by the thunders of a Poliſh biſhop, nor even by thoſe of the vatican: her miniſter prince Repnin, who was ſupported by a great body of troops, uſed every method to calm the minds of the moſt violent of the members of this diet; but finding that his endeavours were not attended with ſucceſs, he began, by the orders of the empreſs, to exerciſe the Ruſſian law, and carried off by force the biſhops of Cracow and of Kiow, the palatine of Cracow, and his ſon the preſident of Podolia.

This act of violence exerciſed in the midſt of the capital of a republic, jealous of her liberties by foreign troops which were introduced againſt the opinion of a great part of the nation, could not fail of producing the moſt violent commotion; and the king of Poland, in concert with the reſt of the members of the diet, by his reſident at the court of Ruſſia, demanded in the ſtrongeſt terms that the empreſs would releaſe theſe illuſtrious priſoners. So extraordinary a conduct required that at leaſt ſome plauſible

plauſible reaſons ſhould be given in its juſtification; and conſequently the miniſtry of Peterſbourg undertook, in a memorial which they ſent to Monſieur Pfarſki as an anſwer to that which he had preſented to them in the name of the king and of the republic of Poland, to juſtify their conduct: they ſtated a queſtion in this memorial, "Whether it would be more "ſatisfactory for the empreſs to pleaſe, in this inſtance, the "king and the republic of Poland by releaſing their priſoners, "or to render both the one and the other the moſt eſſential "ſervice by retaining them?" They reſolved upon the latter, as the only means to ſupport innocence and juſtice, and to reſtore peace and good order in the government of Poland.

After having, as they imagined, fully demonſtrated by this piece that it was the good of the republic which forced them to arreſt theſe four turbulent ſubjects, whoſe enlargement was demanded, the miniſtry of Peterſbourg thought themſelves juſtified by the ſame title in retaining them priſoners.

It does not appear that the biſhop of Cracow, who was the chief of this party, had been guilty of any particular crime, except that, if it may be called ſo, of oppoſing with great violence, in the firſt ſeſſion of the diet, the nomination of commiſſioners to enter into a conference with prince Repnin, and to make any deciſion with him on account of the demands of the Diſſidents. He acquieſced, it is true, in the nomination of commiſſioners, but he was of opinion that they ſhould be ordered to make their report regularly to the diet of what paſſed in their conferences, and that they ſhould not ſign any thing without being fully authorized by the diet, and this not by a plurality of voices, but unanimouſly. In fact, the biſhop by this

means was certain, that nothing could be done in the diet without his conſent; and he was fully reſolved, like an honeſt Roman Catholic biſhop, rather to ſee his country deſtroyed by fire and ſword than to ſuffer the Diſſidents to enjoy their legal rights and privileges.

The empreſs, on the other hand, having ordered thoſe members of the diet who were the moſt violent in oppoſing her deſigns to be carried off, perſuaded herſelf that the great body of troops which ſhe had in that kingdom would impoſe ſilence upon the different parties, who would think themſelves happy to receive the laws which her embaſſador prince Repnin and the aſſembly at Warſaw ſhould dictate to them; but ſhe was greatly deceived in her expectations: when theſe laws were made public, the whole republic was divided into as many confederacies as there were diſcontented nobles, who thought themſelves injured by their diſpoſitions. From this time we may date the commencement of the civil wars in Poland, and to this cauſe we may attribute all the diſagreeable effects which have ſince happened in that kingdom.

The king of Pruſſia had not yet appeared publicly in this matter, any farther than by preſenting memorials; and the pious queen of Hungary had repeatedly given the Poles the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of her being diſpoſed to aſſiſt them, and to repay them the great obligations which ſhe owed them for ſupporting the arms of John Sobieſki, who ſaved the auguſt houſe of Auſtria from deſtruction; but both thoſe ſovereigns ſecretly inſtigated the empreſs of Ruſſia againſt the Poles, that they might come in for a ſhare of the ſpoil. The queen of Hungary and Bohemia in particular ſhewed ſuch an example of piety and

apoſtolic

apoſtolic virtue as future ages will regard with admiration, when ſhe entered into a treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia and the king of Pruſſia for the diviſion of Poland, and to guarantee the territories which fell to their lots reſpectively; for when the empreſs of Ruſſia was afterwards attacked by the Turks on account of the troubles which ſhe had raiſed in Poland, the court of Vienna, in conſideration of a ſum of money and a part of the province of Walachia, abſolutely gave up their allies, who had juſt before helped them to a great part of Poland, to which they had as much right as they have to a mountain in the moon, and pretended to join the Turks to prevent the Ruſſians from proſecuting their conqueſts againſt them; but at laſt it was unfortunately diſcovered that they meant to cheat the Turks likewiſe.

What every ſenſible man foreſaw in the year 1767 happened in the beginning of the year 1768. The diet of Poland had ſcarcely ratified the articles concluded by their commiſſioners with the ambaſſador of Ruſſia and the miniſters of the other allied powers for re-eſtabliſhing the Diſſidents in their ancient rights, privileges, and prerogatives, before ſeveral of their members proteſted againſt the meaſure, and new confederacies were formed in the kingdom. The Ruſſians, who were divided into different bodies, were attacked with great violence in the Ukraine, in Lithuania, and in Great Poland; were ſometimes victors, and ſometimes vanquiſhed; the diſcontented Poles could not be brought to receive the laws which thoſe powers would coerce upon them; and nothing can equal the ſcenes of barbarity, bloodſhed, and horror which were acted upon the great theatre of this kingdom, in which the Romiſh clergy,

who ought to have been the ſons of peace and concord, were the principal actors.

Whilſt things were in this ſituation, and great bodies of Ruſſian troops were daily traverſing Poland to cruſh the confederacies which were daily forming in this kingdom, the court of Peterſbourg received the diſagreeable news of what was acting at Conſtantinople. The court of France had long been ſoliciting the Turks to declare war againſt the Ruſſians, in hopes to draw off their troops from Poland, and to give the nobility of this kingdom an opportunity to re-eſtabliſh their ancient form of government; but this year, by means of a large ſum of money, the French miniſter prevailed with the great officers of the Ottoman Porte to adopt this meaſure.

On the fourth of October a great council was held, at which the Grand Sultan and all the great officers of the Porte aſſiſted, and in conſequence of what was there concluded, two days after the Grand Vizier invited Obreſkoff the Ruſſian miniſter to come to his houſe, where, in preſence of a number of baſhaws and other officers who were there aſſembled, he informed him that the meaſures which the empreſs his miſtreſs had taken with reſpect to Poland had given great diſſatisfaction to the Porte; and afterwards he aſked him if he had received any advice that the Ruſſians had quitted Poland, or that they were ordered to do it ſoon; or if, in caſe he had not received any particular advice of this matter, he would warrant them that orders ſhould be immediately given to this effect?

To this the Ruſſian miniſter replied, that he had not received any advice that ſuch orders were actually given, and that he was entirely

entirely ignorant of the intentions of the empreſs his ſovereign about withdrawing her troops from Poland; but that he could renew the declarations which he had already made, that her imperial majeſty was very much diſpoſed not to undertake any meaſure that was contrary to the treaties of peace which ſubſiſted between the two empires. Obreſkoff demanded a limited time to ſend a courier to prince Repnin at Warſaw, but the vizier refuſed to permit him, and at the ſame time declared, that the Ottoman court would not be treated any longer in ſuch a manner by that of Ruſſia; that they had reſolved to declare war againſt the Ruſſian empire; and that he, Obreſkoff, was arreſted, and that he ſhould be led to the priſon of the Seven Towers; which order was executed immediately.

The court of Ruſſia, with the news of the detention of her miniſter, received the copy of a manifeſto which the officers of the Porte had diſtributed among the reſidents of the foreign powers at Conſtantinople, which tended to juſtify their reſolution of breaking their ancient treaties with the Ruſſians. The Ottoman miniſters obſerve in this piece, that they had religiouſly obſerved all the articles of the laſt peace, and that Ruſſia had violated it in many inſtances; that this power had not diſcontinued a moment to build different fortreſſes upon the frontiers of the two empires, and to place numerous garriſons in them: and with regard to Poland it was obſerved, that "at the death "of Auguſtus the Third, king of Poland, when the republic, "agreeably to the ſyſtem of Poliſh liberty, would proceed to "the election of a king, the court of Ruſſia, after having by "force and violence placed a Poliſh officer upon the throne, "who was of no high birth, who never had a king in his "family, and who was by no means qualified for ſuch a high "ſtation,

" ſtation, they continued to ſupport this perſon in the dignity " to which he had been illegally raiſed, and would endeavour, " much againſt the inclination of the republic, to overturn all " the fundamental laws and conſtitution of the ſtate."

It was finally obſerved in this piece, that the court of Ruſſia, contrary to the tenor of the imperial capitulations, continued ſtill to employ troops, provided with cannon and with all kinds of military ſtores, and under the conduct of their own proper generals, to attack the Poliſh liberty, and put all thoſe to death who refuſed to ſubmit themſelves to the perſon whom they had not elected nor ever acknowledged as their king; and that moreover, the Ruſſian troops who had been ſent to Balta on the borders of the Turkiſh empire, with cannon and military ſtores, had attacked the Muſſelmen by ſurprize, and maſſacred more than a thouſand perſons, men, women, and children; and therefore it was the opinion of all doctors of the Muſſelman law that a war againſt the Moſcovites was a juſt and neceſſary meaſure in the preſent ſituation of affairs.

Offended and piqued at the imputations contained in this manifeſto, eſpecially as the greateſt part of them were ſtrictly true, the court of Ruſſia anſwered it by another declaration of war, wherein ſhe endeavours, but I think very imperfectly, to juſtify her conduct reſpecting Poland, by a recital of all that had paſſed in it ſince the late king's death, by the neceſſity that ſhe was under of fulfilling the obligations which the treaties ſubſiſting between the two powers had impoſed upon her; and of the attention which ſhe had always obſerved to avoid any enterprize which might occaſion the leaſt umbrage to the Ottoman Porte. She moreover obſerved that the court of Conſtantinople

ſtantinople would have ſtill continued in the pacific ſyſtem which ſhe had adopted till the affairs of Poland were entirely regulated, if ſome other powers, who were envious of the good underſtanding which ſubſiſted between the Ruſſian and Ottoman empires, had not, by falſe and ſiniſter ſuggeſtions, perſuaded the miniſters of the Porte to undertake this war.

As ſoon as the empreſs of Ruſſia had declared war againſt the Turks, ſhe withdrew the greateſt part of her troops from Poland, which were now employed againſt their natural enemy, and the principal places which they occupied in this kingdom were occupied by Pruſſians and Auſtrians, in conſequence of the famous treaty of partition which was now concluded between theſe three powers.

When the empreſs of Ruſſia ſent her troops into Poland, ſhe declared, in ſeveral public pieces which ſhe publiſhed and ſent into different parts of Europe, that ſhe had no other intention than to ſupport the laws and conſtitution of Poland; and it is generally believed that at that time ſhe had no other motive than that of cauſing her friend count Poniatowſki to be elected king, and ſupporting him upon the throne. The king of Pruſſia from the beginning had no other motive but that of endeavouring by clandeſtine meaſures to augment the troubles of Poland, which might give him an opportunity to ſeize upon Poliſh Pruſſia and Dantzic, which he had for ſeveral years before been endeavouring to obtain. At the cloſe of the laſt war he propoſed to cede Sileſia to the queen of Hungary and to the emperor, as that province had been the cauſe of all their wars, on condition that the houſe of Auſtria would guarantee all Poliſh Pruſſia, with the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, to him; but the propoſal was

not

not then accepted, as it was ſuppoſed that what was demanded was of much greater conſequence than Sileſia.

The queen of Hungary and Bohemia, notwithſtanding all her proteſtations to the contrary, entered into this confederacy with no other motive than that of ſecuring to herſelf all that part of Poland which borders upon Hungary, together with the famous ſalt-mines of that country: both theſe acquiſitions being thought to be equal in value to the whole of her uncultivated kingdom of Hungary. The ſervices which the Poles had formerly done her family were of much too ancient a date to be remembered by ſo pious a lady; and the infraction of promiſes, and even of treaties, has been lately proved to be a part of the Auſtrian apoſtolic creed. That part of Poland which fell to the lot of the empreſs of Ruſſia by this famous treaty is not equal in extent or in value to the territories which were allotted to the king of Pruſſia and to the queen of Hungary reſpectively, though the former alone was obliged to ſupport the war againſt the Turks on account of the affairs of Poland; and the queen of Hungary entered into an engagement with the Ottoman Porte to prevent the Ruſſians from puſhing their conqueſts beyond the Danube, and even gave the Sultan repeated aſſurances that the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould give up all that ſhe had conquered during the war, and had an army in readineſs to join the Turks if the court of Peterſbourg had refuſed to comply with the terms propoſed. However the empreſs of Ruſſia has luckily finiſhed the war with credit, and has even gained a conſiderable advantage over the Turks, by obtaining the liberty of a free navigation over the Black Sea, and a free trade with all parts of the Ottoman empire, which will be of much greater advantage to the Ruſſians than all the conqueſts which they

made during the war; and happily for them it was an advantage with which the ſagacious court of Vienna was intirely unacquainted, otherwiſe they would have made it a pretence for demanding ſome additional purſes of the Ottoman gold.

CHAP. II.

Of the Form of Government at preſent eſtabliſhed in RUSSIA.

WHOEVER peruſes the foregoing chapter will eaſily perceive that the ſovereign of the Ruſſian empire is abſolute and deſpotic in the utmoſt latitude of theſe words, and maſter of the lives and properties of all his ſubjects, who though they are of the firſt nobility, or have been highly inſtrumental in promoting the honours and welfare of the ſtate, may nevertheleſs for the moſt trifling offence, or even for no offence at all, be ſeized upon and ſent to Siberia, or to drudge for life upon the public works, and have all their goods confiſcated whenever the ſovereign or his miniſters ſhall think proper; that the nobility and proprietors of fiefs are no leſs arbitrary and deſpotic over the lives and properties of their vaſſals, than the ſovereign is over them; and that the ſovereign is in many reſpects in a more diſagreeable ſituation than any perſon in his dominions: there is no regular barrier between the crown and the people: a bold and enterpriſing perſon who can gain over a party of the guards, may in two hours time dethrone the ſovereign, and overturn the whole ſyſtem of government.

The ſyſtem of civil laws at preſent eſtabliſhed in this ſtate is very imperfect, and in many inſtances unjuſt and barbarous; being an aſſemblage of laws and regulations drawn from moſt of the ſtates of Europe, ill digeſted, and in many reſpects not at all calculated for the genius of the Ruſſian nation. Their police is much upon the ſame footing; a mixture of ſome very good and ſome very bad regulations, which are very improperly combined to ſupport peace and good order among ſuch a rude and uncultivated people.

There is no ſtate perhaps in the whole world where the courts of juſtice are ſo corrupt, and their members ſo ignorant, as in the greateſt part of the Ruſſian dominions. A man in this country who has learning enough to read the ukaſes or laws, and to write his name, thinks himſelf well qualified to have an important place in their courts of juſtice; for according to a fundamental law of the ſtate eſtabliſhed by Peter the Firſt, the judges are obliged to follow the literal ſenſe of the ukaſes or laws, reſpecting the matter which is before them, though they be ever ſo abſurd and contradictory; but it is neceſſary that he ſhould be more ſkilful to be an able lawyer. The latter ſhould know well how to diſtinguiſh the ukaſes, and to cite them occaſionally in favour of his clients; and if he would be well acquainted with his profeſſion, he ſhould likewiſe know how to compel in ſome meaſure the judges to declare for his clients; for inſtance, when he has convinced them that he is by no means their enemy, he muſt know how to cite boldly an ukaſe of the empreſs Ann, which favours the caſe of his client; for though this ukaſe was repealed by the empreſs Elizabeth, it is nothing to the purpoſe, the judges give themſelves no manner of trouble to enquire into it; but when they find any ukaſe favourable to a perſon who has merited their

notice by ſome conſiderable preſent, they will always do him juſtice, though this ukaſe has been repealed, and declared null by another ſovereign.

It is true, ſtrangers who reſide in this empire are judged according to the Roman laws, or according to the conſtitution eſtabliſhed in the conquered provinces, and in a ſeparate tribunal; the judges of whom it is compoſed, all chiefly German lawyers, and even thoſe Ruſſians who are among them were obliged to ſtudy the law in ſome German academy. Peter the Firſt, who eſtabliſhed this tribunal as an encouragement for the judges and officers of it, ordered that their ſalaries ſhould be the double of thoſe of the Ruſſian tribunals, becauſe the latter have much leſs pain and more profit than the former, and becauſe it requires much more learning and aſſiduity to be only a ſecretary in the German tribunal, than to be a judge in the Ruſſian.

Before Peter the Great came to the throne there were very few written laws in Ruſſia; and, as I have already obſerved, thoſe that did exiſt before that æra, were by far more rude and barbarous than thoſe of Mahomet or of Tamerlane; but this great prince, who was in every reſpect the reformer of his country, and before whoſe time the inhabitants of this empire had not even proper ideas of the moſt common laws of nature, did as much for their general good, as any human being who had ſo bad an education as he had, could have done in ſo ſhort a time.

The ſovereigns who ſucceeded this great prince have ſucceſſively publiſhed a great many written laws or ukaſes, but they are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, nothing more than an aſſemblage of con-

tradictory, equivocal, and indeterminate laws; ſo that often, upon the ſame ſubject, there are as many ukaſes, as there have been ſovereigns ſince the death of Peter the Firſt, and every one of them has treated the ſame matter in a different manner, according to the different points which they had in view, and conſequently each ſovereign hath publiſhed laws which were dictated by his caprice or paſſions, and which became ſo many contradictions in their courts of juſtice: however it is not pretended that thoſe ukaſes have always the force of laws, but as I have already obſerved, they are made uſe of occaſionally according to the deſigns which have been formed.

The late emperor Peter the Third, who though he was very wrong-headed in many reſpects, was ſtruck with the abſurdity of their judicial proceedings, and had formed a reſolution to introduce and eſtabliſh a body of fundamental laws for the benefit of all his ſubjects, which ſhould be founded on reaſonable principles, poſitive and applicable to all caſes, after the example of the other European nations, and agreeable to that which the king of Pruſſia had eſtabliſhed in his ſtates, under the title of the Frederician code; but his death put an end to his deſign: however the preſent empreſs Catherine the Second, when ſhe came to the throne, ſeems to have adopted the ſame plan, if we may judge from the proclamation which ſhe publiſhed upon this ſubject, wherein ſhe complained very nearly in the ſame terms I have before made uſe of, that the ignorance and the diſorders which had heretofore reigned in the courts of juſtice, were ſuch as wanted an immediate reformation; and has ſince publiſhed expreſs orders for forming a new code of fundamental laws for the Ruſſian empire, whereby, if we may form our opinion from the deſire ſhe expreſſes to promote the real happineſs and welfare of her ſubjects, it appears that her magnanimity and greatneſs of

ſoul would alone entitle her to the high ſtation which ſhe at preſent fills in the directing the affairs of ſo many myriads of the human ſpecies; but I am much afraid that her plan, without ſome conſiderable additions, will not anſwer the end for which it was calculated, and that for the reaſons which I have already ſtated.

From what has been ſaid therefore it will be clearly ſeen, that the civil laws of Ruſſia were extremely ill calculated, and worſe executed, to promote the true intereſt, power, and grandeur of ſuch a great empire; and therefore I ſhall now proceed to enquire into the nature of their criminal laws.

The criminal proceſſes in this empire were anciently formed upon a much more barbarous, and indeed I had almoſt ſaid, iniquitous plan, than of a civil nature, and were divided into two parts; the one was founded upon a formal and public accuſation, as in the caſe of murder, theft, burning of houſes, &c. &c. to which particular puniſhments were annexed: the other was the ſecret inquiſition, which was chiefly confined to the crime of leze majeſty, to that of having projected ſome change in, or offended againſt, the religion of the country, and to that of having in ſome manner betrayed the ſtate. But as there were no laws to ſpecify particularly what were crimes of this nature, this was a door whereby all kinds of oppreſſion, barbarity, and tyranny were introduced into the government.

Heretofore, as I have already obſerved, the greateſt part of their common criminal proceſſes were determined by duel, except the proofs were very clear againſt the accuſed, a ſpecies of barbarity that was ſhocking to human nature; but Peter the Firſt reformed the regulations reſpecting this kind of criminal pro-

proceſſes; ſo that at preſent the accuſed perſon cannot be condemned but by his own confeſſion, or by the teſtimony of credible witneſſes.

As ſoon as there was any accuſation brought againſt a perſon in the ſecret inquiſition of his having been guilty of crimes which ſhould come before this tribunal, even ſuppoſing that he was one of the principal perſonages of the empire, and the accuſer was one of the meaneſt and moſt profligate ſlaves, the cuſtom was to ſeize upon him immediately, and commit him to priſon, when all his effects either fell into the hands of the government, and were confiſcated, though he afterwards appeared to be innocent, or they fell a prey to the public; for as ſoon as ever a perſon is arreſted in this country, it is ſuppoſed that he is irrecoverably loſt. The accuſer was likewiſe ſecured, and they were both treated in the ſame manner; they were brought before the inquiſitors with the utmoſt ſecrecy, where the accuſer was to repeat his accuſation: if the accuſed denied the fact, and the other could not ſupport his accuſation by witneſſes, the latter was condemned to prove it at the expence of his ſkin, and to be three times knouted; and if he had a conſtitution ſtrong enough to ſupport this kind of diſcipline, the thing was regarded as half proved: then the accuſed was obliged to bring witneſſes to prove the contrary, or otherwiſe he was alſo ordered to receive the knout three times juſt as the other; and in this manner they were knouted alternately, till the accuſed confeſſed his crime, or till the accuſer retracted his accuſation: ſo that by this kind of proceeding, an innocent perſon, upon the accuſation and deſire of revenge of one of his ſlaves, was not only liable to be treated in this barbarous manner, but to loſe all his property without any hopes of redemption or redreſs.

They

They had likewiſe, till very lately, in Ruſſia, a kind of accuſation which was called, *crying the word*, of which they formerly made the worſt uſe, and thereby ruined whole families of innocent perſons. A ſervant, for inſtance, whoſe bad conduct had drawn upon himſelf the juſt chaſtiſement of his maſter, very often cried the word, to be guarded againſt this chaſtiſement: "I have, ſaid he, a complaint to make againſt "my maſter; he has committed one of the capital crimes." Theſe cries were heretofore regarded as ſacred, and were ſo terrible, that when they were made every perſon who was preſent turned pale with fear, and the maſter was obliged immediately to releaſe his ſervant, and to ſave himſelf with him in the firſt guard-houſe, from whence they were tranſported as criminals to the fortreſs, where the maſter was expoſed with his vant to all the diſcipline and rigour which I have before deſcribed; and what made this kind of proceſs the more dreadful was, that it could not be decided any where but in Peterſbourg. If, for inſtance, an inhabitant of Aſtracan was accuſed of any of the crimes in queſtion, he was to be carried, with his accuſer, to Peterſbourg, and when the proceſs was finiſhed, he was ſent back condemned or acquitted; even the officers of the army were formerly in the ſame ſituation when they were about to puniſh a ſoldier who had been guilty of any crime.

Peter the Third perceiving the bad uſe that was daily made of theſe forms of criminal proceſſes, intirely aboliſhed the ſecret inquiſition; ſo that proceſſes of this nature are now carried on in an open manner, and decided by evidence, and by the confeſſion of the accuſed, in the German method.

All

All kinds of eccleſiaſtical controverſies; all the diſputes concerning religion or religious affairs; and all kinds of differences between eccleſiaſtics, or between thoſe who are employed in the exerciſe of their religious rites, are decided finally by the ſynod, or as they call it, their ſacred college, which was eſtabliſhed by Peter the Great, as I have already obſerved. This college is compoſed of the principal of the dignified clergy, who are nominated by the crown, and who receive their laws from the ſovereign in the ſame manner as do the judges who hear and determine the civil proceſſes.

The right of parents over their children in this empire is greater than it is in any other part of Europe; and it appears to me that they have adopted this part of their policy from the ancient Romans, or rather from the Greeks. A father has an abſolute power over his children; and neither their age nor their rank can exempt a ſon or a daughter from the parental authority. The people who are in the lower ſphere of life have the ſame empire over their children, and though the latter are raiſed to the higheſt dignities, their fathers have the ſame right when they think themſelves offended, to arreſt them, and to inflict what puniſhment they ſhall think proper upon them, without being anſwerable to any perſon for their conduct; and even the magiſtrates dare not demand the reaſon for ſuch behaviour: they found this right upon the general maxim that parents have nothing but the happineſs of their children in view, and conſequently that they ought not to be accountable to any perſon for their conduct towards them, even though they treat them with rigour.

The

The right that huſbands have over their wives in this empire, is much of the ſame nature: the huſband is the proprietor of his wife, and conſiders her as part of his goods, which he may diſpoſe of agreeably to his fancy: neither has he any thing to fear if he kills her when he is in a fit of paſſion, any more than if he had killed his ſlave. In the northern and eaſtern parts of this empire the wives of the common people like to be beaten by their huſbands, and even glory in it.

The power which the proprietors of fiefs have uſurped over their ſlaves is almoſt abſolute: they pretend that the ſovereigns of this ſtate have at different times granted them certain rights and prerogatives over their ſlaves, as they term them, which in fact no ſovereign has a right to grant, and which, as being contrary to the laws of God and nature, are null in themſelves, though they ſhould be granted by the moſt abſolute monarch upon earth. They make a traffick of theſe unhappy wretches, and buy and ſell them like ſheep or horſes, for more or leſs money in proportion as their wants are more or leſs preſſing. Formerly a maſter might have killed his ſlave as he would have killed his dog; but this kind of barbarity being found to be contrary to the maxims of the Chriſtian religion, is at preſent prohibited; nevertheleſs the former is not forbidden to beat the latter, which theſe tyrants ſometimes do to ſuch a degree, that the poor ſlaves have frequently their bones broken, and die of the wounds which they receive. A maſter of a family in this empire is as much conſidered in his family, as the emperor himſelf is by the whole nation; the will of the former being a law in his family, from which there is no appeal, juſt as that of the emperor is in the empire.

For all matters relating to the different mines in Siberia, and in the other provinces of this empire, there are inferior tribunals under the direction of officers and judges who reſide upon the ſpot; but there is an appeal from them to the general court called the college of mines at Peterſbourg.

The power of executing all judicial ſentences is lodged in the governors of the reſpective diſtricts, and is from them communicated to inferior officers.

The ordinary charges of law-ſuits are very moderate in Ruſſia, but both the lawyers and the judges are very apt to take bribes; and in the Ruſſian courts they are extremely ignorant, the practice of the law being thought to be greatly beneath the character of a gentleman, and is thought to be rather the refuge than the choice even of men of mean capacity. Titles to eſtate are made more ſecure, and leſs ſubject to conteſts by the regiſters that are kept of ſales and alienations, and as well of all other engagements relating to them, ſo that if the purchaſer omits to record his tranſactions in the proper court, he incurs the hazard of a ſubſequent bargain ſuperſeding his: this uſeful regulation was introduced from the Swediſh into the Ruſſian provinces by Peter the Great.

In all criminal matters where the fact is not clearly proved, or where the judges are not very ſevere, the accuſed perſon is admitted to purge himſelf by oath, to which are generally added the oaths of ſeveral other perſons who are to vouch for his innocence and integrity.

All capital crimes, ſuch as treaſon, murder, burning of houſes, and other crimes of the like nature, are by the ancient laws of the empire to be puniſhed with death, which is executed by breaking upon the wheel, by beheading or hanging the men, and always beheading the women; to which is added burning alive or dead, and quartering, according to the nature of the crime.

Peter the Great carried their criminal laws into execution with much rigour and ſeverity; but his daughter Elizabeth, as I have already obſerved, would not ſuffer any perſon to be put to death during the whole courſe of her reign, when all capital offenders were puniſhed by being condemned to drudgery upon the public works in the different parts of the kingdom during life, where they were kept by a ſtrong guard, and treated with great ſeverity in proportion to the nature of their crimes: but as the ſenate obſerved to the empreſs Catherine the Second, the lenity of that humane empreſs was much abuſed; ſo that at preſent the ancient laws are in many criminal caſes carried into execution with the greateſt rigour.

The puniſhment of ſtealing is a kind of perpetual ſlavery; the guilty perſon being condemned to work all his life for the ſovereign, in making fortifications, or to ſome other hard drudgery.

It is ſeen in the foregoing chapter that the Doctrines of the Greek church are what may be called the national religion of this empire; though almoſt every other ſect of the Chriſtian religion is tolerated and even ſupported here; but I muſt now further obſerve that the Ruſſian church is governed by the ſynod, who

repreſent the patriarch, by archbiſhops, biſhops, and other dignified clergy, as well as by the parochial clergy, and the convents, and other religious houſes, much in the ſame manner as they are in the Roman Catholic countries.

I have already obſerved that Peter the Firſt ſeized upon the greateſt part of the property of the clergy, and annexed it to the crown, which made a great uproar in the whole empire; ſo that the people in many parts were taught to regard him as the antichriſt, and two or three times roſe in rebellion againſt him; and certainly any ſovereign who had leſs reſolution, natural talents, and bravery, than Peter the Firſt, would have fallen a ſacrifice to ſuch a raſh attempt. However, after he had conquered the Swediſh provinces on the eaſt of the Baltic, and had nothing more to fear from Charles the Twelfth, he reſtored the greateſt part of their property to them again, and his daughter Elizabeth, when ſhe came to the throne, reſtored the remainder. Peter the Third, without aſſigning any reaſon for his conduct, ſeized upon all their landed property a ſecond time, and formally annexed it to the domains of the crown. Peter the Firſt pleaded neceſſity to juſtify this arbitrary meaſure; but Peter the Third had nothing to plead in his juſtification but a capricious diſpoſition, which ended in his deſtruction. Catherine the Second, who was no leſs diſpoſed to apply the great property of the clergy to the uſe of the public, than her late huſband, but who had more prudence and penetration than he, by a ſeries of arts and artifices, and by gaining over a great number of the principal clergy by preſents and promiſes, at length made the whole body of the clergy conſent to reſign all their landed property into her hands, which was again formally annexed to the domains of the crown, and to receive pen-

ſions

ſions out of the public treaſure, in proportion to the rank and ſituation of their reſpective members; ſo that at preſent all the clergy of the Ruſſian church, as well thoſe who are dignified, as the common parochial curates, receive their reſpective ſalaries from the government. The Ruſſian clergy are in general very illiterate and bigotted, and make the principal part of their religion conſiſt in a parade of inſignificant ceremonies and ſuperſtitions.

CHAP. III.

Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the RUSSIAN *Nation.*

THE great ſeverity of the climate in the principal provinces of this empire, which produces a dry and ſharp air, diſpoſes the inhabitants in general to a ſtrong and hardy conſtitution, which moreover is not a little aſſiſted by hard lodgings, coarſe food, and ſtrong exerciſe; ſo that the common people in this climate are able to ſupport hardſhips much better than thoſe who are born in a more temperate climate, and who are more indulgently educated.

The common people in general in Ruſſia are not very tall, but they have very ſtrong muſcles, and are capable of undergoing great fatigues: they are extremely ignorant and brutal, though very bold and reſolute in war: they may be moved by their leaders, and fixed like ſo many machines: they have very imperfect ideas of the ſocial virtues; and it appears as if the ſcenes of tyranny and oppreſſion in which they are born and bred,

had

had in a great degree cramped the faculties of their minds, as the ſeverity of the climate has done thoſe of their bodies.

There have been many inſtances of ſome of the meaneſt of the Ruſſian ſlaves, when they were delivered, if I may uſe the expreſſion, from the ſtate of bondage in which they were kept, and had acquired ſome knowledge of men and manners, who, by the force of their genius alone, made ſuch a brilliant figure in the world, as future ages muſt admire and wonder. Mentzikoff, for example, who from the loweſt of the people, by his own ſuperior merit, raiſed himſelf to the higheſt honours, and was juſtly eſteemed as an ornament to the Ruſſian nation. The common people in Ruſſia have no kind of learning or education among them, and although they are called Chriſtians, have no idea of the true principles of the Chriſtian religion; paying a proper reſpect to their ſaints, and to the images of ſuch ſaints, keeping their faſt days with ſome ſolemnity, and repeating a certain number of prayers by rote, of the true uſe and meaning of which they have no idea, is the whole of the religion of at leaſt ten millions of people in this empire.

It is true, divine ſervice is celebrated in the Ruſſian churches in the Sclavonian language; and by the orders of the church they are taught to believe in God the Father as the creator of the world, in Jeſus Chriſt as the ſaviour and redeemer of mankind, and in the Holy Ghoſt as the ſanctifier of the faithful; they regard alſo the virgin Mary and the ſaints, as interceſſors between God and them, conformably to the tenets of the old Greek church: they acknowledge the ſeven ſacraments as they do in the Romiſh church, and believe that God has inſtituted baptiſm to regenerate us, and to purify us from original ſin.

ſin. But as theſe articles of faith would make very little impreſſion upon the native of Otahit who was lately in England, or upon a Hottentot, from their not being inſtructed in the true principles of the Chriſtian religion, ſo have they but little influence upon the common people in Ruſſia, who never receive any inſtruction in the rudiments of their religion, who have no idea of morality, and who are regarded by their brutal tyrants as a race of beings of an inferior nature to themſelves.

The general character of the Ruſſian nation is, to content themſelves with a ſuperficial knowledge of things rather than to proſecute their ſtudies to any conſiderable degree: this diſpoſition qualifies them more for a life of labour and fatigue than for that of art and curioſity; and the effects of it are viſible in all orders of men in this ſtate, which may be divided into four different claſſes:—1ſt. The nobility and gentry;—2dly. The lawyers and clergy;—3dly. The merchants and citizens;—and 4thly. The farmers, labourers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen.

The nobility and gentry of Ruſſia are ſubdivided into many claſſes, the firſt of which is compoſed of the moſt ancient families of the empire, and thoſe who were created ſuch by the great duke Wladimir the Firſt; the families of foreign nobility, which from time to time have eſtabliſhed themſelves in Ruſſia, hold, in ſome ſort, the ſecond rank, as they pretend to be all deſcendents of royal houſes: thoſe who were created princes during and ſince the reign of the czar Alexis form the third claſs. The common nobility and gentry are compoſed of thoſe who have had any famous generals or ſenators for their anceſtors, or in whoſe families the czars have choſen their wives, or who are proprietors of conſiderable fiefs, or who were raiſed by their merit

merit during the reign of Peter the Great, and who are for the moſt part ſtrangers; but ſince the reign of this great prince, no claſs of the nobility can come into competition with military rank, which is at preſent the ſtandard which regulates the precedence degrees of men in this empire.

Notwithſtanding the great improvements that have been made towards civilizing the Ruſſian empire, the nobility and gentry of this nation, except thoſe who are immediately about the court, are ſtill brutal and tyrannical to a great degree, to which the arbitrary power which they have over the ſlaves not a little contributes: they regard themſelves as ſo many little tributary ſovereigns in their reſpective fiefs, and look upon their fellow-creatures and ſubjects as their perſonal property; for in this kingdom, as well as in Poland, the riches of a nobleman or gentleman ariſe not from his revenue in money, but from the number of his ſlaves: every ſlave has a certain portion of land aſſigned him, and from which neither he nor any of his family dare remove; out of this piece of land he muſt furniſh to his lord a certain quantity of grain and of other proviſion in kind, or a ſum of money in the place of them: beſides this, he is to aſſiſt his fellow-ſlaves in doing all his lord's work gratis; he is to pay all the public taxes; and, in fact, to obey his lord's will in every thing for which he is called upon.

If the generality of mankind, who are more civilized than the Ruſſians, were inveſted with ſuch an abſolute power over their fellow-creatures, from which there was no appeal, I am afraid they would not be much leſs tyrannical; and therefore we muſt attribute the want of ſocial virtues and of humanity in

the greateſt part of the nobility of this nation to the wretched defect of their government.

The ſovereign council, or chancery, which is chiefly compoſed of the third claſs of the nobility, is divided into ſix departments: in the firſt they treat of foreign affairs; in the ſecond of thoſe of war; in the third of the finances; in the fourth of the public accounts; in the fifth they judge of civil proceſſes which are brought before them by appeal, and in the ſixth they judge of criminal proceſſes. The judgments of all the inferior tribunals are brought before theſe chanceries by appeal.

The Ruſſian nobility ſeem to be much better calculated for a military life, where bravery and much action are neceſſary, than for civil affairs; for thoſe who are employed in the latter, though they are laborious in their buſineſs, ſeldom elevate their ſpeculations above what the neceſſity of their reſpective employments require. This claſs of men are very proud and haughty, and too apt to value themſelves upon the little knowledge they have of things, though, in general, it is extremely ſuperficial.

From the great connections which they have had of late years with the more civilized nations of Europe, the court and the inhabitants of Peterſbourg are changed from the extreme of Coſackiſm to the other extreme of politeneſs, civility, and elegance: but the change has been too ſuddenly made; for upon any little emotion or confuſion in the government they fall on a ſudden into their ancient ſtate of brutality and barbarity, as was lately the caſe when Peter the Third was dethroned.

The young Ruſſian nobility travel much at preſent into foreign parts, and by acquiring that ſuperficial knowledge of men and manners, which is neceſſary to form the fine gentleman, make themſelves tolerably agreeable.

The clergy, as I have already obſerved, are but very moderately learned, and ſtill leſs acquainted with the fundamental principles of and diſputes about religion, the latter of which being expreſsly forbidden, and ſeverely puniſhed in Ruſſia: they are very ſuperſtitious, and affect great gravity, which gains them high credit among the common people.

Before the time of Peter the Great the clergy of this empire were in a ſtate of ignorance inexpreſſible; but at preſent it is neceſſary that a clergyman, before he is conſecrated, ſhould be able to read, write, and to know a little Latin; he muſt likewiſe marry a virgin, and if he ſhould happen to go aſtray from his wife he muſt no longer attempt to adminiſter the ſacraments. If the wife of a clergyman dies, he muſt no longer adminiſter the ſacraments; and if he marries again he loſes all his eccleſiaſtical preferment. There are a great number of Monks and Nuns in this empire, who all follow the regulations of St. Baſil. Notwithſtanding the law of Peter the Firſt, which fixed the time when they were to make their vows to the fiftieth year of their age, they are at preſent permitted to enter into the convents at the age of twenty-five or of thirty years.

All the archbiſhops and the biſhops are choſen from among the Monks; they never marry, and even make a vow of chaſtity. There are only three or four prieſts in every convent, all the reſt live in a ſtate of the greateſt ignorance.

No

No ſoldiers, farmers, or perſons employed in the ſervice of the government are permitted to become Monks; neither is any man admitted to the vow, even after he is divorced from his wife, except the wife likewiſe becomes a Nun of her own free will, and they have no children. The Nuns never go out of their convent; and when they attain the fiftieth year of their age, they have have their heads ſhaved and make their vows; but before that time, if they are diſpoſed to marry, they are not only permitted, but even engaged to do it. Heretofore the convents were very rich, but the government hath lately ſeized upon the greateſt part of their property, which, from the ſevere regulations that their order obliges them to follow, could be of little or no uſe to them.

The lawyers, I mean thoſe of the Ruſſian courts, are the moſt ignorant of any claſs of people in this ſtate, at leaſt of thoſe who pretend to have any knowledge; and at the ſame time they are the moſt diſhoneſt and corrupt. It is true, the laws of this ſtate are in themſelves very imperfect, and in many caſes unjuſt and oppreſſive; but the manner in which they are adminiſtered is horrid beyond all deſcription: ſo that though a man has a cauſe which is ever ſo juſt and clear, if he have not wherewith to corrupt his lawyers and judges, he has no chance of having any juſtice done him.

The citizens and merchants are not at all intelligent in trade and commerce, nor would they be able to carry on the foreign commerce of their country without the aſſiſtance of ſtrangers: their commerce in the Baltic and at Archangel is chiefly carried on by Engliſh, Dutch, French, and German merchants, and that of the Caſpian ſea by Armenian and Perſian merchants.

Fraud and diſingenuous dealing paſs among the Ruſſians for addreſs and knowledge of the ſyſtem of trade.

In all œconomical matters and in commercial affairs, the Ruſſians are better calculated to do the drudgery than to ſpeculate or to dive into the myſtery of them; they are no leſs deficient in the arts and manufactures which have been eſtabliſhed lately among them, in which they generally ſet up for maſters before they are half taught; it is true, they imitate and copy after ſuch things as are laid before them; but they look upon invention as a kind of magic, of which they have no idea; ſo that in all ſuch things as require ingenuity, neatneſs, or dexterity, they are obliged to have recourſe to ſtrangers, or at leaſt to be ſerved by thoſe who have for a long time ſtudied their reſpective trades in foreign countries.

The farmers and labourers, who compoſe the bulk of the people, and from whom the ſoldiers and ſeamen are recruited, are in the moſt deplorable and wretched ſituation, and are denied the common rights of mankind; in many of the interior provinces of the empire their ignorance is ſo great that, except by their form, it would be difficult to diſcover that they were of the human ſpecies.

From the ſeverity of the climate, as I have already obſerved, they become ſtrong and robuſt, and by diſcipline they become excellent ſoldiers: from the rigour of their ſituation, they habituate themſelves to deſpiſe life, and ſuffer all kinds of puniſhment and ſeverity with a kind of inſenſibility.

The common people have ſtill retained much of the diſpoſition of the Coſacks and of the Tartars; they are naturally lazy, diſhoneſt, and fond of drinking ſtrong liquors to exceſs; they have no other ideas but thoſe of tyranny and ſlavery: indeed the wretchedneſs of their ſituation makes them indolent and careleſs about life, as they have judgment enough to perceive that they cannot hope for any thing more in this life than coarſe food and raiment; they have likewiſe ſenſibility enough to feel, at times, the weight of their oppreſſion, which deſtroys all kind of emulation among them, and through reſentment hinders them from doing any thing more for their oppreſſors than they are actually obliged to do by force and violence.

Peter the Firſt made a regulation in the empire, which he thought would be greatly for the advantage of the ſtate, and no leſs ſo for that of the farmers: he laid a tax upon every fief, which was to be paid by the proprietor into the public treaſury in money, and gave the proprietor an unlimited power to raiſe this money upon his farmers or ſlaves. This mode of taxing was undoubtedly advantageous to the government, as it ſaved them a great ſum of money in its collection; but it was highly oppreſſive to the ſlaves, as it gave their lords an additional power over them, and added greatly to the weight of their oppreſſion.

The ſituation of thoſe who are obliged to work in the mines is ſtill more diſagreeable; they are forced to work hard to break the rocks and the earth, and cannot poſſibly expect to receive any part of the fruit of their labours more than coarſe fare and the ſkins of wild beaſts to cover their nakedneſs.

The ſeamen are extremely ignorant of the nautical art, and and no leſs ſo of the management of large ſhips in the ocean. The ſucceſſors of Peter the Firſt greatly neglected their marine, and ſtill more ſo the keeping their ſeamen properly diſciplined; ſo that at the beginning of the late war, when the empreſs Catherine the Second reſolved to ſend a large fleet into the Mediterranean ſea, it was found that the greateſt part of the arts and improvements which Peter the Firſt had taken ſo much pains to eſtabliſh among them, were entirely loſt.

The poor, and thoſe who are paſt their labour, are in a ſtate of miſery that is not to be deſcribed, there being very few public foundations for their ſupport; and nothing but their great inſenſibility and ignorance could retain them in ſuch an unhappy ſtate.

Marriage is much honoured in Ruſſia, and even recommended as a holy ſtate, but polygamy is puniſhed with death. Heretofore divorces were very common in this country, and were granted upon every trifling occaſion; but they are not ſo common at preſent: by a late regulation it is neceſſary, before a divorce can be obtained, that a man ſhall prove the infidelity of his wife before the ſynod; and then this ſupreme council condemns the guilty perſon to be ſhut up in a convent.

Formerly the ceremonies of marriage were very ſingular in the Ruſſian dominions: when two families had agreed upon the terms of uniting their children, ſeveral of the young man's friends were admitted to ſee the young woman, and afterwards they returned to her intended huſband and made their report, generally in her favour, and declared that they thought her very agreeable; but

the young man was not permitted to ſee her himſelf before ſhe came into the chamber where the marriage was to be conſummated. When the bride left the altar to go out of the church, the prieſt threw a handful of ſome kind of grain upon her, and wiſhed her as many children as there were individual grains; another prieſt cloathed himſelf with a ſheep's ſkin, with the wool on the outſide, and wiſhed her to have as many children as there were hairs of wool upon his garment. The bride, being all this time covered with a veil, was conducted to the bridegroom's houſe, where they preſented bread and ſalt to her and to her huſband, but they never eat any; and during the time they were at table, the young men and women who were invited to the marriage continued ſinging all kinds of amorous ſongs. When they roſe up from table, a kind of ſubordinate prieſt and an old woman conducted the married couple into the bridal chamber, where they made a ſhort ſermon upon the love and good nature which they owed to each other, and afterwards left them for two hours together, when ſome old women came in to collect the proofs of the bride's honeſty, which were expoſed before the parents and friends, and the day was concluded with feaſting and rejoicing.

This practice, as well as many other ridiculous ceremonies of this nature, is ſtill continued in ſome of the remote provinces of Ruſſia among the common people, but in all the provinces about the capital they have long ſince been aboliſhed.

Bathing is almoſt a general remedy againſt all kinds of diſorders among the common people in Ruſſia: in all the great towns they have baths of hot water, wherein they enter ſometimes men and women together; and after having ſufficiently heated

heated themſelves, and rarefied their blood and humours, they get out as faſt as poſſible of the hot bath and plunge into a cold bath, which is generally very near.

In the country places they heat themſelves in ſtoves as much as nature can bear, and then immediately plunge themſelves into a cold bath or into the river, or if it is in the winter ſeaſon, after they have thoroughly heated themſelves in the hot baths or in the ſtoves, they roll themſelves in the ſnow, which they regard as a ſovereign remedy againſt all ſorts of diſeaſes, and alſo as a preſervative againſt the ſeverities of the climate.

Formerly a long beard was looked upon in Ruſſia as one of the greateſt ornaments of a man, and the longer it was the more it was venerated; at preſent none but the inferior ſort of the clergy and the very common people wear ſuch a beard. All the nobility and the better ſort of the citizens follow the cuſtoms of the other inhabitants of Europe reſpecting their dreſs, and there is no court in Europe more brilliant and elegant than that of Ruſſia.

In general the Ruſſian ladies are handſome and well made; but as ſoon as ever they appear in public, they diſfigure themſelves horribly by the quantity of paint with which they cover their faces, ſo that the beauty of this country is only a flower of the ſpring, which rarely appears in the ſummer, and never in the autumn. If this unnatural and barbarous cuſtom had been invented by the Calmouks or by the Laplanders, it would not perhaps have become ſo generally in uſe; but as it owed its birth to that depravity of human nature which has lately ſhewn itſelf ſo egregiouſly among the polite inhabitants of

France,

France, like the diſtemper among the horned cattle, it has made its way into the greateſt part of Europe.

In all the other ſtates of Europe, the people who live under the ſame government are very little different one from the other, but this is not the caſe with all the people who compoſe the great Ruſſian empire, where the inhabitants of ſome provinces differ as widely from thoſe of the others as a Chineſe does from a Hottentot; their figures, their manners, and their cuſtoms are very different: the inhabitants of the provinces about the Baltic ſea, for example, are a civil and well-behaved people, at leaſt thoſe who have had an education; the inhabitants of the Ruſſias, properly ſpeaking, are not yet emerged from their ancient ſtate of barbarity, notwithſtanding all that has been done by Peter the Great and by his ſucceſſors for their reformation; the Coſacks and the Calmouks are very little changed from the ſtate that they were in 200 years ago; and the Tartars, except being improved in their military diſcipline, are in the ſame ſituation that they were in during the reign of Tamerlane.

Thoſe hords of Tartars who poſſeſs a great part of the kingdom of Kaſan are tall and robuſt men, with large faces, black hair, and thick eye-brows, and wear a long beard; they are good horſemen, and when diſciplined become excellent ſoldiers: heretofore they were Mahometans, and they have ſtill retained circumciſion and ſome other practices of that religion; but in general they are very ignorant, and are in many reſpects fallen into a kind of Paganiſm: thoſe hords who are called in common the Tartars of Ufa and the Caſkirs, can arm 50,000 men. On the contrary, the Nogais Tartars, who inhabit the ſouthern parts of Aſtracan, are of a very diminutive ſtature, and are very

diſagreeable in their figure, but their wives are in general very handſome; they live continually in their tents, and ſupport themſelves by hunting and fiſhing: of late years ſome of them have begun to cultivate the earth.

This hord rather regard themſelves as the allies than as the ſubjects of Ruſſia, for the aſſiſtance of whom they are obliged to take up arms when they are called upon, and then they furniſh 20,000 horſe: they profeſs the Mahometan religion.

By the permiſſion of the Ruſſians the Calmouks came and occupied a part of the kingdom of Aſtracan at the beginning of the preſent century; heretofore they inhabited a part of Great Tartary: they are in general idolaters, are of a moderate ſtature, and have very diſagreeable figures, having a flat face, little eyes, a crooked noſe, and large ears; and they ſerve as light troops in the Ruſſian army.

The great kingdom of Siberia is for the moſt part, as I have already obſerved, inhabited by the Mahometan Tartars, who were the ancient inhabitants of the country, and who at preſent occupy the fortified towns and ſtrong places in common with the Ruſſians; but the open country is inhabited by different kinds of people, who are ſavages and idolaters, and who live almoſt in a ſtate of nature.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Policy of RUSSIA, *reſpecting Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

WHOEVER reflects upon the ſtate of Ruſſia before Peter the Firſt aſcended the throne, will be filled with amazement, when he ſees or hears of the changes which this empire has undergone ſince that æra, and how much it is diveſted of its ancient ſtate of ignorance and barbariſm. Towards the cloſe of the laſt century Ruſſia was very little known in the commercial world, and if the czar Peter the Firſt had not by the force of his ſuperior genius perceived the wants of his ſubjects, and the great advantages that commerce would procure them, and with a reſolution peculiar to himſelf reſolved to ſupply thoſe wants, and to procure them thoſe advantages even againſt their inclination, they might to this day have remained in their ancient ſtate of barbariſm.

Before this great prince left his own territories, he was totally unacquainted with the laws and regulations of other ſtates, as much in fact as his own ſubjects were then, and as much as the Tartars are at preſent; but by travelling through foreign ſtates he informed himſelf of the means which were neceſſary to be adopted to render a ſtate flouriſhing and to make his ſubjects happy, to draw them out of their ignorance and indolence, and to excite emulation among them for trade and commerce, the only ſure means whereby a nation can be exalted to true greatneſs and power.

The liberty and encouragement likewiſe which this great prince gave to ſtrangers to come and ſettle in his dominions, eſpecially to men of genius and to merchants and traders, contributed not a little to this great effect; for by having frequent intercourſe with ſenſible and civilized people as well as with barbarians, the ſubjects of a ſtate will always acquire knowledge; by ſeeing the good qualities of the one they will learn to imitate them, and by ſeeing the faults of the other, they will learn to avoid them.

We may often find in the boſom of the leaſt civilized nations ſome wiſe and uſeful regulations; and there is no nation whoſe laws and policy are ſo perfect but that her ſubjects may find ſomething worthy of imitation even in Tartary or in Lapland. Every nation is in the ſituation of a learned man; the more the arts and ſciences with which he is acquainted extend his knowledge, the more he is convinced that what he ſtill wants ſurpaſſes very much that which he knows, and that he is only beginning his purſuit of knowledge: on the contrary, the leſs a man knows the better opinion he has of his own knowledge, and the high ideas which he has of his merit prevent him from ever acquiring a perfect knowledge of any thing.

It has been already obſerved that one of the ancient and fundamental laws of the Ruſſian empire was, that no perſon, from the firſt nobleman down to the meaneſt of his ſlaves, ſhould be permitted to go out of the ſtate without the ſpecial permiſſion of the ſovereign; and by another law of this ſtate, more than ſeven parts in ten of all the people in the Ruſſias are actually in a ſtate of abſolute ſlavery, and though they are called Chriſtians, are bought and ſold in the ſame manner as the negro

ſlaves

ſlaves are in the Weſt-India Iſlands, to which the clergy have not a little contributed; I ſay, by a ſuppoſed law, becauſe it does not appear that ever thoſe people gave up their rights as human beings; and no ſovereign, as ſuch, can have any juſt power or authority to make ſuch a law, which from its nature would be null; neither will preſcription fix and make legal an authority of this nature; and conſequently it may be juſtly ſaid, that the greateſt part of the people in the Ruſſian nation have been for ſeveral centuries paſt kept in a ſtate of ignorance and ſlavery, and denied the rights of human nature by the arbitrarineſs of the government, and by the wickedneſs of the nobility and clergy.

Peter the Great made an alteration in the firſt of theſe laws, permitted his ſubjects to travel into foreign parts, and invited ſtrangers to come and ſettle in his dominions, and to their great praiſe it muſt be ſaid, the ſucceſſors of this great prince have, at leaſt in this reſpect, followed his example, and have thereby introduced the arts and ſciences into the empire, from which they have already drawn a conſiderable profit; their navigation and commerce have hereby been conſiderably increaſed; their territories better peopled; and from a few fiſhing huts, Peterſbourg has been raiſed to be the capital of the North.

Peter the Third, the late emperor, aboliſhed this law entirely, and gave all the Ruſſian nobility the liberty of travelling into foreign countries to enlighten their underſtanding, and to correct the ferocity of their manners, which certainly was a noble edict, and worthy of a great prince; and it is to be hoped that ſome future prince, by following the example of his anceſtors, will endeavour to inſpire them with thoſe free and noble ſentiments

ments which are natural to a man who is born free; however the conſequences of that liberty which they have obtained will be more real than may at firſt be imagined. If, for inſtance, a Ruſſian gentleman leaves his country, whether to travel for his amuſement, and to make obſervations upon foreign ſtates, or to ſpend ſome years in the military ſervice of ſome foreign power, he cannot fail to cultivate his genius and to enlarge his underſtanding, which will enable him to judge of many things of which till that time he had not the leaſt idea: he will be drawn inſenſibly from the preſumption which he had of his own merit, and will find himſelf confounded when he ſees a people who are more civilized than his own countrymen; and when he returns into his own country, his friends and relations, and even his ſlaves, will more or leſs endeavour to imitate his new acquired manners and faſhions.

Monteſquieu has very juſtly obſerved, that in every ſtate the deſire of glory and grandeur increaſes with the liberty of the ſubjects, and likewiſe diminiſhes with it. Glory cannot be accompanied with ſervitude and ſlavery. This happy idea makes the ſubjects of every free nation do with pleaſure and with taſte what no deſpotic ſovereign can obtain from his ſlaves but by the greateſt rewards and puniſhments: but in this country of which I am treating, honour, reputation, and virtue are regarded as imaginary phantoms when they are not accompanied with the favour of the prince, with whom they exiſt and die almoſt in the ſame time.

All the employments and dignities in this ſtate are only ſo many attributes of the will and caprice of the ſovereign. A man who to-day occupies one of the higheſt dignities in the

ſtate, may to-morrow, without any juſt cauſe, ſee himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of gaining his bread in the moſt ſervile employment; and this is the reaſon why many Ruſſian gentlemen, who are raiſed to the higheſt dignities in the ſtate, often commit the moſt mean and baſe actions: they have very imperfect ideas of honour and virtue, and they know that the greateſt lord in the empire is not leſs in many reſpects a ſlave than the meaneſt of his ſervants, and that it only depends upon the will of the prince to put the maſter upon the ſame footing with his valet.

I have ſeen men of great genius among the Ruſſians who would have cultivated the arts and ſciences with credit and reputation, if the ſentiments of ſlavery had not almoſt impelled them to the moſt abject and groveling actions; they have ſuch a ſervility of ſoul as to be almoſt inſenſible of ſhame: hence therefore in a country where the bulk of the inhabitants are born and educated in the moſt abject ſlavery; where the nobles are brought up in ideas of deſpotiſm and tyranny; where they, as well as their ſlaves, are on the leaſt ſuſpicion liable to be baniſhed, and to have all their effects confiſcated, and where every man ſtands in fear of even the whiſpers of his neighbour; in a country like this it will be almoſt impoſſible to ſee the arts and manufactures flouriſhing in that ſplendour, in which they are obſerved in thoſe countries where every ſubject is free, where the oppreſſed ſervant will always find juſtice againſt the oppreſſing maſter, and where the artificer and manufacturer works and employs his natural talents for his own benefit without fear or controul.

The Ruſſian empire is extremely well ſituated, and has all the natural requiſites of a commercial ſtate.

In all the provinces of the Ruſſias the ſoil is rich and good, and yields all the natural productions that can be raiſed in the northern climates. Her ports in the Baltic, in the Euxine, and in the Caſpian ſeas, as well as thoſe in the great northern ocean, are well calculated for an extenſive foreign commerce, and the communication between theſe ports by her great and navigable rivers and artificial canals, which traverſe the greateſt and moſt fertile parts of the empire, muſt make her interior commerce very conſiderable, as well as facilitate the exportation of her natural productions, namely, her iron, copper, hemp, flax, wood, fine furs, and other ſkins, linſeed and other grains, fiſh, pot-aſh, leather, wax, tallow, cordage, all the materials for ſhip-building, and ſundry other ſmall articles of commerce, which will always ſecure the balance of trade in her favour, if the government is but tolerably favourable to the mercantile part of the nation.

The Ruſſian dominions are at preſent nearly as extenſive as all the other European ſtates; and yet, according to a juſt calculation, they do not contain much above eighteen millions of people.

In the year 1768 it was found that the number of males who paid the capitation tax were nearly as follows: merchants 201,000; workmen of different kinds 17,000; farmers who contributed to the ſupport of the militia 431,030; workmen of different kinds whoſe parents were unknown 2200; others who were not incorporated in the claſſes of the different trades 4500; farmers who occupied the crown lands 552,000; ſlaves who were employed in the mines of the crown 65,300; other ſlaves of the crown who worked in the mines and at the manufactures

factures of particular perſons 24,150; of the Mahometans and Idolaters who have lately been converted to the Greek church 60,000; of the different kinds of Tartars 280,000; the ſlaves of ſeveral merchants and others who were privileged, and who, though they were not proprietors of lands, might have ſlaves, 9800; ſlaves who cultivated and occupied the lands that were appropriated for the ſupport of the court 420,000; ſlaves who cultivated the lands which appertained to her majeſty independently of the right of the crown 58,000; ſlaves who cultivated the lands confiſcated to the crown 12,800; ſlaves of the nobility and gentry 3,640,000; ſlaves who cultivated the lands which formerly belonged to the clergy and to the religious houſes 896,100; other ſlaves and workmen, not regularly claſſed, who were employed in menial drudgery upon the public works, and as well in the mines and at the manufactures of particular perſons 41,000.

Hence it will be ſeen that there were ſix millions, ſeven hundred and fourteen thouſand, eight hundred and eighty males, who paid the capitation; old men and children were included in this calculation, but the women and girls were not; and therefore if we double this number, we ſhall find thirteen millions, four hundred and twenty-nine thouſand ſouls: I muſt likewiſe obſerve that none of the troops, which at that time were about 350,000 men, nor any of the nobility, gentry, and clergy of the whole empire, who were about 200,000, were included in this number, as they are not liable to this capitation tax. The ſtrangers who reſide in the empire, of what profeſſion, or of what country ſoever they are, are all exempted from this tax; and ſo are likewiſe the inhabitants of the conquered provinces; namely, of Livonia, Eſtonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland, and of the Ukraine, as well as ſeveral hords of the Tartars,

and all the idolatrous people of Siberia, which, upon a moderate calculation, will make the number of the inhabitants in the Ruſſian dominions amount to above eighteen millions; and by comparing the extent of this empire with that of any other ſtate of Europe, with Spain, for example, which is the leaſt peopled of any other European kingdom in proportion to the extent of her territories, it will be found that Ruſſia, in proportion to her territories, is five times leſs peopled than Spain, and conſequently it will be ſeen that this ſtate can never make any great figure in manufactures, while ſhe has not inhabitants ſufficient to cultivate her lands, and to improve the productions of agriculture, the firſt and great object of commerce.

There are ſtill very extenſive tracts of lands in the moſt fertile and populous provinces of this empire, which remain uncultivated and full of woods: in the kingdoms of Kaſan and Aſtracan there are whole provinces where there are only a ſufficient number of inhabitants to conduct the cattle and the ſheep to their paſture; and the Ukraine alone would ſupport two millions of inhabitants by the produce of agriculture more than ſhe has at preſent: moreover if the farmers had been free, and were ſuffered to enjoy the fruits of their labours, five millions would do more towards manuring the land, and raiſing the fruits of the earth, than the whole number of their inhabitants do at preſent. The common people, when they are oppreſſed, become idle and worthleſs, and think of little elſe than ſleeping away their time, except they are rouſed to action by violence, as they have reflection enough to perceive, that if they toil and diſtreſs themſelves ever ſo much, common food and raiment are all that they can poſſibly expect in ſuch a ſituation.

Though

Though agriculture has been always and juſtly eſteemed the ſureſt baſis of the riches and power of a ſtate, by the pretended laws of this empire, and by the deſpotiſm and violence of the government, thoſe who are employed in it labour under the greateſt oppreſſion and tyranny: not content with laying the whole burden of recruiting both the army and navy upon them, and oppreſſing them with a heavy capitation tax, the government has delegated a pretended power to the proprietors of the fiefs to oppreſs and tyrannize over them in another manner, and to tear from them even the little portion of what they have gained by their hard labour.

However, as Ruſſia in her preſent ſituation is able to furniſh iron, hemp, flax, moſt of the materials for ſhip-building, and almoſt all the natural productions of the North, ſhe will always have ſome balance of trade in her favour with the maritime powers, particularly with England and Holland.

In the year 1762 the exports from Peterſbourg to Great Britain and Ireland were for 3,201,433 roubles (five roubles make a pound ſterling) and the imports from thoſe kingdoms were only for 1,083,627 roubles. In the year 1765 the exports were for 4,381,393 roubles, and the imports only for 1,179,738 roubles. In the year 1766 the exports were for 3,309,096, and the imports only for 925,731.

In the year 1762 the exports from the port of Riga to Great Britain and Ireland were for 573,656 roubles, and the imports from thoſe kingdoms only for 14,287. In 1765 the exports as aforeſaid were for 716,897, and the imports only for 17,313.

In 1766 the exports were for 591,068, and the imports only for 17,814.

In 1762 the exports from the port of Archangel to Great Britain and Ireland were for 143,614 roubles, and the imports only for 16,343; and from the port of Narva the exports as aforeſaid were for 495,763 roubles, and the imports only for 9813. In 1765 the exports from Archangel as aforeſaid were for 407,047 and the imports only for 12,661; and from the port of Narva the exports as aforeſaid were for 567,234 roubles, and the imports only for 13,248. In the year 1766 the exports from Archangel as aforeſaid were for 225,198 roubles, and the exports only for 11,500; and from the port of Narva the exports were for 425,198 roubles, and the imports only for 10,050.

Great Britain receives from Ruſſia a very large quantity of iron yearly, of hemp, of flax, of linens, of Ruſſia leather, of ſaltpetre, of tallow, of ſail-cloth, and of a variety of other ſmall articles to the amount of the ſums before-ſpecified.

Ruſſia receives from Great Britain ſugars, indigo, beaver-ſkins, Engliſh beer, tin, lead, dye woods, cloths, ſhaloons, flannels, Norwich ſtuffs, Mancheſter velvets, braſs wire, and a variety of other ſmall articles to the amount of the ſums above-mentioned; ſo that it will be ſeen from hence that the trade which Great Britain has with Ruſſia is greatly in favour of the latter: the immenſe quantities of iron, hemp, flax, and ſail-cloth, which the former takes off, make the weighty articles in the balance againſt her.

In

In the year 1766 the exports from Peterſbourg to France were 829,079; and the exports from the port of Riga as aforeſaid only for 236,432, though the imports were for 528,178 roubles. France receives from Ruſſia a conſiderable quantity of hemp, and of materials for ſhip-building to the amount before-mentioned; and Ruſſia receives from France wines and other articles of luxury, to ſuch an amount as makes a conſiderable balance againſt her.

In the year 1766 the exports from Peterſbourg to Holland were for 402,952 roubles, and the imports were 310,004 roubles; the exports from the port of Riga as aforeſaid were for 945,708 roubles, and the imports only for 249,402; the exports from the port of Archangel as aforeſaid were for 53,149 roubles, and the imports only for 15,076; the exports from Narva as aforeſaid were for 55,198 roubles, and the imports only 17,026. Ruſſia receives from Holland all kinds of ſpirits, of Eaſt and Weſt India goods, and of the fruits and wines of Spain and Portugal; and Holland receives from Ruſſia iron, hemp, ſail-cloth, wood, grain of all kinds, and a variety of other ſmall articles to the amount of the ſums before-mentioned, which give a conſiderable balance in favour of the Ruſſians. Ruſſia has likewiſe ſome trade with Denmark, Sweden, and the other ports of the Baltic, but it is of no great conſequence: her trade with Hambourg, Bremen, Lubeck, Wiſmar, and Roſtock, is advantageous, and brings a conſiderable balance in her favour. Her inland trade with Poland, with part of the Turkiſh dominions, with Perſia, with India, and with China, has been and ſtill is greatly in her favour, particularly her trade with Perſia, from whence ſhe draws a conſiderable quantity of raw ſilk yearly, and other materials for manufacture. Her fine furs of

Siberia

Siberia are ſold at a great price in Poland, in the northern parts of the Turkiſh and of the Perſian dominions, and even in China.

But what makes the Ruſſian commerce the more advantageous to the whole empire, is the communication which is formed between the different provinces by means of the inland navigation; ſo that the whole country partakes more or leſs of the advantages ariſing from it; and if the ſubjects of this ſtate were ſo far inſtructed in the uſeful arts as to be their own navigators, they having all the materials neceſſary for ſhipbuilding among themſelves, their profits would be conſiderably augmented; but on the other hand, this empire can never become a great commercial ſtate in proportion to her powers, as long as her government is ſo deſpotic, and ſo ſubject to revolutions; as no merchant who has any conſiderable capital would chuſe to riſk it all in a country where even on the leaſt ſuſpicion he is liable to be ſent into baniſhment, and to have all his property confiſcated; for though the ſovereigns of Ruſſia, ſince the time of Peter the Great, have made the commercial intereſt of the ſtate one of the great objects of their policy, in a country ſo ſubject to revolutions and changes, and where property is not ſecured by the fundamental laws of the ſtate, but every thing depends upon the will of a deſpotic, and it may be tyrannical, ſovereign, or miniſter, who is often guided, and as often conſtrained, by the will of a lawleſs rabble, no merchant will have the fortitude to enter into extenſive projects in favour of trade; which is the reaſon why moſt of the foreign merchants, who are at preſent eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia, act only as commiſſioners for companies of merchants in other foreign ſtates, and thereby carry on

the commerce for the Ruſſians, who are afraid to enter too far into it themſelves.

Peter the Firſt would have diveſted himſelf of a part of his deſpotic power, becauſe he ſaw that it was contrary to the ſpirit of commerce; and wiſhed at the ſame time to give their freedom to all ſlaves; but he perceived that the great commotion which ſuch a meaſure would make in the empire, would counteract many of his other projects, and throw every thing into confuſion.

In the year 1745 the empreſs Elizabeth publiſhed an order to baniſh all the Jews out of the empire, becauſe they had remitted, by bills of exchange, into foreign ſtates the money of thoſe who had been baniſhed into Siberia, as well as that of the ſtrangers who were in her ſervice. The exchange therefore which is the means of tranſporting money from one country to another, and without which the beſt eſtabliſhed commerce could not be ſupported, is contradictory to the laws and police of Ruſſia. No perſon can go out of the Ruſſian empire without a paſſport and permiſſion for ſo doing; and the laws are very ſevere againſt thoſe who remit their effects into foreign ſtates without having this permiſſion.

Theſe laws have not been ſo beneficial to the Ruſſians, as formidable to foreigners, who will never think of bringing any conſiderable property into a ſtate where there is ſuch danger of loſing it. Such laws and regulations tend very much likewiſe to leſſen their public credit: what merchant will ſend any conſiderable quantities of merchandize into a ſtate where his correſpondents, although they are honeſt and well diſpoſed to pay him,

him, by the caprice of a miniſter, are liable, without any juſt cauſe, to have all their effects confiſcated, and to be ſent into baniſhment at an hour's notice, unleſs he has the proſpect of ſelling them at an extravagant price, and making ſome great and ſudden advantages by them? Every prudent merchant will inſure and ſell his merchandize in proportion to the riſk he runs, and conſequently theſe laws muſt be diametrically oppoſite to the commercial intereſt of the ſubjects of this empire, and no leſs ſo to the true intereſt and policy of the ſtate.

No kingdom can be brought into a flouriſhing ſituation in proportion to her powers by trade and commerce, while the bulk of her ſubjects are in a ſtate of ſlavery. Commerce and ſlavery are inconſiſtent with and deſtroy each other, like an acid and an alkali, whenever they meet they raiſe a fermentation, and annihilate their reſpective eſſential properties.

Though Peter the Great took much pains to introduce the arts and manufactures into his dominions, they are ſtill in their infant ſtate, and for the reaſons that I have juſt now ſpecified, which will be corroborated by comparing the number of manufacturers and merchants in the Ruſſian dominions with that of the ſlaves. It will be very difficult to find a ſlave who is a good manufacturer: no ſlave will ever apply himſelf to works of art and ingenuity; he may be forced to cultivate the earth, but force will not enliven his genius, and animate him to excel in manufacturing. If we look through all the civilized parts of the world, the works of art and manufacture are in the greateſt perfection where there is the greateſt freedom, where there is a ſecurity of property, and where the artiſt and manufacturer can enjoy the fruits of his labour in peace and quietneſs, without

without any dread of oppreſſion or of the oppreſſor's power: there the deſire of appearing conſpicuouſly in the world makes him employ his talents to the greateſt advantage, and there emulation animates him to excel.

Upon the whole, I think we may juſtly obſerve, that till the inhabitants of Ruſſia are reſtored to that ſtate of liberty from which they have been moſt iniquitouſly driven, and till they are ſuffered to enjoy the natural rights of mankind, and to think and act like rational beings, this great empire will never be famous for her arts, manufactures, or commerce; and that till this firm foundation is laid, whoever attempts by ſplendid codes of laws, or by any other means, to effect this great work, will be acting like the man in the goſpel who built his houſe upon the ſand, which was overturned by the natural efforts of the elements, becauſe it was unnaturally formed.

CHAP. V.

Of the Revenues and Reſources of this Kingdom, and of her MILITARY FORCE *by Sea and Land.*

WHEN Peter the Great aſcended the throne, the whole revenues of the Ruſſian empire did not amount to ſix millions of roubles, with the capitation tax included, which was indeed ſufficient to ſupport the government in its ancient ſtate of mediocrity, though many of their taxes were paid in kind according to the Turkiſh uſage: but by the powerful efforts which this great prince made to increaſe the grandeur

and extent of his dominions, and to have a communication with the Baltic, from a ſtate of the finances which was made in the year 1725, a little before the death of this emperor, the public revenues, including the tribute of the Tartars which was paid in money, but independently of all thoſe taxes which were paid in kind, were near fifteen millions of roubles; and this moderate ſum was then ſufficient to ſupport the civil government and to maintain 340,000 men, who were employed in the ſervice of government by ſea and land.

In the year 1767, after Catherine the Second had annexed the church-lands to the domains of the crown, the public revenues amounted to twenty-five millions of roubles; at the beginning of the late war with the Turks, after the government had impoſed ſome additional taxes, the public revenues were found to be full twenty-eight millions of roubles, and there were then full 400,000 men employed by ſea and land in the government's ſervice. All the debts which the government contracted during the war which they carried on againſt the king of Pruſſia were paid off before they entered into the laſt Turkiſh war, ſo that the revenues abovementioned were likewiſe clear of all incumbrances; and certainly, if the government of this great empire had been ſo moderated that her inhabitants could adopt the title of ſubjects inſtead of that of ſlaves, there is no power in Europe, nor perhaps in the known world, that has ſo many reſources in caſe of neceſſity.

In the ſouthern provinces of this empire there are tracts of ſeveral hundred leagues in extent of as rich ſoil as any in the whole world, well watered, and traverſed by large navigable rivers, which yield all the natural productions of the vegetable kind

kind that a temperate climate can produce. In the northern and mountainous provinces there are mines of gold, ſilver, copper, and iron, which have lately been worked to great advantage, and abundance of rich furs.

It will perhaps be aſked, by what means were the public revenues ſo conſiderably augmented in ſo ſhort a time, when ſo little improvements were made in the agriculture and manufactures of the ſtate in proportion to the number of her inhabitants and to the extent of her dominions? To which I anſwer, by their gaining ſo many ports for foreign trade in the Baltic ſea, which by means of their navigable rivers take off all the ſuperfluous productions of agriculture from the interior provinces: their iron and hemp are by this means conveyed to foreign markets at a ſmall expence, and the Swediſh trade for the former is conſiderably diminiſhed. A great balance of trade in their favour has brought a conſiderable ſum of money to circulate in the empire, which has enabled the inhabitants to pay a great tax upon all kinds of foreign merchandizes that are imported for their conſumption.

The cuſtom-houſes of Peterſbourg, Riga, Narva, and Revel produce an immenſe revenue; ſome years paſt it amounted to above eight millions of roubles; and the mines of gold and ſilver in Siberia have been worked by the crown to a very great advantage.

In the beginning of the reign of Peter the Firſt all the maritime force of Ruſſia conſiſted in a few row-gallies, and at preſent all Europe behold with admiration the fleets of this nation triumphant in the Mediterranea ſea. I have already explained

plained the motives which induced Peter to have a naval force, and likewiſe the extraordinary efforts which he made for this purpoſe: he happily ſucceeded, and towards the end of his reign his fleets triumphed in the Baltic as thoſe of his deſcendents have lately done in the Archipelago againſt the Turks. Peter built his ſhips and eſtabliſhed his marine upon the beſt plans then known in Europe; but from the great improvements which have ſince been made in England and France in the conſtruction of ſhips of war, and from the natural aukwardneſs of the Ruſſian ſhip-builders and carpenters, the ſhips of that nation were till very lately very much inferior to thoſe of other nations, and were almoſt ruined in launching: however, by the aſſiſtance of an ingenious Engliſh admiral, who was lately in their ſervice, their ſhips are built at preſent upon as good plans as any in Europe, and launched without any inconveniency. They have now at leaſt ſixty ſhips of the line, and between thirty and forty frigates; but notwithſtanding they have all the materials for ſhip-building in their own country, their dock-yards, ſtore-houſes, &c. are very badly provided; and ſuch is the wickedneſs and avidity of many of their miniſters, that during the laſt war, the empreſs had no ſtores in her dock-yards and houſes, the miniſters had ſold theſe ſtores to France, from whence they were conveyed to their enemies.

At the beginning of the laſt war which they had with the Turks, it was found that all the uſeful regulations which Peter the Great had eſtabliſhed in the marine were entirely forgotten; and had it not been for the addreſs and experience of ſome Engliſh ſea-officers, who were then in their ſervice, they would have made a deſpicable figure, even againſt the Turks.

Their

Their admirals and captains have ſuch an abſolute power over the common men, and even over the inferior officers, and uſe it ſo tyrannically, that it is impoſſible their marine diſcipline can continue upon any good footing. Their dock-yards at Cronſtadt are very well calculated for a marine power, and very well defended by ſeveral batteries of cannon; but there have been no improvements made in them ſince the reign of Peter the Great: in fact, a man of leſs penetration and reſolution than Peter would not have been able to make any reformation in the public affairs of this nation. They have lately built ſeveral ſhips of war at Archangel, where they have likewiſe a dock-yard and great plenty of wood, particularly of firs; but theſe ſhips are much inferior to thoſe that are built at Peterſbourg.

Beſides the large ſhips of war and frigates which they have to oppoſe an enemy upon the ocean, they have at leaſt 150 row-gallies, which they formerly uſed upon the lakes againſt the Swedes, and which are ſtill uſeful in many parts of the Baltic, where it would be dangerous for any large ſhips to enter. Theſe gallies are better calculated for landing troops than for any other purpoſe; they are not proper to oppoſe large ſhips of war or batteries of cannon: they carry generally two pieces of cannon, and from fifty to one hundred men, who attack with ſmall arms.

The Ruſſians have likewiſe a naval force which they employ againſt the Turks, Tartars, and Perſians in the Black and Caſpian ſeas, which is compoſed of a number of ſmall frigates, ſloops of war, and row-gallies: indeed Peter the Firſt built ſome fifty-gun ſhips upon the river Don and at Aſoph; and if it had not been for the fatal affair of Pruth, whereby he was obliged to give

up

up all the projects which he had formed upon the Black ſea, this enterprizing prince would have eſtabliſhed a marine in thoſe parts equal to that which he eſtabliſhed in the Baltic. At preſent, as the Ruſſians have ſecured a free trade with the Turkiſh dominions through the Black ſea, they will undoubedly put their marine in this part of the world upon as reſpectable a footing, in proportion to the force of their enemies, as that which they have in the Baltic and on the ocean.

The regular troops which the Ruſſians have at preſent in their ſervice, excluſive of the Coſacks and of the Tartars, are full 350,000 men: but ſuch is the great extent of their territories, and the number of the fortreſſes which they have to ſupport from Peterſbourg to the borders of China, that it is with difficulty they can bring 150,000 into the field to act offenſively againſt an enemy.

I have already taken notice of the great difficulties which Peter the Firſt had to bring his troops to obſerve a proper military diſcipline, though he was aſſiſted in this by ſeveral able and experienced officers, and particularly by Mentzikoff, who was an ornament to his country, and likewiſe ſet forth the great advantages which this diſcipline procured the Ruſſian empire, which was then in a moſt barbarous ſituation: but ſuch is the ſtrange and unaccountable inattention, to give it no harſher a name, of the Ruſſian nobility and gentry, that they have made no improvements in their military diſcipline ſince the death of this great prince, though they have often been at war; and were it not for the efforts of the German and other foreign officers, whom they have in their ſervice, the Ruſſian military diſcipline would ſoon fall into a worſe ſituation than it was in when Peter

the Great began to reform it. The common Ruſſian ſoldiers, as I have already obſerved, from a principle of ſuperſtition, are taught to deſpiſe life, and by this means are brought to ſtand their ground, and keep their ranks perhaps equal to any troops in the world: the king of Pruſſia, when he attacked them repeatedly with his beſt infantry, could never make them give way, nor even break their ranks. They are likewiſe very bold and reſolute in attacking, and if their generals poſſeſſed that judgment and knowledge of military affairs which is neceſſary to direct properly the motions of ſuch a ſoldiery, certainly they would be equal in every reſpect to the beſt troops in Europe; but this is wanting: merit is not rewarded in Ruſſia at preſent as it was in the reign of Peter the Great, when a man who ſold tarts and fruit in the ſtreets became chief general of all the Ruſſian armies as the juſt reward of his ſuperior abilities: every thing is upon a very different footing from what it was in thoſe days; there are many young fops who have the rank of lieutenant-general and of general, whoſe want of talents and military ſkill can only be equalled by their impertinence and turbulent diſpoſition: there is now no Peter to keep them in order, and to diſtinguiſh the man of merit from the blockhead. The preſent empreſs Catherine the Second does every thing, it is true, that a woman of great talents can do in ſuch a ſituation: but alas! ſhe is afraid of their cabals, is often obliged to give way to them, and to ſhut her eyes againſt many abuſes which a man of reſolution would have immediately rectified. The Ruſſian guards are become as formidable and turbulent as the Strelitzs were when Peter the Firſt came to the throne. The officers of this corps, which is at preſent at leaſt 10,000 men, are for the moſt part Ruſſians, and the ſons of the nobility, who have great influence and power over the men, and who in two

hours

hours time can lead them to rebellion, and overturn the whole government. Theſe officers, who have a high idea of their own merit, the effect of ignorance and pride, muſt be managed: they demand high rank and poſts in the army for which they are not in any reſpect qualified, and the empreſs, to avoid the ill effects of their cabals and intrigues, is obliged to comply with their requeſts; hence it is that there are ſo many bad officers of rank in the Ruſſian army, and that men of merit are at preſent diſregarded and overlooked in this country. Theſe regiments of guards are the worſt troops of all the regulars in the Ruſſian empire: they have not been in action, as far as I can diſcover, ſince the time of the emperor Peter the Great; ſo that now they cheriſh the idea that they have no other duty than to guard Peterſbourg and the perſon of the ſovereign, and, like the ancient Strelitzs, to endeavour to overturn the government when any bold and audacious villain will put himſelf at their head.

There are a great number of fortified places in the Ruſſian empire, many of which are very ſtrong and regular fortifications, particularly thoſe in the provinces conquered from the Swedes by Peter the Firſt, and thoſe which were fortified by that emperor. They have a chain of forts which paſs through Siberia, through Great Tartary, and extend to the frontiers of China: they have likewiſe a great number of ſtrong fortreſſes in the kingdoms of Kaſan and Aſtracan to keep the Tartars in awe; as well as in the Ukraine and upon the frontiers of the Turkiſh dominions, not only to ſtop the impetuoſity of the Turks and of the Crim Tartars, but alſo to keep the Coſacks and the Calmouks, their own ſubjects, in proper order. The town of Smolenſko, upon the borders of Poland, which was

fortified

fortified by Peter the Great, is a place capable of maintaining a long ſiege, and ſo is Riga the capital of Livonia.

The Ruſſians have a very large train of artillery, which is diſtributed in different parts of the empire to be ready on any occaſion, when perhaps it might be difficult to tranſport military ſtores.

From what has been ſaid therefore it will clearly appear, that the Ruſſian empire is at this time in a ſituation to defend itſelf againſt all the powers of the North; and as the government has now a powerful army, which is tolerably well diſciplined, at command, and a very conſiderable revenue, without any debts but what were made during the ſhort war which they have had lately againſt the Turks, together with great reſources for raiſing both men and money upon any ſudden occaſion, this empire is alſo in a ſituation to act offenſively both by land and ſea, eſpecially if a bold and enterprizing prince comes to the throne who has capacity and judgment to direct his military forces in a proper manner.

But after all, conſidering the preſent ſituation of Ruſſia, her growing commerce, her arts and manufactures ſtill in their infancy, her want of inhabitants in proportion to the extent of her territories, ſuch a prince would not act as a patriot and as the father of his people, who would engage his ſubjects at preſent in an offenſive war.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Cauſes of the various REVOLUTIONS *which have happened in this State.*

WHEN we look back upon the brief hiſtory which has been given in chap. I. of this work of the riſe and progreſs of the Ruſſian government, it will clearly appear that this government, like thoſe of Denmark and Sweden, has paſſed through a great variety of revolutions, which have always originated in a great meaſure from the cauſes which I have often before obſerved; namely, that either the prince or governor attempted to rule contrary to the diſpoſitions and intereſts of the bulk of the people, whilſt they had the power in their hands to aſſert their rights; or that the people, by falling into diſcords and diviſions among themſelves, gave the ſovereign the opportunity of joining one party to cruſh the whole, and to form the government as he thought proper. It is true, in the revolutions which happened in Sweden, the people always endeavoured either to ſupport or to regain their ancient rights and privileges; and in all thoſe which happened in Denmark, except the laſt, either the nobility or the clergy gained ſome conſiderable advantages over the crown; but in the revolutions which have been effected in Ruſſia, the people, who through the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the clergy have been kept in a ſtate of the groſſeſt ignorance and barbarity, as well as in the moſt abject ſlavery, never attempted to gain any thing for themſelves, I mean not any real advantage: they had been taught to venerate the perſons of their ſovereigns, as well as their families, though they were ever ſo tyrannical and oppreſſive.

It

It was not the oppreſſion and tyranny of Boris Godunow which made the Ruſſians riſe in rebellion againſt him, but the blind attachment which they had to the family of their ancient ſovereigns; and though Griſcza ſhewed no diſpoſition to behave tyrannically or to oppreſs the people, but on the contrary ſhewed a humane diſpoſition and a deſire to govern with gentleneſs, as ſoon as there was any ſuſpicion of his not being the true Demetrius, and the legitimate deſcendent of their ancient ſovereigns, he was immediately maſſacred, though they had juſt before taken the oaths of fidelity and obedience to him.

Baſil Suiſki was dethroned and ſhut up in a convent for the ſame reaſons; and if the kingdom had not been almoſt exhauſted by a long ſcene of civil wars, ſeveral of the ſucceeding emperors would have ſhared the ſame fate.

Happily for the family of Romanow, that violent enthuſiaſm which the people had for the family of their ancient czars was a little abated when the ſon of Theodore, afterwards patriarch of Ruſſia, was elected czar.

The ſovereigns of Ruſſia were not in the ſame ſituation that the kings of Denmark and Sweden were in with regard to their reſpective ſubjects. The power of the former was abſolute and deſpotic; they had not entered into any formal capitulations or covenants with their people as the former had done. The bulk of the people in Sweden, and the nobility and clergy of Denmark, were conteſting with their reſpective kings for their rights and privileges; whereas the bulk of the people in Ruſſia were in thoſe days ſo extremely ignorant and barbarous, that they had no other ideas but thoſe of tyranny and ſlavery.

A late remarkable inſtance of the attachment of the Ruſſians to the family of their ancient ſovereigns was the advancement of the empreſs Ann to the throne, contrary to the order of ſucceſſion that was eſtabliſhed by Peter the Firſt and his empreſs according to the fundamental laws of the ſtate; but all thoſe laws, and the particular merit of Peter, were not of any weight againſt the enthuſiaſm of the people. Indeed ſome avaricious miniſters acted as agents in this affair, but their power would have been of no great conſequence if the people had not been diſpoſed to ſuccour them. The empreſs Ann could have no pretenſions to the government by the laws and regulations of the ſtate; even her father was illegally advanced to the throne. The regulations which this empreſs made in favour of her niece's ſon, and of her favourite Biron, were unjuſt and illegal: they were unjuſt, becauſe they were calculated to cut off all the pretenſions of the deſcendents of Peter the Great, to whoſe activity and zeal the Ruſſian empire was ſo much indebted; they were illegal, becauſe as ſhe was illegally advanced to the throne, and conſequently was not to be regarded as their lawful ſovereign, ſhe had no authority to make ſuch regulations: but notwithſtanding all this, ſuch was the veneration which many of the Ruſſian nobility had for the family of their ancient czars, ſo ignorant were they in general of the great benefits which they had received by the indefatigable induſtry of Peter the Firſt, and ſuch imperfect ideas had they of gratitude, or of any of the ſocial virtues, as the child which the empreſs Ann ordered to be her ſucceſſor was deſcended from the czar Iwan, they would have ſupported him upon the throne, if this princeſs had not deſtroyed all her own projects by giving ſuch an abſolute power to her favourite Biron; a power which turned the head of this favourite, made him forget that he was ſtanding upon a precipice; inſtigated him to

perpetrate

perpetrate all kinds of extravagancies againſt the Ruſſians, and at length was the cauſe not only of his own deſtruction, but likewiſe of that of his young emperor.

The Ruſſian guards, thoſe inſtruments of rebellion and oppreſſion, were employed, firſt, to arreſt and ruin Biron, whom they had juſt before ſworn to ſupport as regent of the ſtate, and afterwards to dethrone the young emperor, to whom they had likewiſe ſworn fidelity and obedience.

The revolution which advanced Elizabeth to the throne was brought about chiefly by the intrigues of a bold and enterprizing man who was her ſurgeon; it was he who, by preſents and promiſes, brought over a party of the guards to declare in her favour, and, in fact, who was the active inſtrument of dethroning the young emperor Iwan the Sixth, which was done in leſs than three hours time, and without any bloodſhed.—Behold the uncertainty and inſtability of a deſpotic government! The clamours of a baker were the remote cauſe of dethroning a late Sultan of Conſtantinople; and the intrigues of a ſurgeon were the immediate cauſe of dethroning the emperor Iwan the Sixth of Ruſſia. It is true, the greateſt part of the Ruſſian nobility and clergy were highly offended at the conduct of the empreſs Ann, as well as at the conduct of her favourite Biron; and though they were not immediately concerned in effecting this revolution, they knew that ſuch a meaſure was intended, and rather favoured than oppoſed it.

When the empreſs Elizabeth came to the throne, ſhe perceived that there was no dependence to be placed upon the faith or oaths of thoſe who were about her, and immediately took

every prudent meaſure to gain the good will of her ſubjects, and to give ſome ſtability to the government: ſhe called the young duke of Holſtein into Ruſſia, who was in fact the lawful heir to the throne, and declared him to be her ſucceſſor; and as Peter the Firſt had been remarkably ſevere in the puniſhments which he inflicted upon thoſe who had offended againſt him or againſt his laws, ſo did Elizabeth, on the other hand, carry her clemency to the higheſt degree, and thereby endeavoured to make her ſubjects forget that ſhe was come indirectly to the throne. She particularly endeavoured to ſecure the clergy in her intereſt, by reſtoring them all their lands which her father had ſeized upon and annexed to the domains of the crown; ſhe received all the nobility with great affability, and rewarded every one according to his merit: ſo that after a reign of great clemency for near twenty-one years, it was ſuppoſed that the Ruſſians would have forgotten much of their rebellious and turbulent diſpoſition; and undoubtedly, if her ſucceſſor Peter the Third had behaved with tolerable decency, his enemies would not have had it in their power to have accompliſhed a revolution for dethroning him: but his conduct to his Ruſſian ſubjects was ſo extravagant in every reſpect, and his partiality to ſtrangers and to his Holſtein ſubjects ſo flagrant, that it was impoſſible his reign could have been of any long duration, ſuppoſing that thoſe who acted the principal parts in that revolution had never exiſted.

When Peter the Third came to the throne, he declared that he would follow the ſteps of his grandfather Peter the Firſt; but he ſoon deviated from them, and, as being a weak man, he was not capable of judging how far his power and authority would ſupport him in making the reformation which he intended,

and which in fact was very much wanted. He did more than a weak prince ſhould have done on ſuch an occaſion, and he did not do ſo much as a prudent prince ought to have done. His conduct towards the clergy made that turbulent and ſelf-intereſted body his ſecret enemies; his conduct towards his guards gave great offence to that rebellious corps; and the partiality which he ſo openly ſhewed to ſtrangers greatly diſguſted the nobility and gentry: but neither of theſe parties had any diſtinguiſhed chiefs to lead them on to action, or, when the government was unhinged, to new model it, and thereby to avoid that confuſion and anarchy which would otherwiſe follow; if Peter had kept upon a good footing with his family, they would not have attacked him ſo ſuddenly; and if he had taken the precaution which a prudent prince would have done in ſuch a ſituation, and broken entirely that turbulent body of guards who have been ſo often made the inſtruments of rebellion, or ſent them into the remoteſt parts of the empire, as Peter the Firſt did the Strelitzs in the ſame circumſtances, and called his Holſtein guards, or ſome of his marching regiments, commanded by officers in whom he could confide, to his aſſiſtance, his enemies would have found great difficulty in carrying their plan into execution, and perhaps would have fallen much ſhort of what they intended. In fact, though Peter's conduct, which was more imprudent than oppreſſive and tyrannical, had greatly alienated the hearts of his ſubjects from him, if he had acted with that firmneſs and activity with which his grandfather conducted his affairs, he would ſoon have ſilenced the clamours of his enemies, and have carried all his projects into execution without the leaſt difficulty.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE
RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE
OF THE
NORTHERN GOVERNMENTS.

BOOK V.

Of the Conſtitution, Laws, Policy, Cuſtoms, Religion, Commerce, Revenues, Reſources, and Military Power of POLAND: With ſome particular Obſervations upon the Revolutions and Civil Wars which have always been ſo deſtructive to this Kingdom, from the Defects of its Government.

CHAP. I.

Of the RISE *and* PROGRESS *of the preſent Government in* POLAND.

THE loſſes which the kingdom of Poland has ſuſtained in the laſt as well as in the preſent centuries, have conſiderably contracted its limits. Formerly Sileſia, Luſatia, Pomerania, Livonia, Smolenſko, Severia, Czernichovia, and all the palatinate of Kiovio in the Ukraine, were part of the poſſeſſions of Poland. The Coſacks, who were heretofore ſubjects to Poland, are now become her moſt dangerous

enemies. But notwithſtanding all theſe diſmemberments, as well as thoſe which have been made in our days by the united confederacy of the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, of the empreſs of Ruſſia, and of the king of Pruſſia, the kingdom of Poland is ſtill of a conſiderable extent.

Before the late diviſion of this kingdom by the powers above mentioned, it was compoſed of four grand diſtricts. 1ſt. Great Poland. 2d. Little Poland. 3d. Red Ruſſia. 4th. Poliſh Pruſſia.

Great Poland is ſituated between Pomerania, Sileſia, and Lithuania: it contains the provinces of Cujavia, of Maſovia, and of Great Poland, properly ſo called. Every province is divided into ſeveral governments, which the Poles call palatinates; and theſe laſt are again ſubdivided into diſtricts, to which they give the name of ſtaroſties, which we ſhould call bailiwics. Great Poland contains the palatinates of Poſnania, of Kaliſch, of Sirad, of Leucici, and of Rawa. In the province of Cujavia we find thoſe of Czerſko, of Plotzko, and of Podlachia.

Little Poland is ſituated between Great Poland, Sileſia, Hungary, and the Red Ruſſia: it is divided into three palatinates; namely, Cracovia, Sendomir, and Lublin.

Royal Pruſſia is ſituated to the north-eaſt of Great Poland, and is joined by Pomerania and by Ducal Pruſſia, which likewiſe formerly appertained to Poland; it was erected into a kingdom by the emperor Leopold, and contains three palatinates; namely, that of Pomerelli, of Culm, and of Marienburg. This is part

of

of the diſtrict that was lately ceded to the king of Pruſſia by the preſent king and his party in Poland.

Red Ruſſia is bounded on the eaſt by the Dneiper, on the ſouth by the Dneiſter and the Krapack mountains, on the north by part of Lithuania, and on the weſt by Little Poland. This large diſtrict is divided into three provinces, Red Ruſſia properly ſo called, Wolhynia, and Podolia. In Ruſſia there are three palatinates; namely, Lemberg, Belſko, and Chelm. The greateſt part of this diſtrict was lately ceded, by the authority aforeſaid, to the empreſs-queen of Hungary.

The principal cities of theſe provinces are Warſaw and Dantzic; the latter is a rich city, and carries on a greater commerce for grain than any city in Europe; it is a free town, well fortified, and has a fine harbour; but it is under the protection of the king of Poland, to whom it pays annually a tribute for being ſupported in its liberties and privileges. The magiſtrates and the greateſt part of the inhabitants are Proteſtants, but the Catholic religion is tolerated in it.

Warſaw is ſituated upon the Viſtula, in the duchy of Maſovia, and is at preſent regarded as the capital of the kingdom: the king has his reſidence in this city, where he likewiſe convokes the ſtates; and in an open field near this place the kings of Poland are generally elected.

Cracow, or Cracovia, which was formerly the capital of Poland, is ſtill a very conſiderable town, and one of the moſt important in the kingdom; its univerſity is much eſteemed.

We may likewiſe claſs in the rank of very conſiderable towns, Culm, Thorn, Marienbourg, Elbing, Poſnania, Lublin, Sendomir, Leopold, Kaminiec, and Braclaw.

To theſe vaſt provinces, which form the kingdom of Poland, and which are divided into twenty-three palatinates, we muſt join the great duchy of Lithuania; which, in fact, is leſs united to the kingdom as a province than as an allied principality. This duchy is obliged to furniſh one third part of the troops that are deſigned to compoſe the army of the crown, and one quarter part of all the ſums of money that are granted for the ſupport of the prince. This duchy is divided into four provinces; to the weſt and ſouth is Lithuania, properly ſo called; to the north-eaſt is Ruſſian Lithuania; to the north-weſt, and towards the Baltic ſea, Samogitia; and to the north, Poliſh Livonia. Lithuania, and the Ruſſian Lithuania, are divided into eight palatinates; and the capital of this great duchy is Wilna.

As Courland is under the protection of Poland, it will be neceſſary that I ſhould likewiſe give a ſhort deſcription of it: this duchy is ſituated between Samogitia and Livonia, and is divided into two parts, Courland properly ſo called, and Semigall. Mittau is the capital of this province and the reſidence of the ſovereign duke, who is elected by the ſtates of the province; but as this is an ancient fief of the crown of Poland, he muſt be inveſted in his rights and privileges by her king. Lutheraniſm is the predominant religion in this duchy.

If we may give any credit to the hiſtorians who have delivered to the world the ancient hiſtory of this kingdom, the Poles are a part of the ancient Sclavonians, and theſe deſcended directly from

from Japhet: but we will leave the fables which have been recorded of theſe people enveloped in obſcurity, and proceed to recite the probable conjectures which have been handed down to us by authors of credit.

Tacitus gives us a ſhort account of theſe people; he pretends that their manners and cuſtoms were very different from thoſe of the Germans; the latter having ſome regulations and forms of government among them, when the former lived almoſt in a ſtate of nature, and ſupported themſelves by robbery and plunder: but as they fought on foot, and defended themſelves with ſhields, he thought them to be a different nation from the Scythians, who fought on horſeback, and had no other habitation but their waggons.

This barbarous people, ſays he, live in a ſtate of liberty, and have no idea of hope or of fear, and prefer living in this manner to cultivating the earth and taking care of their families, of their property, or of thoſe of their relations and neighbours.

They have no fear, ſays he, of their fellow-creatures, nor even of the Gods, which is very extraordinary in human beings. They have no occaſion to make laws or vows, becauſe they are not accuſtomed to deſire any thing which they cannot procure for themſelves.

Such, according to Tacitus, were the anceſtors of the Poles, who, when the Goths and Vandals poſſeſſed themſelves of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, left their ancient habitations, and came and occupied the northern parts of Germany and the north-eaſt

parts

parts of Poland, which had been in a great meaſure abandoned by thoſe people.

The Sclavonians lived almoſt in a ſtate of nature till about the year 550, when we find they elected a chief or governor called Leck, who, according to ſome authors, was the brother of Creck firſt duke of Bohemia, who endeavoured to civilize theſe people, till then in a ſtate of nature, and to attach them to ſome particular ſpot, as they had no regular habitation till this æra; for this purpoſe he built a caſtle, or rather a little fortification, formed of earth and trees, as a place of retreat; and as they were clearing away the wood to form the foundation of this new fortreſs, it is pretended that the workmen found the neſt of an eagle, which in the Sclavonian language is called Gniazdo, and which gave the name of Gneſna to this town, compoſed of wooden huts, which was built within the fortification. This, they ſay, was the origin of the town of Gneſna; and to preſerve the memory of this event, the eagle has always formed a part of the arms of Poland.

The deſcendents of Leck reigned in Poland about one hundred years as their ſovereigns; afterwards the nation became tired of obeying one chief, and put themſelves under the conduct of twelve palatines or woiewodes, who were their generals (in the Sclavonian language the word *woina* ſignifies war, and *wodz* a chief or general): but finding they had ſubſtituted twelve tyrants in the place of one chief, and being weary of this government, they depoſed theſe woiewodes, and proclaimed Cracus to be their duke or ſovereign, who having been one of thoſe woiewodes, and having governed with diſcretion and policy, was preferred

before

before all the others. The whole nation at this time had voices in the election of their chief.

Cracus reigned near thirty years, and was the founder of the town of Cracow, near which they ſhew the place to this day where he was buried. After his death his eldeſt ſon was elected to the government; but he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated ſecretly by his younger brother Leck, who was thereupon advanced to the government; but as his crime was afterwards diſcovered, the Poles depoſed him and baniſhed him out of the kingdom. However, as the memory of Cracus was ſtill dear to them, they placed his daughter Vanda upon the throne.

This princeſs lived only two years after her advancement to the throne; and after her death, as ſhe was the laſt of the family of Cracus, the Poles put themſelves again under the conduct of twelve chiefs or palatines, who very ſoon became twelve tyrants, and cruelly abuſed the authority which was entruſted to them, under pretence of maintaining it. A ſcene of civil wars enſued, which made the inhabitants of Hungary believe that they had then a favourable opportunity to attack the Poles, and accordingly in the year 751 they entered Poland, and committed all kinds of cruelties and barbarities. Surprized at this ſudden attack, the Poles aſſembled themſelves in great haſte; they had no idea of repelling an enemy's army who were proud of their great ſucceſs, but they ran to ſubmit themſelves, and to receive the laws of their new maſters; and their palatines, who were ſtill more mean and ignominious than the loweſt of the people, were the firſt who propoſed this meaſure. However a common man, who had then no credit among the people, called Przemyſlas, undertook to ſave his country. During the obſcurity of the night, he placed upon

upon a high ground, oppoſite to the camp of the Hungarians, branches of trees arranged in files in ſuch a manner that they repreſented ſoldiers armed with lances and ſhields. At the break of day, when the enemy perceived this ſuppoſed body of troops, they ſent a detachment to inform themſelves of its force; but as the ſoldiers advanced, theſe fictitious forces appeared to retire into a foreſt that was behind them: the Hungarians, ſuppoſing that their enemies were flying before them, ran into the wood with great precipitation and diſorder; this was what the artful Przemyſlas waited for, as he had hidden all the Poles there, who, as ſoon as they ſaw the Hungarians, attacked them with the greateſt fury, ſo that very few eſcaped their vengeance. Przemyſlas made his men now take the cloaths and the arms of their enemies who fell before them, with theſe they deſcended into the plain, and entered by different ways into the camp of their enemies, who were not prepared to receive them, where they made a moſt terrible ſlaughter: the reſt of the Hungarian army ſaved themſelves by flight, and ſpread the terror of the Poliſh arms to the remoteſt parts of their country.

Przemyſlas having ſaved the ſtate was ſoon afterwards recompenſed; the people, judging that he who had prudence and courage enough to be their deliverer when their affairs appeared to be deſperate, would certainly have reſolution, prudence, and juſtice enough to govern when the nation was in a ſtate of tranquillity, accordingly he was unanimouſly proclaimed duke of Poland. It is true, he anſwered the expectation of all his ſubjects, who lived very happily under his reign, but his death plunged the kingdom again in a ſtate of anarchy; the palatines pretended to re-aſſume their former powers; but each of them

intrigued to gain the whole ſovereignty for himſelf, and the nation dared not to pronounce between the twelve candidates.

In this extremity the whole body of the people aſſembled themſelves, and reſolved to chuſe him for their king who was the beſt horſeman, and who could win the race, which they ſhould propoſe to the candidates. Among thoſe who preſented themſelves to diſpute this great prize was a young man called Leſzek, who was no leſs bold than artful, and who thought that his artifice would procure him the crown; he threw a great quantity of pointed nails over the courſe, and covered them with ſand; and to prevent his own horſe from receiving any injury, he ordered him to be ſhoed in ſuch a manner, that the whole bottom of his feet was covered with iron; but his fraud was too glaring to be hidden; two young men diſcovered it, but the one was too fearful to make it public; however the other reſolved to take advantage of it, and accordingly entered the liſts with the other candidates, after having ſhoed his horſe in the ſame manner as Leſzek had done. All the horſemen ſtarted from the poſt, but Leſzek ſoon left all his rivals far behind him, except the young man before-mentioned, who conſtantly kept pace with him, and ſometimes outſtripped him. Leſzek, mortified at ſeeing himſelf defeated, redoubled his efforts, and was the firſt who came in for the prize, when the young man declared the artifice and malice of his rival. The people immediately ran to know the truth of this accuſation, and finding it to be well founded from the confeſſion of Leſzek, they cut him in pieces, and without any deliberation advanced his accuſer to the throne, who took the name of Leſzko the Second, mounted the throne in the year 804, and though a perſon of mean birth, was a man of great talents and juſtice, always ſupported a reſpect-

able ſimplicity, and never forgot the meanneſs of his original; he always preſerved the cloaths which he wore before his advancement to the throne, which were often brought to him to remind him of the obſcurity of his former ſituation, that all his ſubjects were his brethren, and that he was obliged to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to make them happy. Moreover he was no leſs bold and reſolute than juſt and benevolent: the Poliſh nation loved him, his enemies feared him, and even his neighbours could not refuſe him their eſteem.

In the year 815 this prince died, and his ſon Leſzko the Third, who inherited many of his father's virtues, ſucceeded him by the unanimous conſent of the people. This prince joined his forces for ſome time to thoſe of the enemies of Charlemagne; but afterwards, finding that he could not reſiſt the power of this emperor, he demanded his friendſhip, and gave him ſuccours in the wars which he undertook to bring the Saxons to ſubmiſſion.

Leſzko the Third had a great many natural ſons, to whom he gave fiefs, which they held of Popiel his legitimate ſon, who mounted the throne after him; and this was the firſt inſtitution of fiefs in Poland; theſe fiefs were upon a very different footing from thoſe which are at preſent in that kingdom: the proprietors of the fiefs in thoſe days had very little more than what we call at preſent manor-rights over the reſt of the inhabitants, who had freeholds in their lands, and had voices even in the election of their kings: how theſe proprietors of fiefs gained that aſcendancy over the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects, which they pretend to have at preſent, and the wicked and oppreſſive arts which they took

to

to reduce them to a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery, will hereafter appear.

The annals of Poland give us a moſt frightful portrait of Popiel the Firſt, whom they paint as the moſt vile and debauched monſter that ever appeared in that kingdom. Though the people only regarded their king in thoſe days as their general, and the arbitrator of their diſputes and differences; yet this prince, though he is deſcribed as being in many reſpects weak and inactive, attempted to govern with an abſolute authority; he pretended to inveſt the proprietors of fiefs with great power, which they exerciſed with rigor over the reſt of the inhabitants, and from the reſiſtance which the latter made, threw the whole kingdom into confuſion and anarchy: he changed the ſeat of government from Cracow to Gneſna; and afterwards, as he was apprehenſive his ſubjects would attack him, and drive him out of the kingdom, he removed it to a caſtle which he had built in the middle of the lake Guplo, where he lived with his women, ſecured, as he imagined, from the hatred which he perceived his ſubjects had againſt him.

He died in the year 837, and his ſon Popiel the Second, who was, if poſſible, more cruel than his father, ſucceeded him in the government: his uncles, under whoſe guardianſhip he was for ſeveral years, appeared to him to be ſo many dangerous rivals who were ready to dethrone him; and his wife, who was as wicked as he, but ſtill more ambitious, propoſed to him their deſtruction, as the only means he could take to fix the crown upon his head. Popiel conſented to his wife's propoſition, feigned himſelf to be dangerouſly ill, and under pretence of taking his laſt adieu of his uncles invited them to drink a poiſonous

cup which he had prepared for them, which very ſoon produced the intended effect, as theſe princes died the ſame day; but Popiel, his wife, and all his children, periſhed ſoon after in a very unaccountable and extraordinary manner.

The death of Popiel left Poland in the greateſt trouble and confuſion: his father had introduced all kinds of vices, which the ſon cultivated and propagated to the utmoſt of his power; and his death was far from putting an end to them; for on one ſide, their inteſtine diviſions invited their jealous neighbours to come and lay waſte the kingdom, for which they were already making preparations; and on the other hand the luſt of governing formed a thouſand intrigues which threatened the ſtate with a civil war, that was much more to be dreaded than the war which their natural enemies could make againſt them.

The proprietors of fiefs, from the authority with which they pretended to have been inveſted by thoſe deteſtable monſters the the Popiels, took every opportunity to oppreſs and to tyrannize over the people, in which they were joined by the Palatines; but the latter immediately took up arms, declared their freedom and their rights, declared the delegated authority of the Popiels to be null, and refuſed ſubmiſſion to the authority of the Palatines, who pretended to divide the government among themſelves, and moreover declared that they would only obey one chief, who was elected by the unanimous voice of the people.

At this time, while the nation was aſſembled at Kruſwick, a man whoſe name was Piaſt, an inhabitant of this town, concluding from the multitude of people who were there aſſembled, that unleſs ſome ſudden meaſures were taken, a famine would enſue,

enſue, and a great part of them would die with hunger, opened his magazines, and ſupported the whole multitude for ſeveral days. This great act of humanity and diſintereſtedneſs fixed the eyes of all the people upon Piaſt; and as neither of the candidates could unite all the voices of the people in his favour, all the Palatines and proprietors of fiefs, chooſing rather to be governed by an inhabitant who was their inferior, than to ſee themſelves conſtrained to obey an equal, they propoſed Piaſt to be their king, and all the people conſented unanimouſly to the propoſition which the Palatines and proprietors had made; ſuppoſing that one of their countrymen who had ſo generouſly ſupported and ſaved them when they were ready to periſh with hunger, would govern them in affluence during his reign.

They were not deceived in their conjectures, for Piaſt was a great and a wiſe prince, who re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his kingdom, who ſuppreſſed the vexations of the people, and re-eſtabliſhed juſtice among all his ſubjects, and by a certain affability and good-nature, mixed with reſolution and firmneſs, brought all the orders of men in his ſtate to a proper and reaſonable ſubordination. In fact, Piaſt was loved and almoſt adored by all his ſubjects, and died univerſally regretted, with the reputation of being a good politician, and a king who gloried in being the firſt citizen of the ſtate.

He left his ſon Ziemovit upon the throne, whoſe reſolution and virtues conſoled in ſome meaſure the nation for the loſs which they had ſuſtained by the death of his father. He came to the crown in the year 861; before which æra the Poles had no knowledge of any regular laws, nor of any ſubordination in war: they aſſembled themſelves tumultuouſly together, marched on and attacked the

enemy,

enemy, and if they were repulſed, they immediately betook themſelves to flight, to return again as ſoon as they ſaw an opportunity of doing ſo; and when they found that their enemies gave them a warm reception, they retired again with the ſame precipitation as before: they continued attacking and retiring in this diſorderly manner till they ſaw that they had gained the victory, or till they were entirely defeated.

Ziemovit not only formed ſome regular civil laws which were to be obſerved by all the people, but he taught them ſome military diſcipline; he regulated their attacks, and taught them to ſuſtain the firſt efforts of the enemy; to reſiſt in good order; to retire with precipitation when there was a neceſſity for doing ſo, but in ſuch a manner that the enemy ſhould take no advantage of their diſorder; to rally in an inſtant; to puſh the enemy as much as poſſible after a victory; above all, to prepare reſources after a defeat, and to prevent the enemy from proſecuting their advantages too far.

This great prince reigned thirty-one years, and left the crown to his ſon, who was the reverſe of his father; a poor, abject, inactive wretch; and who might paſs in a civil ſociety as an inſignificant individual, but upon the throne his weakneſs and poverty of underſtanding made him dangerous to a ſtate where there were at this time but few laws and regulations, and where much depended upon the will of the ſovereign; as he was not capable of diſtinguiſhing virtue from vice, nor of recompenſing the one, or puniſhing the other.

He reigned twenty-one years in Poland, and left the crown to his ſon Ziemomiſlas, who reigned, or rather ſlumbered, upon

the throne, for a great number of years. He was one of thoſe ſtupid inactive beings who injure a ſtate more by their inſenſibility, than an active tyrant does by his ſeverity. Happily for the Poles, the two preceding kings, Piaſt and his ſon, had brought the government into ſuch regularity and order, that the weakneſs of the following reigns did not occaſion ſuch diſorders and confuſion in the ſtate as might otherwiſe have been expected.

Ziemomiſſas lived in a torpid and lethargic ſtate till the year 964, and then left the crown, which, as in the Gothic governments, was now regarded as being in ſome meaſure hereditary in the royal family upon the throne, but ſtill liable on any extraordinary occaſion to be diſpoſed of ultimately by the unanimous voice of the people to his ſon Mieciſlaw, who, according to the Poliſh writers, was born blind; but when in the ſeventh year of his age they ordered his hair to be cut off, a ceremony then uſed in Poland, the young prince recovered his ſight, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole court: in all probability the fact was, that he had a very weak ſight, from an acrid humour which fell upon his eyes, or from the weakneſs of his nerves, which by cutting off his hair, and expoſing his head more to the cold air, was greatly ſtrengthened: however, their divines were conſulted upon this occaſion, and declared that this miracle clearly ſhewed that Mieciſlaw would be the light of Poland.

When this prince came to the age of diſcretion, he ſhewed great talents; and through the interceſſion of his wife, the princeſs Dambrowcka, daughter of Boleſlas, duke of Bohemia, who would not accept his hand in marriage but on condition that he would

would renounce his Paganiſm, reſolved to re-eſtabliſh the Chriſtian religion in Poland, upon the ruins of idolatry.

Before this æra the Poles, like all the other inhabitants of the earth, were plunged into the groſſeſt idolatry: they adored Jupiter under the name of Jaſſem; Mars under that of Łiada; Venus under that of Dzidzielia; Pluto, under the name of Niam, had a famous temple at Gneſna, which was the *ſanctum ſanctorum* of the whole country; Diana was called Driewanna; and Ceres Marzanna; Caſtor and Pollux were alſo in great veneration among theſe people, and were called Lel and Polel. The Poles have retained theſe two names even to this day, which they pronounce with a loud voice, and ſeem to invoke Caſtor and Pollux, as the gods of joy, whenever they are ſuddenly affected by any agreeable emotions of the ſoul.

In the months of March and of June the whole nation formed their aſſemblies called Stado, where, in the midſt of their plays and of their dances, they advanced their pleaſures to the greateſt height.

For many centuries after Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed in Poland, the country farmers aſſembled themſelves together on certain days, and in the dances which they made between their young men and maids, with the continual clapping of hands, the air was pierced with the name of Liada, or Ladon, which was their invocation of the god Mars when they went to war. Beſides the gods above named, they had another divinity whoſe whole occupation was to preſide over the lives of mankind; this divinity was called Ziwic, and was in great veneration among all the people.

Mieciſlaw

Mieciſlaw was the firſt who was baptized in this country, when he repudiated ſeven wives whom he had married; and ordered that, on a day which he fixed, his ſubjects ſhould deſtroy all their idols; from this famous day the Chriſtian religion was received in the whole kingdom of Poland.

Soon after this Pope John the Thirteenth erected Gneſna and Cracow into archbiſhoprics, and through the interceſſion of the clergy Mieciſlaw richly founded the churches of thoſe ſees; ever ſince the affairs of the Chriſtian church have been directed by the court of Rome; this has been the firſt and great object of their policy. The Poles ſubmitted themſelves with great reſignation to the doctrines of the Chriſtian church which were then eſtabliſhed among them, notwithſtanding the ſevere and unchriſtian laws which by the advice of the clergy were eſtabliſhed in this kingdom: among other things it was ordered, that if any Pole was convicted of having eat fleſh during Lent, he ſhould have all his teeth drawn, except he could pay a very conſiderable ſum of money in lieu of them.

Certainly the delivering a whole nation from a ſtate of the groſſeſt ignorance and idolatry, to the knowledge of the true God, was a very meritorious act; and if at this time they had been inſtructed in the pure faith and morality of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, the Poles would have had great reaſon to bleſs and venerate the inſtruments of their converſion; but unhappily for them, they were drawn out of their idolatry only to the obſervance of a ſet of frivolous and unmeaning ceremonies, which were performed by the moſt avaricious, bigotted, wicked, and debauched clergy that ever diſgraced civil ſociety, who were not content with uſurping the greateſt part of their property,

and laying them under puniſhments of their pretended canon laws, which are in many reſpects contrary to the laws of God and nature, but they were the means of fixing the greateſt part of them in a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery, from which they have never ſince been able to recover.

When the clergy read the goſpel, they ordered that all the Poles who were preſent ſhould immediately draw their ſabres, as a teſtimony that they were always ready to defend the truth of the Chriſtian religion at the price of their blood; this was afterwards publiſhed as a law, and remained in force for ſeveral centuries, and there are ſome old Poles who obſerve it even to this day.

In the year 967 the court of Rome erected the dukedom of Hungary into a kingdom; what power a Chriſtian biſhop could have to juſtify ſuch a meaſure, we ſhall be at a loſs to diſcover; Mieciſlaw demanded the ſame favour for his ſtates, but he could not obtain it: the pope returned him for anſwer, that Chriſtianity was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in his territories.

The following year two Saxon princes declared war againſt Mieciſlaw; and this prince attacked them upon the frontiers of his dominions, and gained ſuch a complete victory over them, that very few of their army eſcaped; but their differences were ſoon after ſettled through the mediation of the emperor Otho the Firſt.

In the year 1000 Mieciſlaw was again attacked by the Bohemians, notwithſtanding the friendſhip which ſhould have attached

tached theſe people to the Poles, ſince they were originally the ſame people. Sileſia was then a province of Poland, which being the frontiers of the two ſtates, became the theatre of the moſt bloody battles.

In the following year Mieciſlaw died, regretted by all his ſubjects, as he had employed his whole time to promote their happineſs and welfare; and if the Romiſh clergy had been men of common honeſty, who wiſhed the happineſs of their fellow-creatures, and who endeavoured to propagate the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt in the manner that he had ordered them to do it, the Poles to this day would have been wanting in gratitude if they did not venerate the name of Mieciſlaw as their great patron, and as the ſignal inſtrument which drew them out of darkneſs into light.

Boleſlas, the ſon of Mieciſlaw, aſcended the throne after the death of his father, and took every prudent meaſure which a prince of great talents could take to ſtrengthen and aggrandize his people, and to govern them with juſtice and moderation. But the ideas which the Roman Catholic clergy had inſtilled into the people, that they muſt be paſſively obedient to all their dictates; that they muſt relinquiſh to them the greateſt part of their property; that they muſt ſubmit without any reſiſtance to the orders of their civil governors, though ever ſo iniquitous and contrary to their original contract as members of ſociety; and in fact, that they muſt give up all their liberties and privileges to their governors, and to the proprietors of their fiefs, many of which being at this time in the hands of the clergy, and all theſe under the pains and penalties of excommunication, and of eternal damnation. Hence the origin of that ſtate of abject

ſlavery into which the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Poland afterwards fell, and in which their deſcendents continue to this day. The Palatines and the proprietors of fiefs from this time uſurped the principal rights and privileges of the people, to which the latter were forced to ſubmit for the reaſons before-mentioned.

The emperor Otho, hearing of the great acts of Boleſlas, was greatly diſquieted; and under pretence of viſiting the tomb of St. Adalbert, ſet out for Gneſna, where the duke of Poland received him with great magnificence, which ſo flattered the emperor, that as a mark of his gratitude to Boleſlas, he gave him the title of king, excepting for ever that homage and tribute which was due to the empire; and during the conſecration placed the crown himſelf upon his head.

In the following year Boleſlas publiſhed a law which ordered, that before his ſubjects gave battle to their enemies, they ſhould ſing a religious hymn: this is the moſt ancient written law that is at preſent known in Poland. There is great reaſon to think that the ſtates of the kingdom had tacitly relinquiſhed their liberties and privileges to the crown and to their Palatines, as it does not appear by the annals that there were any national aſſemblies or diets at this time, the king's orders and regulations being received univerſally as laws.

In the beginning of 1006, the duke of Bohemia having twice entered the Poliſh territories, and laid waſte the country with fire and ſword, Boleſlas entered into Bohemia with a powerful army, and beſieged the duke and his ſon in the fortreſs of Weſſenzad, and obliged them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners: Bohemia from this time became a province of the kingdom of Poland by right of conqueſt, as well as Moravia, which was conquered before, and

continued

continued ſo till Boleſlas reſtored theſe provinces to Ulric the ſecond ſon of the duke of Bohemia, on condition that he ſhould become tributary to the kingdom and crown of Poland.

Towards the end of the following year the emperor Henry the Second, aſſiſted with the forces of the empire, fearing the growing power of Poland, declared war againſt Boleſlas, and advanced to attack him near the Sprehe, and with a deſign to paſs that river. Boleſlas waited for him on the other ſide, and as the detachments of Henry's army paſſed the river, they were ſurrounded and cut in pieces by the Poles, ſo that Henry deſpairing of ſucceſs renounced his enterprize, and reſolved to paſs this river in a leſs dangerous place: he now turned his attention towards Sileſia, and when he found an open country to bring all his forces into action, he obliged the Poliſh army to retire; and Boleſlas, who found no other ſafety but in a flight, retired with a great part of his army, even to Poſnania: harraſſed, and fearing to fall again into ambuſcades in a country with which they were intirely unacquainted, the imperialiſts, during their march into Poland, murmured and threatened the emperor to retire; whereupon the fugitive Boleſlas made ſome propoſitions of peace, of which the biſhop of Magdebourg became the mediator: the principal of theſe articles were, that the king of Poland ſhould reſtore Luſatia, and the town of Bautzen, and that he ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to Bohemia.

In the year 1009 Boleſlas declared war againſt the Ruſſians, and attempted to paſs the river Bog; but as the Ruſſian army were encamped on the other ſide of the river, and the Poles were afraid of entering the water, Boleſlas was the firſt who threw himſelf into the river, and paſſed it by ſwimming, notwithſtanding

ſtanding all the reſiſtance of the Ruſſians; when his ſoldiers, ſurprized at his boldneſs and courage, followed him, and fell upon the Ruſſians with ſuch fury, that they immediately put them into diſorder; however they ſoon rallied; but the more the victory was diſputed, the more the Poles ſhewed their courage; ſo that at length the Ruſſians were obliged to give way, and betake themſelves to flight. The Poles now laid a great part of the Ruſſian dominions under contribution; and afterwards laid ſiege to the famous town of Kiovia, of which they made themſelves maſters, and with it a conſiderable part of the treaſures of the dukes of Ruſſia: but the following year, the Ruſſians having recovered their ſurprize, and rallied their forces, forced Boleſlas to abandon all his conqueſts, after having loſt a great number of men, and to retire on the other ſide of the Bog, where they again attacked him with all their forces: the battle was a very bloody one, and it was for ſome time uncertain on which ſide victory would declare, when Boleſlas made a powerful effort and decided the day: the Ruſſians gave way on every ſide, and were obliged to repaſs the river. Propoſitions of peace were now made on behalf of the Ruſſians, which were accepted, and both armies retired to their reſpective habitations.

In the year 1013, Boleſlas having been attacked by the Saxons during his expeditions into Ruſſia, marched a great army into Saxony, and gained conſiderable advantages; whereupon the emperor, who dreaded the growing power of Boleſlas, marched into Siberia with a very conſiderable army, and endeavoured to ſurprize the town of Glogaw; but the king of Poland threw himſelf into the town with his whole army, though much againſt the opinion of his principal officers, who regarded this

manœuvre

manœuvre as an act of cowardice, and who would have marched directly and attacked the enemy; but Boleſlas, who waited for a re-inforcement, forbad any of his ſoldiers to go out of Glogaw on pain of death: "We will not brave the imperialiſts," ſays he, "we ſhall ſufficiently mortify their preſumptuous pride by de-"ſtroying them, and for this purpoſe we have nothing more to "do than aſſume courage enough to reſiſt their attacks."

The event ſhews us that this king was an experienced and great general: the emperor, fatigued by the continual ſallies of the Poles, who every day deſtroyed a great number of his men, and all the works which he had made to attack the town, renounced his project, and diſbanded his army.

The following year Boleſlas reſolved to revenge himſelf for the injuries which he imagined he had received from the emperor, and ſent his ſon Mieciſlaw to the duke of Bohemia, to engage him to join him: but the duke betrayed his friend and ally, and gave up his ſon to the emperor, and moreover carried his barbarity to ſuch a height, as to maſſacre the principal perſons who accompanied him. Aſtoniſhed at this unworthy behaviour, Boleſlas demanded his ſon of the emperor, who refuſed to give him up; but the archbiſhop of Magdebourg perſuaded the chief of the empire to give up this priſoner as an act of policy, as well as of humanity: "By giving into the deſires of "a tender parent," ſaid this prelate, "we ſhall diſarm a dan-"gerous enemy, but by retarding this matter, we ſhall not only "exaſperate Boleſlas, but in the end make him attribute only to "our fears, what he has a right to expect from our regards; "beſides, by giving up his ſon, we may oblige him by a for-

"mal

" mal treaty to grant us a peace, and to give us hoſtages for the " performance of it."

This wiſe advice proves how much the king of Poland was at that time dreaded in the empire. However the emperor did not follow the archbiſhop's counſel, but gave up Mieciſlaw without any condition, and even ſent this prince into Poland with an eſcort ſuitable to his dignity, which had ſuch an effect upon Boleſlas, that he immediately liſtened to the terms of peace which were propoſed, and did homage to the emperor for Sileſia and part of Luſatia, which were then regarded as provinces of the empire.

In the year 1018 the Ruſſians, who had now recovered from their former defeats, under the conduct of their duke Jaraſlaw, attempted an invaſion in Poland; the armies of the two nations met again upon the banks of the river Bog, and a bloody battle enſued; but the great experience as well as courage of Boleſlas prevailed over the raſhneſs and imprudent valour of Jaraſlaw. Boleſlas gained a conſiderable tract of country by this battle, and the Ruſſians were moreover obliged to pay him a tribute.

After this Boleſlas lived in peace all the reſt of his days; his ſubjects obeyed him without murmuring, and almoſt idolized his great talents and courage, and he died in the year 1024, regretted by all his people, and was buried in the cathedral of Poſnania.

Mieciſlaw ſucceeded his father with the title of Mieciſlaw the Second, and was crowned at Gneſna in the year 1025. Maſter of a ſtate already powerful, and of ſubjects accuſtomed to victory,

and to obedience, this prince relaxed the reins of government and became very indolent, repoſing himſelf in the arms of a voluptuous woman; but his indolence was the cauſe of more troubles to his ſubjects than the active virtues of his father had procured them glory and proſperity.

As ſoon as the Ruſſians heard the character of Mieciſlaw they immediately took up arms, and fell upon the Poliſh garriſons which were in their country with great fury, part of whom they maſſacred, the reſt they ſent to cultivate the lands which Boleſlas had laid waſte. Mieciſlaw though he had made war was no warrior, ſo that this revolt was not ſufficient to draw him out of his lethargy before his people began to murmur againſt him; then he aſſembled an army, and ſhewed himſelf before the enemy, whom the Poles attacked with great fury and put them to flight; but this prince, content with having gained a victory, ſoon after abandoned a large tract of country to them which this victory had procured him.

In the year 1028 Prediſlas, the ſon of the duke of Bohemia, natural enemy of the Poles, entered Moravia, a province allied to Poland, with a powerful army, when the Moravians joined the Bohemians, and ſoon cleared the country of all the Poliſh garriſons. So many misfortunes at laſt forced Mieciſlaw to take up arms, and he ordered all his vaſſals to follow him.

This is the firſt time that we find the feudal military eſtabliſhment carried to its greateſt height in Poland: it now appears by their annals that the inhabitants held their lands by military tenures, and that the proprietors of fiefs obliged themſelves to aſſiſt the crown with a certain number of men whenever they were called

upon; but the Poles had not, even at this time, any idea of that abject ſlavery under which the greateſt part of the nation labour at preſent, and into which they were inſenſibly drawn by the wicked and artful machinations of the clergy.

But to return to my ſubject: Mieciſlaw led an army of Poles into Moravia, and after having laid waſte the country of thoſe who were concerned in the rebellion againſt him, returned into Poland, without making any other effort to recover the territories which had thrown off all dependence upon his crown. Scarcely was Mieciſlaw arrived in his kingdom before he was informed, that the governors which his father had placed in thoſe parts of Lower Saxony and in Pomerania, which he had conquered, had revolted from his obedience, and with the ſuccours of the emperor Conrad the Second, had aſſumed a ſovereign authority to themſelves: it was from this revolution, according to the Poliſh annals, that the dukedoms of Mecklenbourg and Pomerania were formed: preſſed by his ſubjects, Mieciſlaw immediately led a great army into Pomerania, and gained a memorable battle over theſe people; but inſtead of endeavouring to reap the fruits of his victory, and to reduce theſe rebellious chiefs to their duty, this prince returned to Cracow, where, worn out by his debauched courſe of life, he fell into a ſtate of languor and died, leaving his queen Richſa, who was daughter of Eronfoy, count palatine of the Rhine, regent of the kingdom, and guardian of the young prince Caſimir his ſon.

This princeſs took the reins of government in the year 1034, and according to the Poliſh writers governed with great ſeverity; the taxes were conſiderably augmented, and levied with the utmoſt barbarity, the impoſſibility of paying them being deemed

an unpardonable crime. The Poles were diſmiſſed from the principal employments of the ſtate, which were given to Germans; the nation murmured, and made repreſentations, but were not heard; whereupon the Palatines and the proprietors of fiefs joined menaces to their remonſtrances, and the common people, always ready to join the ſtandard of thoſe who ſhall undertake to protect the liberties of the public, appeared ready to follow the firſt who ſhould declare openly againſt the government.

In the midſt of theſe commotions, the Germans, fearing that they ſhould be the firſt victims that were ſacrificed to the indignation of the Poles, quitted the kingdom with great precipitation, and preſſed the queen Richſa to take care of her own perſon as well as that of her ſon. The queen followed their advice, and retired to the court of the emperor Conrad the Second, with all the treaſures that ſhe could ſeize; but ſhe would not keep her ſon near her, fearing ſome ſurprize, but ſent him ſecretly to Paris to finiſh his education. The flight of the queen and of her ſon augmented the troubles of Poland: under her government the laws and the orders of the ſovereign power had been made uſe of as a cloak for all kinds of rapine and plunder; after her departure even this pretext was laid aſide, and the ſtrongeſt and moſt powerful perſons knew no other judge but their ſwords. The Palatines and the proprietors of fiefs acted the part of tyrants on every ſide, in which they were joined by the clergy, who, to ſecure the great property which they had unjuſtly uſurped, entered into all the ſchemes of the nobility to oppreſs and trample under foot the rights and privileges of the people and to render themſelves independent. But they very ſoon became jealous of each other, made war among themſelves, and deſolated the country:

the towns were deſtroyed, the country plundered, and the fruits of the earth burnt.

Whenever a nation is torn to pieces by a civil war, ſhe awakens all the wars and diſputes which ſhe has had with her neighbours. Prediſlas, duke of Bohemia, entered Sileſia with a powerful army, made himſelf maſter of Breſlaw, penetrated into Poland, burnt Poſnania, and laid ſiege to Gneſna. Prediſlas entered into this war with a more ſavage cruelty than was ever exerciſed by the Tartars or the Calmouks, yet the Romiſh clergy perſuaded this man that he was a good Chriſtian and very devout; they even made him demand the body of St. Adalbert of the inhabitants of Gneſna, which they perſuaded him to make the protector of his ſtates. The Poles ſeeing the barbarity of this monſter, who neither ſpared age nor ſex, refuſed to comply with his demands; whereupon he ordered his ſoldiers, as ſoon as they entered the town, to carry off the body, but the common people regarding this action as a kind of profanation refuſed it, and their refuſal was looked upon as a miracle. The biſhop of Prague believed it too, and attributed it to the ſins of the people; and in conſequence of it, this pious prelate appointed three days of prayer, during which they were to faſt in the camp, to obtain the power of God to ſeize this precious relick; but the inhabitants of Gneſna took this opportunity to hide the body of their martyr, and to ſubſtitute another in its place. Prediſlas carried this body into Bohemia, and they are ſtill perſuaded at Prague that they poſſeſs the real body of this ſaint; but this pretended faſting and devotion did not hinder the Bohemians from robbing the town, and even the churches, and from maſſacreing great numbers of the inhabitants of both ſexes; ſuch was the uſe that was made of religion and of things ſacred in theſe days.

The

The Poliſh nation continued in this deplorable ſituation till the year 1040, when they ſeemed to recover themſelves from the phrenſy which for ſome years had diſordered their ſenſes, and, like a man who had been in this dreadful condition, they began to reflect upon the horrors and exceſſes which they had incurred. The clergy and the nobles, who had ſome time before declared themſelves independent, ſeeing the people in the greateſt miſery, and what affected them much more, ſeeing all their neighbours their enemies, and ready to wreſt from their hands that power which they had uſurped, and which they were not from their diviſions in a ſituation to ſupport, began to think of taking ſome meaſures for their own ſecurity.

The archbiſhop of Gneſna, primate of the kingdom, convoked an aſſembly of the ſtates, and propoſed to them to recal the heir of the crown, as the only means to give ſome ſtability to the government, to quell their diviſions, and to ſecure them in the rights and privileges which they had uſurped: "The laws and "cuſtoms of the kingdom demand it, ſays this prelate; the "throne is his, and we cannot refuſe it him without injuſtice. "The nation is his guardian, and can ſhe then abandon her "ward to the hazards of an obſcure life, unworthy of his birth "and of his rank? His misfortunes ought to make him more "dear to his ſubjects; and there is great reaſon to think "that the humiliation of a private life will inſpire him with "very different ſentiments from thoſe which we once feared he "would adopt."

One would have imagined that a prelate, who was only capable of thinking now and then in this juſt mode, ſhould have reflected at the ſame time, that as he wiſhed to receive juſtice and benevo-

lence

lence from the king, he, the reſt of his brethren, and the nobility were equally obliged to ſhew the ſame to the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects; but it appears that this was too intereſting a matter for the primate's ſerious contemplation. However the aſſembly agreed to recal Caſimir; but they were ignorant of the retreat of their young king, and were obliged to have recourſe to Richſa, who, vanquiſhed by their importunity, diſcovered that he was in France. Caſimir had ſtudied there ſome time, and afterwards paſſed into Italy, where the Romiſh clergy perſuaded him to become a Monk; ſo that upon his return again into France, this young prince was entered into the abbey of Cluni, and had really gone into orders. Caſimir was extremely ſurprized when the Poliſh miniſters preſented themſelves before him and laid open the object of their miſſion: it was not in his power to accept their offers; for when he renounced the world, and became a Monk, he had diſqualified himſelf for wearing the crown. The pope alone was ſuppoſed to have the power to diſſolve the religious engagements of this young prince, and therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to him for this purpoſe. The pope and the court of Rome, who had now moſt wickedly made the Chriſtian religion ſubſervient to their private intereſt, made ſome difficulties in complying with this propoſal, only on condition that the Poliſh nation ſhould oblige themſelves to pay a conſiderable ſum of money annually to the holy ſee for the ſupport of a lamp in the church of St. Peter at Rome, which was to be called St. Peter's pence; that the whole nation ſhould oblige themſelves to wear their hair in future cut in the form of the crown of a Monk; and that at all great feaſts, during the maſs, the nobles ſhould wear to their collar a ſtar formed of linen.

Caſimir

Caſimir was received into his ſtates with great demonſtrations of joy by all ranks of people; who immediately after his coronation applied himſelf to quell the troubles of the kingdom; and as the clergy had been the chief inſtruments of bringing about his recal and advancement to the throne, he confirmed to them all the rights and privileges which they had ſo wickedly uſurped during the late troubles, and which, by means of their ſpiritual cenſures and the thunders of the Vatican, they now thought themſelves in a ſituation to ſupport, even againſt all the reſt of the nation.

To prevent himſelf from being moleſted by Ruſſia, Caſimir demanded the ſiſter of their duke Jaraſlaw in marriage; the Ruſſians, now deſirous of tranquillity as well as the Poles, ſeized this opportunity to reſtore a laſting peace between the two nations: however, ſuch was the ſuperſtition and bigotry of theſe times, this alliance with a princeſs of the Greek religion occaſioned great murmuring among the Poliſh clergy; but their clamours ceaſed when, before the ceremony of the marriage, they again baptized their future queen, fearing that the Ruſſians, as they obſerved, who were ſtill ignorant and brutal, had omitted ſome eſſential point in the baptiſm which they had adminiſtered.

During the interregnum ſeveral Poliſh lords and the proprietors of the great fiefs, as I have already obſerved, had declared themſelves independent, and had actually formed ſovereign principalities in the heart of the kingdom. One of thoſe lords, who was poſſeſſed of a large fief, took this opportunity, with the aſſiſtance of his vaſſals, to ſeize upon all that tract of country between the Viſtula, the Narew, and the Bog; which diſtrict

is

is at preſent called the palatinate of Mazovia, from Maſos, the name of this lord, who was greatly chagrined when he ſaw Caſimir enter the kingdom. Several of the proprietors of the leſſer fiefs relinquiſhed the power which they had illegally acquired during the interregnum; but Maſos took every meaſure to ſupport himſelf in his uſurpation: he entered into a treaty with the inhabitants of Pruſſia, and led a conſiderable army of thoſe people into Poland, who were ſoon put to flight; but Maſos made a ſecond attempt to ſupport himſelf by force of arms, and was now defeated entirely, ſo that the few who eſcaped were obliged to hide themſelves in the foreſts: Maſos followed them thither with an intent to excite them to make ſome new efforts; but the Pruſſians, chagrined at their great loſſes, which they attributed to the bad counſels of Maſos, to revenge themſelves hung him upon a gibbet; upon which all the inhabitants of this tract of country returned again under the dominion of the crown of Poland, and the Pruſſians offered to pay the Poles a tribute.

The following year (1044) the Poles were likewiſe amply revenged for the depredations and barbarities which the Bohemians had made in their kingdom. The emperor Henry the Third, at the inſtigation of Richſa, attacked Prediſlas with a part of the forces of the empire, and forced this duke to reſtore to Poland all the places which he had uſurped, and moreover to pay fifty marks of gold and 2000 marks of ſilver for the expences of the war. It is true, the king of Poland, as prince of Sileſia, was alſo a prince of the empire; and the emperor, as guardian of the rights of the princes of the empire, was obliged to aſſiſt him with the forces of the empire.

Caſimir,

Caſimir, now delivered from all his foreign enemies, applied himſelf to reform in ſome meaſure the manners of the people; but at the ſame time to rivet the chains of ſlavery, which the clergy had long before prepared for them: he founded two new monaſteries, one at Tiniec upon the Viſtula, and the other at Leubus in Sileſia; he granted many new rights and privileges to the clergy, and, through their interceſſion, to ſeveral of the great lords; ſo that what they could not before obtain by force and violence, they now acquired by intrigue and purchaſed by money.

The clergy, perceiving this king to be naturally diſpoſed to piety and to favour religious houſes, took advantage of his good diſpoſition, and extorted ſeveral conceſſions from him which he had no right as a limited ſovereign to grant, nor they as ſubjects to receive, as will be ſeen by ſeveral of the laws and orders which he publiſhed in the latter part of his reign: but this was the general character of the Romiſh clergy throughout all Europe; they took the advantage of weak and pious princes to enſlave and oppreſs their fellow-ſubjects, to deprive them of their natural rights and privileges, and to treat them as a race of beings of an inferior nature; they made every thing ſubſervient to their pride, avarice, and ambition; rejecting the true precepts of the Chriſtian religion for oſtentatious ceremonies and ſuperſtitious fables.

Caſimir died in the year 1058, much eſteemed and regretted by the Poles: he was pious, and he re-eſtabliſhed peace and tranquillity in his ſtates, which were abſolutely neceſſary for a country which had been almoſt deſtroyed by inteſtine wars and diviſions.

After the death of this prince, Boleſlas his ſon was called to the throne by the general deſire of the whole nation, though he was only ſixteen years of age. All their neighbours were much ſurprized that the Poles ſhould make ſuch a choice, conſidering the troubles which they had ſuffered during the minority of his father; but Boleſlas ſoon convinced them, that though he was young in years, he had talents to direct properly the ardour and vivacity of his youth: like Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, he ſhewed an early deſire for war, which he conducted with no leſs prudence than courage. Soon after he came to the throne the duke of Bohemia, who thought to take advantage of this prince's youth and inexperience, attacked the frontiers of Poland; Boleſlas immediately marched againſt him, and ſurprized him in the narrow paſſes of a foreſt, ſo that he was ſurrounded by the army of Boleſlas, and could not even make an honourable retreat. In this ſituation he demanded peace of the king of Poland, but his propoſitions were rejected. Reduced to this extremity, the duke of Bohemia reſolved to take a deſperate ſtep: if he was diſcovered, he had prepared every thing to cut his way through the enemy's army or to periſh; if he was not, he was ſure of drawing his troops out of the diſagreeable ſituation into which his imprudence had precipitated them. He kindled ſeveral great fires in every part of his camp to make the Poles believe that he was preparing ſomething extraordinary to attack them the next day, and under cover of the darkneſs of the night his troops defiled through narrow paſſes in the woods, which he had reconnoitred the preceding day, and fearing that they ſhould be purſued, they cut down trees, and took every poſſible means to obſtruct theſe paſſes and to retard the purſuit of their enemies. At break of day the Bohemians had retreated to ſome diſtance, and were in a place of ſecurity. In vain did

Boleſlas,

Boleſlas, who intended in the morning to attack his enemies, attempt to purſue them; he was ſtopped every where by trees acroſs the avenues, and at length obliged to retire, fearing to be drawn into the ſame diſagreeable ſituation wherein the duke of Bohemia was entangled the preceding day. The following year however, the king of Poland, ſeeing that he had new enemies to contend with, made an honourable and a laſting peace with the Bohemians.

The Pruſſians had for ſome years made ſeveral attacks upon the frontiers of Poland and carried off a great deal of plunder, which they depoſited in the fortreſs of Gaudentz, built in a ſituation almoſt inacceſſible upon the Viſtula: Boleſlas attempted to lay ſiege to this fortreſs and neſt of robbers, but finding that it was impoſſible for him to ſucceed, he made a feint as if he would retire, and broke down all the bridges which were behind him, as if he was afraid to be moleſted in his retreat. Scarcely had he left his camp, when the Pruſſians, as he foreſaw would be the caſe, prepared to purſue him, and ſpread themſelves through the country in ſearch of new plunder; whereupon Boleſlas returned upon them all on a ſudden, paſſed the river by ſwimming, and attacked their ſeparate detachments with ſuch fury, that victory immediately declared in his favour upon every attack; all the plunder of thoſe robbers was retaken, and all the inhabitants of Pruſſia, now vanquiſhed and diſcouraged, were forced to return under the dominion of Poland.

The following year Boleſlas led his victorious army againſt the Hungarians, and gained a conſiderable battle over them. The prince Andrew, who had uſurped the crown of Hungary, was obliged to fly, and was afterwards killed by his own people in

a foreſt; and Bela his brother, who had demanded the aſſiſtance of the Poles to recover his right, was thereupon conducted to the royal palace, where he was elected king of Hungary in the moſt ſolemn manner by the ſtates of this kingdom.

Boleſlas had ſome pretenſions to the throne of Ruſſia, which he reſolved ſooner or later to aſſert; and in order to pave the way to it, and to prepare in ſome meaſure the minds of the people for ſuch a change, he choſe a wife among the Ruſſians; and no ſooner were the marriage ceremonies paſt than he led an army into this country under pretence of ſupporting the intereſts of Izaſlaw, prince of Ruſſia, who had been driven out of the kingdom by his brother, and was come to demand aſſiſtance of the Poles. "The ſuccours that I ſhall give him, ſaid Boleſlas, I "owe to the ſentiments of humanity, and I cannot refuſe them. "An unfortunate prince is more to be pitied than a common "individual. If it is neceſſary that mankind ſhould ſuffer "afflictions in this world, thoſe ſhould be exempt from them "who are eſtabliſhed to make others happy."

When we reflect a moment upon the ideas of this king, and upon his conduct, which will be hereafter more fully explained, it will afford an example of the pride, and at the ſame time depravity of human nature, which is ſcarcely to be equalled in the annals of hiſtory. Boleſlas thought that princes were eſtabliſhed to make others happy; and though they oppreſſed, robbed, and maſſacred them with impunity, which he afterwards did his ſubjects, it was all for their good: his clergy taught him, that he was a being of a ſuperior order; that he was the repreſentative of the Divinity upon earth; and that even to oppoſe his will was to incur eternal damnation: how he conducted himſelf

himſelf in conſeqnence of theſe religious principles I ſhall now proceed to explain.

As ſoon as he entered Ruſſia with theſe pretended views of humanity, he met the Ruſſian army near Kiovia under the command of the duke Poloczk, brother of Izaſlaw, who, ſurprized at the firm and undaunted countenance of the Poles, was ſeized with fear and left his camp; but, aſhamed of his cowardice, he immediately returned, and beheld his enemies a ſecond time, when his fear increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he could no longer withſtand it, and ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, he made the beſt of his way acroſs the foreſts, and hid himſelf. The Ruſſians, deſerted by their general, followed his example, and diſbanded themſelves; ſo that very ſoon, in the place of an army which the Poles were preparing to fight, they ſaw nothing before them but a naked camp and a vaſt deſert. Kiovia was now beſieged, and ſoon after taken; and Boleſlas, who pretended to be the protector of the prince of Ruſſia, ſoon became more maſter than he in his proper territories, and lived there in a degree of voluptuouſneſs that was not to be equalled in thoſe days, and his example was followed by all his army.

Boleſlas was ſix years in conquering Ruſſia, though he employed a very conſiderable army for that purpoſe; but this interval occaſioned a ſtrange revolution in Poland: all the young men who were capable of bearing arms were drawn off into Ruſſia, ſo that the kingdom was only peopled by old men, women, children, and ſlaves; but many of the boys had grown up during this interval and become men. When the women heard that their huſbands were living familiarly with the Ruſſian women, and had no idea of returning into their own country, they

they were filled with rage, and reſolved to revenge themſelves, and repay their huſbands in the ſame ſpecies of commerce. Every Poliſh woman therefore choſe her companion; and as there were fewer young men than women, thoſe who were not ſupplied made the moſt ſhameful advances to their ſlaves, and as the whole nation fell into the ſame kind of diſhonourable licentiouſneſs, one was not in the ſituation to reproach another.

When the news of what was paſſing in Poland reached the ears of Boleſlas's ſoldiers in Ruſſia, the whole army was filled with the greateſt rage, as there were very few who had not wives or daughters in the general confederacy, and demanded their return into their reſpective provinces. The king neither rejected nor granted their requeſt, but endeavoured to calm and conſole them, in hopes that the war would ſoon be finiſhed. Impatient to return into their own country, the Poles deſerted by companies and even by regiments, ſo that Boleſlas's army was very ſoon reduced to one third part of what it was; and, in fact, there remained very few with him but thoſe who did not chooſe to quit their debauched courſe of life, and thoſe who having no fixed and ſolid eſtabliſhment in Poland, choſe rather to quit their own country than to return there again to partake of the ſhame of their unfaithful wives. Thoſe who were the moſt violent, and who deſerted their colours, were the leaſt ſcrupulous, for as ſoon as they arrived in their own reſpective provinces they retook their wives, and forgot all their faults.

Boleſlas, who was forced to abandon Ruſſia, ſoon after followed them into Poland, and now gave a looſe to his barbarous diſpoſition. He immediately hanged up all who were rich and powerful among the deſerters, and confiſcated all their property:

their wives, who were the authors of theſe diſorders, likewiſe felt the weight of his vengeance; he ordered the children which they were nouriſhing to be torn from their breaſts, and to be be thrown into the midſt of the foreſts to become the prey of the wild beaſts, and condemned the guilty mothers to give ſuck to young dogs; and ordered, under pain of ſharing the fate of their huſbands, that none of them ſhould appear in public without theſe animals hanging to their breaſts.

Theſe acts, which were a mixture of cruelty and ridicule, were the forerunners of all thoſe cruelties and barbarities which a mind that abhors itſelf and endeavours to fly from its own reflections, is capable of falling into: Boleſlas ſoon forgot that he was a king, and his clergy had ſome time before made him forget that he was a human being. His courtiers, who were more attached to his fortune than to laws and good order, were the principal miniſters of his capriciouſneſs and fury. The biſhop of Cracow was the only perſon who dared oppoſe the tyranny of the prince, which put Boleſlas into ſuch a fury, that he ran into the church where the biſhop was celebrating the maſs, and, as his guards refuſed to execute his orders, he aſſaſſinated the biſhop himſelf upon the ſteps of the altar.

The pious repreſentations of the biſhop had thrown the king into the greateſt fury; who, after having been taught by the clergy that he was accountable only to God for his actions, regarded the repreſentations of the biſhop as ſo many inſults; whereupon the latter excommunicated him, and fell a ſacrifice to his vengeance.

Pope Gregory the Seventh, hearing of all theſe diſorders, excommunicated Boleſlas, depoſed him, laid the kingdom under an interdiction, and abſolved his ſubjects from their oath of fidelity. While Boleſlas was maſſacreing his ſubjects, and committing ſuch barbarities as the moſt abandoned tyrants would have been almoſt deterred from doing, this very religious pope, who called himſelf the father of the Chriſtians, gave himſelf very little concern about it; but as ſoon as he touched the church, the thunders of the Vatican were heard over the whole kingdom, as if the life of one churchman was of more conſequence than the lives of ſome thouſands of innocent perſons and children, whom this monſter had deſtroyed with impunity, and as an act for which he was only accountable to God. As ſoon as the bull of excommunication was publiſhed in Poland the clergy began to ſhew themſelves, and to thunder forth the heinouſneſs of the crime which Boleſlas had committed, ſo that this prince ſoon became the horror of the whole nation, and fearing every moment that he ſhould be maſſacred, he ſaved himſelf in Hungary; but not believing himſelf ſecure even in this kingdom, he took refuge in the monaſtry of Carinthia. Such was the Chriſtian religion in thoſe days, and ſuch the wickedneſs and partiality of thoſe who called themſelves its guardians and protectors.

When Boleſlas had abdicated the government, Uladiſlas, the ſon of his younger brother Caſimir, was choſen to ſucceed him; but this prince ſeemed to be better calculated by nature for a private life, than for a throne: he held the reins of government very timidly for fear of diſpleaſing the all-powerful court of Rome, whoſe thunders made all Europe to tremble: he relinquiſhed

quiſhed the title of king, and took the modeſt title of duke of Poland, becauſe the Pope had forbidden all the Poliſh biſhops to crown any king in future without the conſent of him or of his ſucceſſors: ſuch was the pride and inſolence of the popes, and of the court of Rome in thoſe days, who deemed their power greater than ever was that of Cæſar, who thought their dictates were infallible, and who regarded all the empires and kingdoms of the Chriſtian world as fiefs of the Tiara. All kinds of divine ſervice were ſuſpended in Poland for one year and half, and ſome hundreds of thouſands of innocent Chriſtians were puniſhed becauſe one monſter, who was their governor, had offended. However during the following year 1083, at the interceſſion of the other Chriſtian powers, the pope removed the interdiction which had been laid upon Poland, and as a mark of his great bounty granted a power to the king and to his ſubjects to open their churches again, and to have the divine ſervice adminiſtered there as before.

At the deſire of the Poles, who feared that Boleſlas would return again into that kingdom, Uladiſlas married the princeſs Judith, grand-daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, but this princeſs had never any children, and died three years after much regretted by all the Poliſh nation.

When Boleſlas fled into Hungary, he was followed by his young ſon called Mieciſlaw, whom he left at this court when he quitted it to hide himſelf. Uladiſlas, when he mounted the throne, brought his nephew back to Poland, and treated him with ſuch apparent good-nature and friendſhip, that when the ſterility of his wife was declared, and her ſudden death deſtroyed all his hopes of having legitimate children, the nation habituated

themſelves to regard Mieciſlaw as the preſumptive heir of the crown. The good quality of this young prince gained him the general love of all the Poliſh nation: Uladiſlas appeared to be highly pleaſed with it, and to ſatisfy the deſires of the people married him to Eudoxia, daughter of Suantopelek duke of Kiovia: but the joy which this alliance gave to all ranks of people, was ſoon changed into melancholy. Mieciſlaw was poiſoned and died, and in vain did this pious duke Uladiſlas, this favourite of Rome, attempt to exculpate himſelf from being the author of this infamous tranſaction; it was ſoon diſcovered that it was a meaſure of his contrivance to bring his natural ſons to the throne.

In the year 1092 the Ruſſians revolted, maſſacred all the Poliſh troops which remained in their territories, and made themſelves maſters of all the fortreſſes which had been held by the enemy; the news of this revolt likewiſe awakened the courage and ferocity of the Pruſſians, and of the inhabitants of Pomerania: the Poles, fearing more the barbarous fury of the latter than of the former, led all their forces againſt them; the two armies came in ſight of each other on the fifteenth of Auguſt, one of the days which is celebrated in the Romiſh church in honour of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jeſus Chriſt; whereupon Uladiſlas, fearing to give offence to the court of Rome, wiſhed to defer the battle till the next day. This very pious prince, who eaſily got abſolution for poiſoning his nephew, thought he ſhould commit a mortal ſin by defending his people againſt barbarians on a day which the clergy had ſet apart for prayer: nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding all his precaution, the two armies engaged, and by the bravery and good conduct of the Palatine of Cracow the Poles gained the victory; but by

the

the ſhameful conduct of that infamous hypocrite Uladiſlas they were ſoon after obliged to relinquiſh all the advantages which they had gained, and to retire into their own country; as the Bohemians, who would take advantage of the difficulties wherein the war with the Pruſſians and Pomeranians had thrown the Poliſh nation, had made an invaſion in Siberia. Uladiſlas, to revenge himſelf of thoſe people who were always the natural enemies of the Poles, ordered the Palatine of Cracow, who was likewiſe the great general of the crown, to enter Moravia with an army, and to lay waſte the country with fire and ſword; whereupon, as the Poliſh hiſtorians pretend, Boleſlas, a natural ſon of Uladiſlas, who was now only ten years of age, and who hearkened with a particular attention to the orders which his father gave to the general of the crown, threw himſelf at the feet of Uladiſlas, and earneſtly deſired him that he might be permitted to make the campaign with the army, which was immediately granted him; and it is aſſerted that this young prince ſhewed a genius and a taſte for war, which was temperated with ſuch manly reflections, as were very uncommon in thoſe days.

While the Poles were laying waſte Moravia, the Pomeranians beſieged and took the caſtle of Miedzyrzecz, upon the frontiers of Great Poland; and from thence they ſent out detachments which deſtroyed all the country round. Boleſlas deſired to attack thoſe robbers under the conduct of the crown general beforementioned; they inveſted the caſtle; but as the ground about it was wet and marſhy, and after any conſiderable fall of rain covered with water, it is ſaid that all the officers deſpaired of the ſucceſs of this enterprize, and were about to abandon it, except the young prince who oppoſed it, and who made himſelf be

heard by the troops, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the general. The winter was approaching, and he with great reaſon and reflection aſſerted that a ſtrong froſt would make the approaches to the fort extremely eaſy; orders were therefore given that the ſoldiers ſhould conſtruct barracks for themſelves, and that the camp ſhould be fortified with the greateſt care; and in this ſituation they reſolved to brave all the rigour of the ſeaſon. Surprized at theſe preparations, the Pomeranians, fearing the want of proviſions, and deſpairing of being ſuccoured, demanded to capitulate, and obtained the liberty to return into their own country.

The year 1097 produced a remarkable change in the Poliſh government; this is the year in which the kingdom was firſt divided into ſeparate governments; and this æra is ſo much the more remarkable in the hiſtory of the kingdom, and worthy of our attention, as this diviſion has been one of the great cauſes of all the troubles which have ſince overwhelmed this unhappy ſtate, and the principal cauſe of the weak ſituation in which it is at this time.

Uladiſlas had a natural ſon called Sbignee, who being perſecuted by the crown-general was revolted, and after that, by the intrigues of ſome of the courtiers, was pardoned, and commanded the Poliſh army conjointly with his younger brother Boleſlas. This regulation was the cauſe of much diſputes and troubles in Poland: the two brothers became jealous of each other; and the indolent and daſtardly Uladiſlas, to deſtroy the firſt ſeeds of their hatred, promiſed to divide the government between them after his death; and that Boleſlas ſhould have Sileſia, and the provinces of Cracovia, of Sendomir, and of Si-

radia; while that part of Pomerania which he held from his anceſtors, together with the Palatinates of Lencici, and thoſe of Cujavia and Mazovia, ſhould be governed by Sbignee. But this wretched politician, inſtead of accommodating the differences between his ſons, rather increaſed them; the diviſion which he had made of his territories between his children, and which, by the by, he had no right to make, augmented the deſire which they had to reign: they hated the general of the crown, and the war which he had adviſed againſt the Bohemians ſerved as a pretence for their rebellion. Each of them commanded a little army, but they now united their forces, and ſeized upon the provinces which they were only appointed to govern after the death of their father; afterwards they marched their joint forces againſt the general of the crown, and beſieged him in a fortreſs where he was retired. Frighted and intimidated by theſe manœuvres of his ſons, Uladiſlas imagined that they wanted to deprive him of the little which remained in his power, and therefore he put himſelf under the protection of the general of the crown; but when the princes arrived with their army to beſiege the fortreſs, they declared that they only purſued the general; and Uladiſlas, to pacify them and to obtain peace, was obliged to order this general into perpetual exile.

The young Boleſlas having given ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of his valour and military talents, his father appointed him to command the army alone, though he was ſo young; but he ſoon after convinced his countrymen that he was worthy of that command.

The Pomeranians, ſeeing the Poles thus divided among themſelves, entered the kingdom with a great army; Boleſlas immediately

diately aſſembled his troops, and by forced marches, through by-roads, ſurprized the enemy, intirely defeated them, and returned to court with ſome thouſands of priſoners.

Two years after, in the year 1102, Uladiſlas died in an advanced age, and Boleſlas was declared duke of Poland, and ſoon after, at the deſire of his ſubjects, he married the princeſs Zbiſlava, daughter of the duke of Kiovia: but ſcarcely was the marriage ceremony performed, when he was informed of the revolt of his brother Sbignee, who, in concert with the duke of Bohemia, prepared to attack Sileſia. Boleſlas would have put himſelf at the head of his army, but his council preſſed him not to leave the centre of his dominions where every thing was in ſuch confuſion, and therefore he ſent the count Zeliſkaw to lay waſte Moravia with fire and ſword. Zeliſkaw met the army of the duke of Bohemia in this country, but found ſome difficulty to engage them to fight; they were afraid of the Poles; nevertheleſs as he retired they attacked his rear-guard, and ſoon after the action became general, and was bloody, but neither party could attribute the victory to themſelves, and their differences were decided the following year by a pacification.

Boleſlas now turned his arms towards Pomerania, and inveſted the ſtrong town of Belgard: two heralds, whom he ſent to the inhabitants to ſummons them to ſurrender, were introduced into the town, and received with the greateſt contempt. They preſented two ſhields, the one red and the other white, as the emblems of peace or of war, which the duke of Poland offered to the inhabitants of Pomerania. "Depart immediately," ſaid one of the chiefs of the city to the heralds, "depart quickly out "of our territories, we will keep your two ſhields; we are de-

"ſirous

"ſirous of peace, but we will not have it till we have embrued "our hands in the blood of thoſe who would make us ſlaves."

This haughty anſwer irritated Boleſlas to the laſt degree; he prepared to attack them; and at the ſame time that he made a falſe attack upon the ramparts, which drew the attention of the enemy, he put himſelf at the head of a great body of troops, and attacked the other ſide of the town, which was ſoon carried by aſſault, and pillaged, when the Pomeranians ſubmitted, and deſired peace.

Sbignee had frequently revolted againſt his brother; he was not at all ſatisfied with the provinces which his father had allotted him, and had joined himſelf with the enemies of Poland, with a deſign to dethrone Boleſlas, who had puniſhed him, and deprived him of the greateſt part of his territories, leaving him only the province of Mazovia; but ſuch was the turbulent diſpoſition of Sbignee, that Boleſlas was ſoon after forced to ſeize upon all the reſt of his territories, and to baniſh him out of the kingdom.

The following year 1108, while Boleſlas laid ſiege to Wollin, a conſiderable body of Pomeranians attacked his camp during the night, but they were ſoon repelled and put to flight. Among the priſoners whom the Poles took in this action, there was one who refuſed to take off the maſk of his helmet; whereupon he was conducted to the duke, who immediately knew him to be his brother Sbignee. The council of war condemned him to die, and the ſoldiers were ready to execute him upon the ſpot, but Boleſlas pardoned him, and forbid him ever to enter

Poland

Poland again, except he wiſhed to be treated in the moſt ignominious manner.

The following year the emperor Henry the Fifth formed the project to ſubdue Poland; and with the aſſiſtance of the Bohemians, the Bavarians, and the Saxons, he entered Sileſia, and laid ſiege to Glogaw: the beſieged defended themſelves with great courage; but ſeeing their walls ready to fall, they demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, and offered to ſurrender themſelves if they were not ſuccoured by Boleſlas in five days. The emperor demanded hoſtages for the fulfilling their promiſes, and the principal perſons of the town ſent him the youngeſt of their children. The duke of Poland advanced by forced marches to ſuccour Glogaw; and when he was informed of this convention, he ſent an expreſs to tell the inhabitants that he was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to deliver them, and deſired that they would uſe every poſſible means to hold out for a few days. On receiving this advice, the inhabitants of Glogaw made new entrenchments behind the breaches, raiſed new walls, and prepared to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. When the fifth day arrived, and Boleſlas did not appear, the emperor ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the town; but they were received with a cloud of darts and arrows. Enraged at this deceit, Henry advanced with his whole army, and ordered a general aſſault; and to be ſure of the ſucceſs of it, and as well to abate the courage of the beſieged, he ordered all the young hoſtages which he had received to be placed in the front of his different detachments: but this unworthy action, ſo far from diminiſhing the ardour and fury of the beſieged, ſerved only to increaſe it. Clouds of arrows and darts flew from all parts, and many of the hoſtages were pierced by them; but this melancholy ſight ſerved only to redouble

redouble the ardour and fury of thoſe who fought upon the ramparts, and made them the more eager to direct every arrow into the breaſt of a German. The emperor loſt a great number of men in this attack, and perceiving that he gained no ground, reſolved to retreat, which he did with great precipitation; but before he was one league from Glogaw, Boleſlas appeared with his whole army, and as he could not bring Henry to accept the reaſonable propoſitions of peace which he made him, he attacked and gained a complete victory over him.

The Poles now carried the war into Bohemia, but when they were ready to paſs through a narrow defile in the mountains between Sileſia and Bohemia, the enemy appeared to oppoſe them, and poſted themſelves on the ſides of the mountain, ſo as to command the paſſage; whereupon Boleſlas drew up his troops almoſt in the form of a ſquare battalion, making a front on each ſide, and after having placed all his baggage, ſick, and priſoners in the centre, he marched on with a determined countenance, as if he defied the Bohemians: nevertheleſs the Poles were not without fear when they ſaw themſelves in this dangerous ſituation. A Bohemian ſoldier came forward from his ranks, and like Goliah offered to fight ſingly any man in the Poliſh army. Mortified that none of his men would accept this defiance, Boleſlas advanced himſelf, and after parrying with ſkill his adverſary's attacks, he laid this champion dead upon the ſpot. This gallant action of Boleſlas revived the courage of the Poles, who immediately fell upon their enemies with great fury, and gained a complete victory over them, which was ſoon after followed by a peace.

Three years afterwards, in the year 1120, the people of that part of Pomerania of which Boleſlas had made a conqueſt, were

converted to Chriſtianity. Otto, biſhop of Bamberg, took great pains to preach the goſpel in this province, and by his virtuous example, as well as by his doctrines, ſoon brought the principal part of the people of the province to embrace the Chriſtian religion; a very extraordinary example in theſe times, when all the biſhops and the greateſt part of the clergy were plunged in a ſtate of luxury, idleneſs, and ignorance, and abandoned their ſacred functions to the Monks, whoſe wicked and diſorderly conduct was more likely to give ſcandal to idolatry, than to convert them to the Chriſtian faith.

Scarcely had Boleſlas drawn himſelf out of one war, but he was attacked on the other ſide, and obliged to defend himſelf alternately againſt the Bohemians, the Pruſſians, the Hungarians, and the Ruſſians: the fatigues of theſe wars ſhortened his days; he died in the year 1139; his body was quite exhauſted, but his mind was as active as ever; he was univerſally regretted by all the Poliſh nation; he was humane, good-natured, and affable, and at the ſame time an intrepid warrior, and a prudent general. During the courſe of his reign he gained forty-ſeven battles, which acquired him immortal glory, and the eſteem of all the neighbouring nations: he reſpected the laws and cuſtoms of his country, and by his own example taught his ſubjects to ſubmit themſelves to them without murmuring.

Boleſlas left four ſons who were already grown up, and a fifth called Caſimir, was ſtill in the cradle; and though he had ſeen the troubles with which the kingdom had been afflicted by his father's bad policy in dividing his ſtates, yet he acted ſtill more imprudently, and divided his dominions into four governments: he gave to Uladiſlas the eldeſt the provinces of Cracovia,

of Siradia, of Lencici, of Sileſia, and of Pomerania: he gave to Boleſlas his ſecond ſon the province of Mazovia and of Cujavia, together with the diſtricts of Dobizin and of Culm; to Mieciſlaw his third ſon the diſtricts of Gneſna and of Caliſch, with Poſnania; and to Henry his fourth ſon the provinces of Sendomir and of Lublin. When he was aſked what he intended to give to his youngeſt ſon Caſimir? he anſwered by obſerving, "That there were only four wheels to a chariot, and that theſe "are of no other uſe than to ſupport the body of the carriage, "which is the moſt neceſſary part: therefore," ſays he, "the "four children among whom I have divided my ſtates, muſt be "the ſupport of him whom you think I have abandoned." One would have imagined that Boleſlas had a prophetic ſpirit; for Caſimir was in fact the only one among his ſons who was uſeful to his country. Boleſlas, by a particular clauſe in his teſtament, which gave his eldeſt ſon a certain ſuperiority over his brothers, ſuppoſed that he ſhould thereby prevent diſſenſions in his family; but this was the principal cauſe of all the troubles which followed.

Under the reign of this prince, the Palatines of the different diſtricts commanded the armies who were not compoſed of regular troops. All the lands in Poland were held in thoſe days by military tenures, and the farmers were thereby obliged to follow their lords to the wars, and received no other pay but the plunder which they took from the enemy, which they preferred to the ſubſiſtence that they might have drawn from the earth by their daily labour. It is true, while theſe tenures were regularly kept up, agreeably to their primitive inſtitution, Poland was a formidable military power; but when the nobility and clergy had uſurped all the liberties and privileges of the people, and

reduced them to the ſtate of ſlavery, in which they continue to this day, this kingdom immediately began to fall a prey to its enemies.

No ſooner was Boleſlas buried, than Uladiſlas his eldeſt ſon, excited by his wife Chriſtiana, daughter of Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany, a haughty and ambitious princeſs, endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs his brothers of the territories which their father had allotted them reſpectively.

Boleſlas and Mieciſlaw, driven out of their provinces, retired to Poſnania, a town that was dependent upon the diſtricts of their younger brother Henry, where they were beſieged by Uladiſlas, who had now taken the title of duke of Poland; but one evening, while the enemies were plunged into all kinds of debauchery, the beſieged made a ſally, and with lighted torches in their hands ſet fire to the camp of the beſiegers, maſſacred all who offered to make any reſiſtance, and purſued their enemies ſeveral leagues; whereupon Uladiſlas, inſtead of retiring to Cracow, a ſtrong place, where he might have been in ſafety to give orders for the re-eſtabliſhing his affairs, retired into Germany, and abandoned his imperious wife to the vengeance of his exaſperated brothers; but theſe princes did not think her of conſequence enough to have any fear or dread on her account, but ſent her into Germany to her cowardly huſband.

Boleſlas, the eldeſt of the brothers who remained in the kingdom, was now received as duke of Poland; but the emperor Conrad, who was juſt before returned into Germany from his unhappy expedition into Aſia, ſupported, or at leaſt appeared to ſupport, the intereſts of Uladiſlas and Chriſtiana. He immediately

niately aſſembled a powerful army, and himſelf conducted theſe fugitives to the frontiers of Poland. Boleſlas, who wiſhed to prevent his country from being ravaged and plundered, obtained a paſſport, and came into the camp of the emperor, and was admitted into his council, where he deſcribed the ambition and and tyranny of Chriſtiana, the eaſy and cowardly diſpoſition of Uladiſlas, and the troubles to which the Poles were expoſed during their adminiſtration in the ſtrongeſt colours: "It was Ula-
" diſlas," ſaid he, " who made me take up arms; he wanted
" to deſtroy both me and my brothers; and would the em-
" peror ſupport the injuſtice which he ought to puniſh, and
" make it triumph over that innocence which he ought to
" protect? What pleaſure can the emperor have to replunge
" the nation into a new ſeries of diſorders, which will be ſo
" much the more terrible, as Uladiſlas, when he is re-eſtabliſhed
" upon the throne, will ſtain it more than ever by his ven-
" geances and by his cruelties? Who will pretend to ſay that
" he will not draw the empire likewiſe into an abyſs of troubles
" and confuſion? and what recompence, what gratitude, what
" ſervices can the empire expect from a prince who pays no
" regard to the ſacred laws of nature? What reaſon did our
" father Boleſlas give him to trample under-foot the diſpoſitions
" which he made? And by what crime have we merited his
" averſion, ſeeing that we have taken every meaſure to make
" ourſelves agreeable to him."

This diſcourſe produced ſuch an effect, that the next day the imperial army ſeparated themſelves, notwithſtanding all that Uladiſlas could do to retain Conrad in his intereſts. Boleſlas was now univerſally acknowledged duke of Poland, and continued in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne till the year 1158, when the

the emperor Frederic reſolved to re-eſtabliſh the fugitive Uladiſlas in his territories: but before he attempted to carry this reſolution into execution, he ſent a deputation to Boleſlas to order him to render juſtice to his brother, and alſo to demand an annual tribute of 500 marks of ſilver; or in caſe he refuſed to comply with theſe terms, to declare war againſt him immediately. "We love our country too much," ſaid Boleſlas and his brothers, "to give it up to Uladiſlas; jealous of our juſt independence, we "cannot think of becoming ſlaves; the loſs of our territories, "and even death itſelf, is leſs formidable to us than the humi- "tion which is propoſed to us; we may fall, but our courage "will vindicate us in the eyes of the whole world."

Piqued at this haughty anſwer, the emperor immediately advanced into Poland; but Boleſlas laid waſte the country through which he was to paſs, to prevent him from getting any ſubſiſtence; and his light troops and ſmall parties continued to harraſs the imperialiſts as they advanced; ſo that weakened by the want of ſubſiſtence, by diſeaſes, and by being continually harraſſed by the enemy, the troops of the emperor were ſoon reduced to one third of what they were at firſt; whereupon Frederic demanded an interview with Boleſlas, and they agreed to lay down their arms, and the Poliſh princes ceded Sileſia to Uladiſlas, and promiſed to furniſh Frederic with 300 lances for the expedition which he was then preparing to make into Italy.

Soon after this peace was made Uladiſlas died; but the emperor obliged Boleſlas to divide Sileſia between the three ſons of this prince: this was the firſt time that this rich province was ſeparated from the hands of the Poles, who always regarded it as a fief of their crown; but this fiefſo on loſt even the uſe of their

mother

mother tongue by the attention which the heirs had to fill the country with Germans, and to diſcontinue the Poliſh manners and cuſtoms as much as poſſible.

In the year 1164 Boleſlas turned his arms againſt Pruſſia, the inhabitants of which were ſtill idolaters, and endeavoured to force theſe people to deſtroy their ſacred groves, and to burn their falſe gods; but at the ſame time the Poles ſo loaded them with taxes, and tyrannized over them in ſuch a manner, that they again took up arms, drove the Romiſh clergy out of their country, and re-eſtabliſhed their idolatrous form of worſhip; whereupon Boleſlas entered Pruſſia a ſecond time with his whole army, but confiding imprudently in ſome of the inhabitants of the country, they led his army into narrow paſſages, where thoſe barbarians deſtroyed great numbers of them, ſo that the Poles were obliged to retire precipitately, and were a long time before they could recover their forces in ſuch a manner as to face the enemy again.

Boleſlas died at Cracow in the year 1173, leaving the character of being a greater politician than a warrior: he was undoubtedly maſter of the eſſential qualifications which are neceſſary for governing a ſtate; for when he could not gain a point by force, he knew how to gain it by perſuaſion; he was fertile in reſources, wiſe, prudent, and moderate; and by commanding his own paſſions he was generally in a ſituation to take advantage of thoſe of others; he truſted too much to the imprudent and bad counſels of the clergy, whoſe wicked conduct was the means of loſing Pruſſia, and of drawing him into great embarraſſments.

After the death of this prince, Mieciſlaw was elected duke of Poland; but the nation made a very bad choice; they placed an inflexible tyrant upon the throne, who trampled upon all their laws, and opened a door to all kinds of vices: his pride and haughtineſs could only be equalled by his cowardice and tyranny. The biſhop of Cracow undertook to lay the complaints of the people at the feet of this cruel prince; but they only ſerved to irritate him, and to make him ſtill more tyrannical; ſo that being ſenſible he could not ſucceed in his commiſſion, this prelate aſſembled ſecretly all the nobility of the kingdom, where they depoſed Mieciſlaw, and after ſome debates, Caſimir his youngeſt brother was elected in his place.

It appears that the kingdom of Poland was at this time upon the ſame footing with the reſt of the Gothic governments. The kingdom was partly elective, and partly hereditary; it was elective, becauſe the concurrence of all the nobility and of the dignified clergy was abſolutely neceſſary to raiſe the prince to the throne; and it was in ſome meaſure hereditary, becauſe their choice was confined to the royal family.

Caſimir ſignalized his advancement to the throne by his redreſſing many of the grievances of the people: when Chriſtianity was firſt eſtabliſhed in Poland, the Romiſh clergy, to gain the favour and protection of the nobles and of the proprietors of the fiefs, taught the people that they muſt ſubmit patiently to all the impoſitions and oppreſſions of theſe little tyrants under pain of eternal damnation; and in conſequence thereof the moſt unheard-of vexations and tyrannies were practiſed over the farmers and the common people: not content with having uſurped almoſt all the rights and privileges of their fellow ſubjects, this imperious order

order eſtabliſhed it as a cuſtom, that when any of their claſs travelled from one province to another the farmers were obliged to find them lodging and entertainment for themſelves, their ſervants, and their horſes as long as they choſe to remain in any place. The people not being in a ſituation to oppoſe them at firſt, and fearing the cenſures of the clergy, complied with this cuſtom for ſome time, imagining that it could not be of any great conſequence; but at length this uſurpation was carried to ſuch a height, and exerciſed with ſo much tyranny by theſe pretended nobility, that the poor farmers were reduced to the greateſt miſery, and were no longer in a ſituation to ſupport theſe vexations, nor even to pay the public taxes. Caſimir aboliſhed this barbarous and uſurped cuſtom, which had become a ſource of rapine and plunder, together with the power which the nobles pretended to have, though unjuſt in itſelf and contrary to all laws both divine and human, to be the general heirs of thoſe who died upon their fiefs.

Caſimir mounted the throne of Poland in the year 1180; and from this time we may perceive that ſpirit of independence which conſtitutes at preſent the character of the Poliſh nobility, and which for ſeveral centuries paſt has been the cauſe of all the troubles of this kingdom, ſhewing itſelf in the ſtrongeſt colours; an independence ſo much the more dangerous, as, in dictating the moſt ſevere and oppreſſive laws, it grants to itſelf the liberty of not ſubmitting to them; and in placing a maſter upon the throne, it gives itſelf the right of not obeying him.

When the Poliſh nobility had depoſed Mieciſlaw, and given their voices to Caſimir, they ſuppoſed that this prince ought to conduct himſelf according their ideas. Mieciſlaw, knowing his

brother's good-nature and love of juſtice, ſolicited him to reſtore his crown and ſtates to him; and this imprudent demand, ſo far from irritating Caſimir, made him believe that he held the government by no other title but that of an uſurper; he would abdicate it immediately, but he could not do it without the conſent of the nobles who had elected him; whereupon he aſſembled the whole body of nobles and repreſented his doubts to them, with the unhappy ſituation of his brother, and the reſolution which he had taken to reſign the crown to him. Far from attributing this propoſition to the good-nature and generoſity of their prince, the Poliſh nobility regarded it as a mark of an unpardonable cowardice and irreſolution: "What can you pro-
"miſe to yourſelf," ſays one of them boldly to their prince,
"from your brother, who is inhuman by principle, wicked
"by habit, who breathes nothing but vengeance, and who
"believes that cruelty is a mark of reaſon? What can you
"think to receive from him? Can you have the leaſt doubt
"but that he will confiſcate your duchies, and repay himſelf
"for the loſſes and miſeries to which you have reduced him by
"depriving him of his kingdom and permitting his ſon to ſeize
"upon his ſtates? But after all, ſooner than become the
"accomplices of an injuſtice which you think you have done
"your brother, ſooner than make ourſelves the miniſters of your
"unhappineſs as well as of our own, if you perſiſt in your
"ſentiments, we will renounce all obedience to you, and chooſe
"another maſter who is leſs barbarous through pity, and more
"jealous of our happineſs and of our glory." Caſimir was obliged to give way to the will and inclinations of his ſubjects, and to wear the crown even againſt his own deſire.

In

In the following year this prince would retake the duchy of Halitz from the Ruſſians, which this nation had ſome years before uſurped; but theſe ferocious people, badly diſciplined, but bold and courageous, came to meet him, in hopes of revenging themſelves for all the injuries which they imagined the Poles had done them and their anceſtors. Their army was ſo numerous, that when they came in ſight of the Poles the latter were greatly intimidated; whereupon Caſimir appearing at the head of his army, deſired them to exert their valour—"You "have one ſure method to beat the Ruſſians," ſaid he, "and that "is, not to fear them. They threaten you with death and "ſlavery; promiſe me to uſe your utmoſt efforts to repulſe "them, and I will anſwer for your liberty and your lives. "Moreover, I will not hide a matter from you which concerns "you greatly; you are now going to fight upon the ſame field "of battle where great numbers of your anceſtors periſhed here-"tofore by the cowardice of thoſe who were not aſhamed to "abandon it; and therefore this is the time for you to repair "the honour of the one, and to revenge the death of the other. "Thoſe heroes who lie dead under your feet exhort you to it. "If you reſpect their valour, can you fear that death which "they deſpiſed? Is there any character more glorious than "that of a citizen who, even in his laſt moments, would "make himſelf uſeful to his country? But, in fact, I will "ſhew you, by my example, how you are to ſerve your "country; the man who dares brave the greateſt dangers has "no longer any fear."

This diſcourſe kindled the Poles into the greateſt fury; whereupon Caſimir led them on to the enemy, and gained a complete victory.

While Caſimir was carrying on the war againſt the Ruſſians, Mieciſlaw, ſupported by the princes of Sileſia his nephews, attempted by force to regain the throne of Poland; but Caſimir, with his victorious army, very ſoon forced him to abandon his enterprize, and kept the nation in peace and reſpected of its neighbours till the year 1194, when he was poiſoned, and died much regretted by all his ſubjects.

This prince, to whom they gave the title of Juſt, when he mounted the throne uſed his utmoſt endeavours, during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, to merit it: he was humane, juſt, and courageous, and took every poſſible method, during the whole courſe of his reign, to make even the meaneſt of his ſubjects happy.

That love of independence and of a lawleſs liberty, for which the Poliſh nobility have been always ſo conſpicuous, ſhewed itſelf very flagrantly at the death of Caſimir, when they thought that they had a right to chuſe a ſovereign without paying any regard to the ancient cuſtoms of the country, and diſdaining the young ſon of the late duke, they were ready to re-elect Mieciſlaw; but the biſhop of Cracow oppoſed this plan, and proved to the nobility then aſſembled, that the excluſion which they meant to give to the legal heirs of the late duke, who had merited ſo well of them, was a kind of perfidiouſneſs and revolt, and contrary to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom: whereupon the nobility, giving way to his arguments, proclaimed Leſzko, the ſon of Caſimir, duke, under the regency of Helen his mother. At this time the kingdom ſuffered much from a depravity of manners which reigned among all orders of people; but none were ſo abandoned, and led ſo ſcandalous a

life

life as the clergy, who lived in a ſtate of luxury and of ignorance that was ſcarcely to be paralleled in thoſe days. Loaded with riches, and adminiſtrators of the free gifts and pious legacies which were given to the poor, they only regarded the uſeful practices of religion as proper for vulgar minds; and they lived in ſuch a ſcandalous and debauched courſe of life, that they made no ſecret of keeping concubines, and of bringing their natural children to the ſucceſſion of their benefices. In imitation of their clergy, the citizens likewiſe only regarded marriage as an inconvenient chain, which they might break whenever their paſſions or their caprices ſwayed them.

In the year 1200, the nobility carried their paſſion for independence and licentiouſneſs to ſuch a height that the ancient form of government was almoſt loſt. The palatine of Sendomir and the palatine of Cracovia formed an open rebellion, and by this means afforded Mieciſlaw an opportunity of remounting the throne, when he gave the queen-regent and her ſon to underſtand, that he would never ſuffer them to be quiet till they had formally ceded the right of governing to him. "Your friends," ſaid he, "who have made themſelves maſters of the kingdom, "have they talents to procure their fellow citizens all the happineſs "that they might have expected? Have they ſucceeded in any "of their attempts? Born to ſerve, are they capable of com-"manding? It is well known that they are jealous of their "power, only becauſe they promiſe themſelves the ſatisfaction "of making a bad uſe of it. Moreover, I only aſk the crown "to ſecure it to my nephew by a ſtronger tie than a frivolous "election, againſt which I proteſt from the motives of juſtice "and equity, and which I will annul by force of arms." Helen gave way to the blandiſhments and threatenings of Mieciſlaw; but

but ſhe ſoon perceived that this prince only wanted to remove Leſzko from the throne to place his own ſon on it; and during the courſe of the following year, Leſzko, who had deſcended from the throne by the perfidious behaviour of his uncle, mounted it again by the intrigues of his mother; and was forced to quit it a ſecond time, and give way to the party which his traiterous uncle had formed in the kingdom: but the ſudden death of Mieciſlaw put an end to the troubles of the ſtate.

The conduct of this prince was baſe and contemptible; he deſpiſed the eſteem of mankind, and knew no other pleaſure in the ſovereign authority but the barbarous ſatisfaction of being the tyrant of his people. After the death of Mieciſlaw it was generally believed that the young Leſzko would have again reaſcended the throne; in fact, all the nobility of the kingdom offered to ſubmit themſelves to him, on condition that he would detach himſelf from the connexions which he had with the palatine of Sendomir, who was his friend and miniſter. "The "palatine," anſwered Leſzko to thoſe who made the propoſition, "is a wiſe and prudent man; his counſel is neceſſary, and has "always been uſeful to me; I am conſtituted to protect the "innocent, and not to puniſh them; the exiling this miniſter, "whom I believe to be innocent, would be a very great crime "in me, and I am determined not to purchaſe a crown ſo dear "which otherwiſe belongs to me by right of birth, and to wear it "according to the capricious fancy of a part of my ſubjects."

Whereupon Uladiſlas, the eldeſt ſon of Mieciſlaw, was elected; and what was very ſingular, this prince, who had a mind as great and as generous as that of Leſzko, refuſed the crown for ſome time, as he knew that it legally appertained to his couſin, and

would not accept it without his conſent. Such examples are very rare in the hiſtory of the world!

Leſzko, now become a private perſon, and was only maſter of Sendomir and ſome other provinces, was attacked by Romain duke of Lucko, to whom he had ceded the duchy of Halitz; whereupon he immediately armed what troops he could aſſemble, and gave battle to his ungrateful enemy, and gained one of the moſt complete and memorable victories that ever the Poles gained over the Ruſſians. The glory with which he covered himſelf by this action made all the nation believe that he alone was capable of holding the reins of government; and as the palatine of Sendomir, the only obſtacle to his advancement to the throne, was now dead, Uladiſlas, who had mounted the throne with reluctance, deſcended with joy to place his couſin on it.

The reign of Leſzko would in all probability have been as long as it was glorious, if the hand of an aſſaſſin had not moſt cruelly terminated it.

The count of Suantopelk, governor of the Eaſtern Pomerania, becoming powerful in this province, attempted to make himſelf ſovereign of it, and to tranſmit this uſurpation to his ſon as if it had been a legal inheritance; ſuch was the conſequence of that independency which thoſe inſolent uſurpers the Poliſh nobility attempted in thoſe days. Suantopelk firſt manifeſted his rebellion by refuſing to pay the tribute of one thouſand marks of ſilver which he owed every year to the crown; whereupon he was invited to aſſiſt at a diet which was to be held at Ganſaw in Great Poland: Suantopelk came to the diet, but attended with a great

a great number of ſoldiers, whoſe march he hid, and whom he divided ſecretly about the environs of the place where the aſſembly was held; and in the moment when Leſzko was coming out of the bath, without any arms and almoſt naked, this perfidious wretch ordered his attendants to fall upon him, and maſſacre him upon the ſpot.

All the ſenſible part of the Poliſh nation ſpeak of Leſzko with the greateſt reſpect even to this day: he was a plain, modeſt, and good-natured prince, who loved and cheriſhed his country: he was greatly above the throne which he occupied, rejected all the pomp and parade of it, and only ſought in the ſupreme authority the opportunity to do good and to render juſtice to all mankind: he was an enemy to pride, and deſcended to converſe with the leaſt of his ſubjects to make himſelf acquainted with their wants and their miſery, and to give them ſome ſpeedy ſuccours. After his death the ſtates of the kingdom elected his ſon Boleſlas, who was only ſeven years of age, to ſucceed him in the government; whereupon Conrad duke of Mazovia, uncle to the young prince, and Henry Barbu duke of Sileſia, diſputed the regency of the kingdom, ſo that all the provinces of Poland became now the theatre of a civil war, which in all probability would have deſtroyed the kingdom, if the wife of the duke of Sileſia had not engaged her huſband to deſiſt from his pretenſions.

Two years afterwards, 1230, the Pruſſians, who were ſtill idolaters, entered the provinces of Poland with a great army, laid waſte the province of Culm, burnt more than 250 churches, carried off a prodigious number of captives, and even continued their ravages into the province of Mazovia. The regent Conrad, fearing the ſavage cruelty of thoſe barbarians, called the knights

of

of the Teutonic order to his aſſiſtance. This order was inſtituted during the ſiege of Acre, which the Saracens took from the king of Jeruſalem in the year 1188, and was afterwards confirmed by a bull of the pope Celeſtine the Third in the year 1191.

Herman Salza, their grand maſter, who had retired into the territories of Venice with his men after the order had been forced to abandon the Holy Land, ſent ſeven deputies into Poland to treat with Conrad upon the conditions for their reception; the deputies engaged that their order ſhould make a continual war upon the Pruſſians till theſe idolaters had embraced the Chriſtian religion; and in conſequence of this Conrad aſſigned them the caſtle of Dobrzyn and its dependencies; and ſome time afterwards, being well ſatisfied with their ſervices, and in hopes of gaining ſome more conſiderable ſervices from them, he ceded to them irrevocably all the territories of Culm, and all the country ſituated between the Viſtula, the Mocra, and the Drwencza; but with theſe conditions, that they were to reſtore to Poland the half of the conqueſts which they made upon the Pruſſians, and that they ſhould never undertake any thing againſt Poland, but be ready on all occaſions to ſuccour her againſt her enemies.

The immoderate ambition and avarice of the knights of the Teutonic order ſoon made Conrad repent of the indiſcreet meaſure he had taken in diſmembering his dominions in favour of ſuch an order, who have ſince been the cauſe of the principal troubles and civil wars which have ravaged that kingdom, and, as will be hereafter clearly proved, laid the foundation for that enormous uſurpation that in our days the Brandenbourg family has ſo unjuſtly made upon the territories of Poland.

In the year 1238, Boleſlas being of age took the reins of government into his own hands, but ſhewed much leſs talents for conducting it than Henry duke of Sileſia had done, who ſucceeded Conrad in the regency; for in the year following, when the Tartars made their firſt excurſion upon the Poliſh territories, they laid waſte the country with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, and puſhed their conqueſts even to the gates of Cracow; the timid Boleſlas ſhut himſelf up in his capital without daring to go out to defend his people, who, through the tyranny and oppreſſion of the nobility and clergy, were reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery and puſillanimity. Thoſe barbarians made an immenſe plunder in the kingdom, and carried off an amazing number of men and women in chains. Boleſlas at length collected his forces, and gave battle to the Tartars in the plains of Cracovia; but theſe warlike plunderers, ſeeing the timidity of this prince and the panic with which his troops were ſeized, fell upon them with ſuch fury that they ſoon put them to flight. After the loſs of this battle Boleſlas fled into Hungary, and from thence into Moravia; and the principal part of the people, when they ſaw themſelves abandoned by their maſter, left the kingdom, with the beſt of their effects, and retired into Germany and into Hungary, while others hid themſelves in the foreſts and in inacceſſible places.

The Tartars, now ſeeing that they had no enemies to oppoſe them, continued their ravages, and penetrating into Sileſia laid ſiege to Breſlaw; but they were ſo terrified by ſome meteors which they ſaw in the air, that they raiſed the ſiege and retired with great precipitation; whereupon the Poles, a conſiderable number of Germans, of Sileſians, and of the knights of the Teutonic order, united themſelves to oppoſe the cruel ravages

of

of the Tartars, to whom they gave battle near Lignitz. The victory was diſputed for a conſiderable time; but at length the Chriſtians were obliged to fly, and leave a great number of their troops dead upon the field.

The ſhameful flight of Boleſlas, when his aſſiſtance was neceſſary to ſupport his country, obliged the Poles to elect another duke. All the voices were united in favour of Boleſlas the ſon of Henry duke of Sileſia; but this prince could not ſupport himſelf againſt the forces of Conrad his competitor, who was alſo maſter of a ſovereign fief of the kingdom. The civil war between theſe two princes, added to the devaſtations of the Tartars, completed the deſtruction of the kingdom. In the midſt of theſe troubles the Poles were obliged to recall Boleſlas their late duke, notwithſtanding his ſhameful conduct; but the preſence of this inſignificant cypher, this phantom of a ſovereign, contributed very little towards reſtoring tranquillity in the kiugdom: indeed, if he had been a perſon of the greateſt talents, he would have found much difficulty to have effected it at this time, when the ancient territories of Poland were divided among twenty-four vaſſals, who were almoſt as powerful as their chief, and who tyrannized over and deſtroyed their fellow-ſubjects to ſupport a ſovereign authority, of which they took every opportunity to extend the uſurpation: now the dreadful effects of diſmembering the kingdom began to ſhew themſelves in the moſt glaring colours; and now the pernicious conſequences of the doctrines and examples of the Romiſh clergy were no leſs deſtructive to the ſtate: civil war, devaſtation, tyranny, oppreſſion, murders, poiſoning, and plundering almoſt deſolated the whole face of the country. The people had been taught to ſubmit implicitly to the dictates of their governors and ſuperiors under

pain of eternal damnation; and thoſe governors and ſuperiors were now a ſet of the moſt tyrannical, cowardly, and barbarous wretches, who ſtyled themſelves nobility, and of the moſt profligate, ignorant, and abandoned clergy that ever diſgraced human ſociety. What could the people have otherwiſe expected from ſuch maſters?

The popes had for ſome time before aſſumed to themſelves the right of granting the title of king; and in the year 1251, pope Innocent the Fourth created the province of Lithuania into a kingdom, and gave the title of king to Mandog its ſovereign. The expreſs words of the bull are theſe: "We receive this "new kingdom of Lithuania as the right and property of "St. Peter, and we take under our protection you, your wife, "and your children."

However this bull was not ſufficient to prevent Lithuania from being afterwards united to the crown of Poland. Boleſlas, unhappily for the Poles, lived to the year 1279, and then died, much regretted by the clergy, to whom he gave immenſe treaſures, but univerſally deſpiſed by all the reſt of his ſubjects, who never found him diſpoſed to defend them againſt their enemies. His devotion multiplied the troubles and unhappineſs of his country. The Poliſh hiſtorians reproach him with ſuffering himſelf to be led aſide, and with having often perſecuted the innocent through ignorance and through avarice: he ſtrictly adhered to all the little ceremonies of the Romiſh religion: he would have made a good monk, but was a very bad king. Some time before his death Boleſlas had named Leſzko, grandſon of Conrad duke of Mazovia, to be his ſucceſſor; but the moſt dangerous enemy which this young prince had when he came to

the

the throne was the biſhop of Cracow: this prelate, after having for ſome time led the moſt abandoned and debauched courſe of life, carried off a young and beautiful Nun from the monaſtry of Skala and kept her in his palace, which he made a kind of ſeraglio. Shocked at the biſhop's behaviour, the pious Boleſlas attempted to reclaim this prelate by remonſtrances; but finding that he could not ſucceed by theſe means, he arreſted him and ſhut him up in priſon: whereupon the archbiſhop of Gneſna, irritated that this prince ſhould pretend to chaſtiſe a ſeditious biſhop who publicly diſhonoured his character, re-claimed the priſoner, and laid the whole province under an interdict; ſo that ſome thouſands of innocent Chriſtians were denied the exerciſe of their religion, becauſe the ſovereign had legally attempted to puniſh an immoral and abandoned biſhop: Boleſlas was obliged to comply and to give up his priſoner; and for having dared to exerciſe his legal authority he was obliged to pay 200 marks of ſilver as a fine, to erect the lands of the licentious prelate into a duchy, and to impriſon all the officers who had arreſted him. Such were the manners of the Poles, and ſuch was the deſpotiſm which the clergy exerciſed in thoſe days: now if they dared treat their ſovereign in this manner, what treatment were the people to expect from this abandoned order? Moreover, in revenge for this treatment, when Boleſlas named Leſzko to be his ſucceſſor to the throne, the biſhop of Cracow armed all his vaſſals, to whom he joined a band of robbers and of people of deſperate fortunes, to oppoſe him, and offered the crown to Uladiſlas duke of Oppellan; but the biſhop's party was beaten, and entirely exterminated. However, when Boleſlas died, the biſhop would have again reſiſted, and ſtirred up new troubles in the kingdom; but he was too weak to oppoſe the general deſire of the nation, ſtifled his hatred, and apparently ſubmitted to Leſzko.

This

This prince was ſcarcely fixed upon the throne when the Ruſſians, aſſiſted by the Lithuanians and ſome hords of Tartars, entered Poland, and laid waſte all the palatine of Sendomir with fire and ſword; however Leſzko, who immediately purſued them, gained a complete victory over them, and retook all the plunder which they had ſeized in Poland: but ſoon after the Lithuanians, then a warlike people, entered again into Poland with a powerful army, and before Leſzko was in a ſituation to oppoſe them they had almoſt deſtroyed the palatinate of Lublin, and were retiring with their plunder. It then became a queſtion whether the army ſhould follow them, as the Poles, fatigued by a long march, were not much diſpoſed to it; whereupon Leſzko harangued them in the following manner: "My friends," ſaid he to them, "the angel Gabriel appeared to me this night, and "exhorted me to follow the enemy, and to attack them without "fearing their force; therefore let us march on, ſince he "has promiſed that I ſhall not loſe one of the brave ſoldiers who "have the courage to accompany me." Fired by this diſcourſe, the Poles immediately advanced, and after ſome hours came up with the enemy, whom they attacked with ſuch fury, that they gained a complete victory over them.

Early in the following year the Lithuanians entered Poland again with a powerful force, which was oppoſed by Leſzko; but as ſoon as the battle became general, the Poles, intimidated by the boldneſs of their enemies, were beginning to fly, when Leſzko preſented himſelf before them, and addreſſed them in the following manner: "You loſe by running away," ſaid he to them, "that which will contribute to your victory; the enemy "fears your reputation more than your arms: if you will only "face them boldly, you will ſee them fly before you." Theſe

few words re-animated the greateſt cowards; they returned immediately to the field of battle and gained a complete victory over the Lithuanians. The priſoners whom Leſzko delivered on this occaſion flattered his noble and ſenſible ſoul more than all the glory which he acquired by the victory; ſo much was this prince diſpoſed to be humane.

Two years afterwards, at the inſtigation of the ſeditious biſhop of Cracow before-mentioned, the principal palatines of the kingdom revolted againſt Leſzko, and endeavoured to make themſelves abſolute ſovereigns in their reſpective territories, but they were ſoon defeated and demanded pardon; when Leſzko, inſtead of puniſhing them, applied himſelf to mortify their pride by loading them with favours. Such a behaviour would greatly influence a mind truly noble and generous; but from the accounts which we have of them, it does not appear that the Poliſh nobility had at that time any idea of theſe great qualities. The Germans likewiſe, who had rendered him ſome ſervices in this civil war, were appointed to be the guards of Cracow, and to have the care of the fortifications: Leſzko dreſſed himſelf like them, and let his hair grow after their example to attach them the more intimately to his ſervice.

This prince reigned till the year 1289, and died greatly regretted by his ſubjects; but his death produced a five years courſe of civil war, which laid waſte the whole country. There were no leſs than five candidates at this time who claimed the crown of Poland, and each candidate ſupported his pretenſions by force. The independence of the palatines had thrown the government into anarchy and confuſion; and this

anarchy,

anarchy, by dividing the members, had ruined the whole body of the ſtate.

Przemyſlas at length ſucceeded, and mounted the throne; but to unite his ſcattered forces, and thereby to ſave the kingdom from the hoſtile attacks with which it was then threatened by its foreign enemies, he took the title of king, without giving himſelf any uneaſineſs about what the court of Rome might think of his behaviour, who had forbidden his predeceſſors to aſſume that title. He was crowned at Gneſna by the archbiſhop of that place; but the Poles ſoon loſt the favourable hopes which the firſt months of the reign of this great prince had given them. The marquiſſes of Brandenbourg, like ſome of their worthy ſucceſſors, who founded the augmentation of their power upon the troubles of Poland, and who waited every favourable opportunity to ſeize ſomething, irritated to ſee their projects counteracted by the cares of the new king, reſolved to aſſaſſinate him, as they dared not meet him in the field with open forces, and ſeized the firſt opportunity that preſented to carry their diabolical ſcheme into execution. Przemyſlas was ſurprized at Rogorno by the Marquiſſes Otto and John of Brandenbourg, accompanied by a number of their followers, and inhumanly maſſacred in his bed.

Przemyſlas was a prince who had talents to re-eſtabliſh Poland in its ancient ſplendor; he was bold and enterprizing, firm when in danger, but avoided it with prudence; he thought nobly, but was not haughty; affable, without deſcending to meanneſs; and, in fact, poſſeſſed all the qualities neceſſary to gain the eſteem and reſpect of his ſubjects; he was a lover of the laws, and made them be reſpected by all ranks of men; he was ſevere without any diſtinction, and it was not obſerved that his

his ſentences were mixed with paſſion, nor his clemency with weakneſs; and, in fact, his general character was ſo juſt and equitable, that the people would have deemed themſelves free in wearing his chains.

Uladiſlas Loketek, who had already diſputed the crown with his brother Przemyſlas, now revived his pretenſions, and was unanimouſly elected. This prince, by the great provinces which he poſſeſſed in Poland, was the only perſon then appearing as a candidate, who was in a ſituation to re-eſtabliſh the affairs of the kingdom. He began his reign with great eclat, and made all his enemies fly before him; but proud of his ſucceſſes, he ceaſed all on a ſudden to be a great king, and ſurprized the nation by his debaucheries and cruelties: in vain did the biſhop of Poſnania endeavour, as a zealous paſtor, to reform him by his advice and remonſtrances, and afterwards by excommunicating him; all produced no good effect, whereupon the nation murmured, and at length, tired of being tyrannized over, depoſed Uladiſlas, and elected Wenceſlas king of Bohemia to be their ſovereign.

Wenceſlas, to ſupport his election, married the daughter of Przemyſlas, and was crowned at Gneſna; he afterwards paſſed through almoſt all the provinces and towns of Poland, which ſubmitted to him without any reſiſtance; but Uladiſlas Loketek, who had taken refuge in Hungary, and who by his misfortunes was reformed, came into Poland the following year at the head of ſome troops, and ſeized upon ſeveral places in the duchy of Cracovia; on which, in hopes that their ancient maſter would govern them with more equity, and aſhamed of being forced to obey a ſtranger, and to be the ſlaves of the Bohemians, many of the Poliſh nobility joined Uladiſlas; and with them he again

entered Cracow. Soon afterwards a languor and an intermitting diſorder ſeized Wenceſlas, of which he died, and left his rival again in poſſeſſion of the crown; but he was no longer that Uladiſlas who was before feared and deſpiſed by his ſubjects: he was now reformed, and again acted as a great king; he gave new laws to Pomerania, and entruſted the government of Dantzic to a gentleman called Boguff, who was a man of courage and bravery, and capable of defending it againſt the attempts of the marquiſſes of Brandenbourg, who were threatening to beſiege it. In fact, the Brandenbourghers appeared very ſoon afterwards before the place, and Boguff did every thing that a brave and experienced officer could do to make a defence; but his garriſon, who were chiefly compoſed of Germans, ſeconded very weakly the efforts of their commander; whereupon Boguff took a very extraordinary meaſure; he left the town in this diſtreſſed ſtate, and flew with the greateſt expedition to Uladiſlas to lay before him the ſituation of this fortreſs; the king adviſed him with a good intention, but very imprudently, to call the Knights of the Teutonic order to his aſſiſtance, who engaged themſelves to defend Poland againſt his enemies. This advice was followed, the knights arrived, and Dantzic was delivered; but ſcarcely were the gates opened, when theſe falſe allies made themſelves maſters of the town, threw Boguff into priſon, and would not releaſe him but upon condition of being indemnified for the advances which they had made for ſuccouring the town. Shocked at the unworthy behaviour of the knights, Uladiſlas demanded an interview with the grand maſter of their order at Krajowicze, in the palatinate of Cujavia, where, after having reproached him with ſome bitterneſs for the behaviour of his knights, he aſked him, "Whe-
" ther he had not been informed that there was not any power
" in Europe that would give the remains of his order a reſting

" place, after they were driven out of Paleſtine, when the ſove-
" reign of Poland furniſhed them with a ſmall province of his
" territories? This prince," added Uladiſlas, " permitted you
" likewiſe to extend yourſelves in the territories of Pruſſia; he
" was not then in poſſeſſion of theſe territories it is true, but
" they were juſtly his property; he might have ſubdued them
" by his arms, but he choſe rather to permit you to conquer
" them, on condition that you reſtored him certain diſtricts
" which were then mentioned, but which you have never re-
" ſtored; on the contrary, you have not yet ſurrendered the
" diſtrict which was only granted you for a time, when you were
" in the greateſt diſtreſs, but have taken every opportunity, by the
" moſt cowardly and unworthy means, to ſeize upon diſtricts which
" you dared not nor could you take by open force. We know very
" well the inſatiable avarice which predominates in your order, and
" what means you uſe to bring us under your power; under the
" humble cloak of affected reſpect, you hide the yoke that your
" pride prepares for us, and by forcing us to put ourſelves under
" your empire, you would appear ſurprized to ſee us under your
" ſubjection. Is this all that we are to expect from your promiſes,
" your oaths, and your treaties? You are more barbarous than
" the idolaters whom we left you to ſubdue. Do you think
" that you are never to repay our good actions and kindneſſes
" towards you, but by ingratitude and injuries?"

The grand maſter did not endeavour to refute this diſcourſe; he agreed that his order had done wrong, and promiſed to reſtore Dantzic and its fort, according to the tenor of the treaties, but he carried the indemnities ſtipulated by the convention ſo high, that it was in ſome meaſure impoſſible and even diſgraceful to ſatisfy them. In the courſe of the following year 1310, the

Knights of the Teutonic order made ſeveral attempts to make themſelves maſters of all that part of Pomerania which was not already under their power. They beſieged the town of Dirſhaw, and the grand maſter, to intimidate the garriſon, erected two gibbets near the ramparts, and threatened to hang up all who ſhould fall into their hands, if the governor did not immediately ſend them hoſtages to treat of a capitulation. Every day they hanged up ſome of theſe unhappy farmers and poor countrymen who were ſo unlucky as to paſs by. One of the commanders of this order, Ziffrid de Waſſenfeldt, went out every day on horſeback with as many cords as he could gather up in the tents, and ſwore that he would not eat till he had employed them all to ſtrangle thoſe Pomeranians who fell into his hands.

This was the religious order that was eſtabliſhed by the pope to preach and ſpread the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt among the idolaters of Pruſſia. I ſhould have obſerved, that the Pomeranians were at this time Chriſtians, and it does not appear that they had given any provocation to the knights of this order, therefore if we may judge of a tree by its fruit, the principles of Mahomet were infinitely to be preferred to thoſe of the wicked popes of theſe days, and to thoſe of the wicked and infamous inſtruments which they employed for this purpoſe, who, under the cloak of propagating a religion which breathes nothing but peace, love, and unity, filled the world with wars, bloodſhed, horrors, and oppreſſion.

The town of Dirſhaw was afterwards obliged to ſubmit to the power of theſe knights, and then they became maſters of all Pomerania. The following years were fatal to Poland from the famine which raged there, and carried off great numbers of its inhabi-

inhabitants; this likewiſe prevented Uladiſlas from revenging the inſults and depredations which the Teutonic order had made upon the frontiers of his kingdom; however, as he could not make war upon them, he ſolicited the pope to puniſh them, and the inſtant appeared ſo much the more favourable, as all the great powers of Europe were highly diſſatisfied with their abominable conduct, as well as with that of the order of the Knights Templers, which order was about this time aboliſhed, and their grand maſter burnt in France: the marquiſſes of Brandenbourg were the only power that gave any aſſiſtance to thoſe Teutonic Knights.

On taking a curſory view of the extraordinary houſe of Brandenbourg, it is almoſt impoſſible to think otherwiſe but that it was formed by Divine Providence to be a ſcourge to the human ſpecies; founded upon rapine and plunder, and built by tyranny and oppreſſion, from its being firſt known in the world to this day, its pretended princes have never ceaſed to oppreſs and to tyrannize over thoſe people who were ſo unhappy as to be born in their diſtricts, and without any provocation to enrich themſelves by robbing and plundering their neighbours. I could not help ſmiling when I read the extraordinary account of the family of *Hohenſhollern*, which was lately publiſhed under the title of *Memoirs of the houſe of Brandenbourg*; becauſe we muſt either diſcredit the annals and public records of Poland, and all the German and Poliſh hiſtorians of thoſe days, or we muſt regard this work as fallacious, and as an impoſition upon mankind. The manifeſto likewiſe which was publiſhed ſome years ſince, to prove the legal pretenſions which a certain power had to Poliſh Pruſſia, is as fallacious and as void of truth, as the work beforementioned.

But

But to return to my ſubject: Upon the complaints of Uladiſlas, and of ſome other powers, the pope ordered the archbiſhop of Gneſna to excommunicate the Teutonic Knights, if they perſiſted in keeping the province of Pomerania, and ſoon afterwards ordered ſome apoſtolic commiſſioners to aſſemble upon the frontiers of Poland to examine into the facts and to judge this order, which was ſoon after condemned to reſtore Pomerania to Uladiſlas, and to pay him 150,000 marks of ſilver, and 30,000 marks to the inhabitants for the damages which they had done. All the knights were excommunicated, and their provinces laid under an interdict. Uladiſlas, notwithſtanding this papal thunder, did not receive Pomerania from the Teutonic Knights, who, like a late modern order, endeavoured to gain their point by intriguing, when they could not do it by open force; but in the year 1325 he attempted to regain this province by force, and at the ſame time to puniſh the marquiſſes of Brandenbourg, not only for the infamous aſſaſſination of Przemyſlas his predeceſſor, but alſo for aſſiſting the Teutonic Knights for carrying on their robberies, and plundering upon the frontiers of his kingdom; and for this purpoſe he aſſembled an army of Poles, Lithuanians, and ſome Ruſſians, and entered into the marches of Brandenbourg, which he laid waſte by fire and ſword, the marquiſſes not being in a ſituation to oppoſe his progreſs; but by the prudent conduct of the Teutonic Knights, who finding they were not ſtrong enough to meet him openly, harraſſed his march, and obliged him to retire out of Pomerania.

The great province of Sileſia, which had always heretofore been a fief of the crown of Poland, was now ſeparated from it for ever: divided into a number of little ſovereignties, as hath been already obſerved, all the little princes who governed it, declared them-

themſelves vaſſals to and put themſelves under the protection of John king of Bohemia, who finding that his intrigues would not aſſiſt him to mount the throne of Poland, applied his abilities towards ſeparating this great and rich province from that crown, and ſucceeded. However Uladiſlas on the other hand, after having ſigned a truce for a certain number of years with the Teutonic Knights, married his ſon Caſimir to the daughter of Gedimin duke of Lithuania, and this alliance was the cauſe of the union of this great duchy to the crown of Poland.

In the year 1331, Uladiſlas felt his body ſinking under the weight of age and infirmities, and ardently wiſhed to revive himſelf in his ſon Caſimir, and to leave to his ſubjects a prince worthy to govern them; he had already eſtabliſhed him as ſovereign of Great Poland, of which Samohely, who had aſſiſted him to conquer it, was the Palatine. Samohely regarding himſelf as rejected and deſpiſed, applied to the Teutonic order for aſſiſtance to revenge himſelf; ſuch was the diſpoſition of the Palatines of Poland in thoſe days, and ſuch has it remained ever ſince: they entered Poland with a great army, and laid waſte all the country on both ſides of the Wartha, almoſt deſtroyed the provinces of Cujavia and of Siradia, burnt Lencici and Gneſna, and pillaged the palatinate of Kaliſch. On this occaſion old Uladiſlas put himſelf in march to oppoſe this torrent; he had but a ſmall body of troops with him, and ſoon perceived that he was not in a ſituation to ſupport himſelf but by avoiding a general battle, and by harraſſing the enemy: he likewiſe attempted to bring back the perfidious Samohely to his duty. The Palatine, on an interview which he had with his maſter, was ſtung with remorſe, and promiſed faithfully to ſecond his enterprize. The ſame night as he was determined to attack the enemy, Uladiſlas

diſlas made a long harangue to his ſoldiers, in which he forgot nothing to revive in them the remembrance of their former exploits, of the love of their country, and the intereſt of their religion: "Many of your fellow-citizens," ſaid he, "are ſlaves "in the camp that we are going to attack; you may hear from "hence their plaintive voices; conceive at leaſt, by the pains "which they endure, how much they will owe you for their "deliverance. If they ſaw you in the ſame ſituation, and they "were free as you are, they would make powerful efforts of "valour to break your chains. But with what kind of ene-"mies have we to contend? With a number of ungrateful "wretches who make uſe of what we have generouſly beſtowed "upon them to cruſh us; with a band of robbers, who being "nouriſhed in blood and murder, know no other manner of "conquering our provinces but by deſtroying them entirely, and "would not leave us any thing there but the air which we "breathe; with a ſet of impious wretches who burn our tem-"ples and deſtroy our altars; with a collection of the moſt aban-"doned wretches of all nations, who love nothing but licenti-"ouſneſs, and who have no ideas of honour and probity. Are "men of this character to be feared?"—This is the character which a Chriſtian king gives of the champions of the church militant of Rome, and who were appointed by the popes to propagate and defend the Chriſtian religion.

After having made this ſpeech, Uladiſlas attacked the army of the Teutonic Knights; victory held the balance even for ſeveral hours, and the Poles ſhewed great bravery againſt ſuperior numbers; but at length Samohely, who was placed in the poſterior ranks of the army, kept his promiſe, and gave the ſignal to thoſe whom he had gained over by his preſents, who attacked the

the enemy in the rear, whilſt the Poles preſſed them in front; and now ſome minutes were ſufficient to put the enemy's army to flight, who left 20,000 ſoldiers dead upon the field.

The following year, 1333, Uladiſlas died, who when he was upon his death-bed, gave the following inſtructions to his ſon Caſimir: "If you have any regard for your honour and renown, "take care that you cede nothing to the knights of the Teu- "tonic order, nor to the marquiſſes of Brandenbourg, but rather "reſolve to bury yourſelf under the ruins of your throne than give "up to them thoſe parts of your inheritance which they poſſeſs, "and which you owe to your people, and to your children. "Do not leave to your ſucceſſors an example of cowardice, "which is ſufficient to tarniſh all your virtues, and the ſplendour "of your reign. Puniſh the perfidious; and being more happy "than your father, if it is poſſible, drive them out of a king- "dom that was the reſpectable aſylum which piety opened "to them, but which they have profaned by the blackeſt in- "gratitude."

In the early part of life the violence of his paſſions drew Uladiſlas into a chain of diſorders, which loſt him the eſteem of his ſubjects, and his throne; but adverſity reformed him intirely; and when he mounted the throne the ſecond time, his ſubjects found him affable, good-natured, a lover of virtue, and a maſter who took every opportunity to favour and to recompenſe merit.

No ſooner had Caſimir mounted the throne, than forgetting the inſtructions which he had received from his father, he ſigned a treaty of peace with the Knights of the Teutonic order,

who reſtored to Poland the palatinate of Cujavia, and the diſtrict of Dobrzin, and therewith paid 10,000 florins, and Caſimir renounced for him and for his ſucceſſors, all his rights to Pomerania. This treaty is very expreſſive, and clearly proves the right of Poland to this province, and yet the author of a certain manifeſto, which was lately publiſhed at Berlin, in order to prove the right of the houſe of Brandenbourg to part of the Poliſh dominions, would inſult mankind by telling them that this province was the abſolute property of ſome of his anceſtors, and was taken from them by the ſuperior force of the Teutonic order.

No ſooner was peace made with the knights of this order, but it was again broken. This turbulent and imperious order would not evacuate the province of Cujavia before Caſimir had called a diet, ſo that the treaty might be approved by all the orders of the kingdom, though this was never mentioned during the time that the negociation was carrying on. However the king convoked a general diet, and remarked, that the critical ſituation of the kingdom might authorize in ſome meaſure the ſhameful peace which he had made; but they obſerved that a ſovereign ought never to carry his vices beyond his reign, ſo as to prevent his ſubjects from taking proper means to repair their loſſes; in fact, they concluded to reject every convention that was made with the knights of this order. Caſimir had only one daughter by his wife Ann, daughter of the duke of Lithuania, and therefore he choſe for his ſucceſſor his nephew Lewis, ſon of Charles Robert king of Hungary: but it was not till after ſome violent debates that his choice was approved by the different orders of the kingdom. It was ſtipulated in the ſolemn act which called Lewis to the throne of Poland, that this prince ſhould never pretend to it, in caſe that Caſimir had ever any

male children who ſurvived him, or even after their deceaſe, ſuppoſing the king ſhould leave ſuch iſſue male.

In the year 1340 the death of Boleſlas duke of Kiovia gave Caſimir an opportunity to retake the provinces which before appertained to the crown of Poland, eſpecially as the Ruſſian provinces and forces were at this time greatly weakened by their inteſtine diviſions, and by their wars with the Tartars. In the courſe of this year likewiſe Caſimir loſt his wife Ann of Lithuania, and ſoon after married the daughter of the Landgrave of Heſſe; but fatigued by her inſupportable pride, and by her continual reproaches touching his frequent infidelities, he exiled her to Zarnowiec, and took the daughter of a Jew, called Heſter, to be his miſtreſs: this Jeweſs was a perſon of great beauty, and what was very ſingular, the king not only permitted her to educate two daughters which he had by her in the Jewiſh religion, but through her means he granted her nation all the great privileges which they have ever ſince enjoyed in this kingdom, which has often ſince been called the Paradiſe of the Jews. As all great men ſuffer themſelves to be led away at times by the violence of their paſſions, without loſing the view of the duties which their glory impoſes upon them; ſo was Caſimir, whoſe licentious manners often drew him into embarraſſments: he ſigned a new treaty of peace in the year 1343 with the Knights of the Teutonic order, who now reſtored to him the province of Cujavia, and the territory of Dobrzin; but he abandoned for ever Pomerania, the diſtrict of Michalow, and the province of Culm, at preſent a part of what is called Poliſh Pruſſia, though it is pretended by the Berlin manifeſto before-mentioned, that this province likewiſe appertained to the anceſtors of the houſe

of Brandenbourg, and that they were deprived of it by the ſuperior forces of the Teutonic order.

Caſimir attacked Sileſia this year, and annexed to the crown of Poland the ſtrong town of Travenſtadt; he beat the Ruſſians, and forced the king of Bohemia, who made an invaſion in his territories, to fly before him; and what was ſtill more ſingular in this prince, though he was ſo much addicted to voluptuous pleaſures, he became the legiſlator of his kingdom, and reformed many abuſes which the barbarity of the times had introduced into the courts of juſtice. For the deciſion of a law-ſuit, the judges had ordered, that one of the parties ſhould take an oath which they had compoſed, and which he was likewiſe to read aloud before the court, and if he did not pronounce it with a ſtrong firm voice, if he heſitated, if he changed the leaſt word, or if the leaſt alteration appeared in his countenance, notwithſtanding his pretenſions were ever ſo well founded, he loſt his cauſe, and became an object of public contempt. Caſimir aboliſhed this barbarous and abominable cuſtom, and corrected many others which had been eſtabliſhed in thoſe unenlightened times: he loved his ſubjects, particularly the farmers and the people of the country, who were at that time grievouſly oppreſſed: whenever any of the latter came to complain to the king of the injuſtice of their maſters, he always aſked them whether they had neither ſticks nor ſtones in their houſes to defend themſelves? giving them to underſtand, that their pretended maſters had no authority over them but what they had uſurped, and that they might legally defend themſelves.

Before the reign of this prince all the property of a farmer who died without children devolved to the proprietor of the fief on which

which he lived; but ſeeing the wickedneſs and injuſtice of this proceeding, he ordered it that in future it ſhould be the inheritance of the neareſt relation of the deceaſed.

In the beginning of the reign of Caſimir, the proprietors of the fiefs pretended that all thoſe perſons who were born upon their reſpective fiefs were their ſlaves, and that they could not remove from their habitations without the particular conſent and approbation of their reſpective lords. But this juſt king, who was well informed of the wickedneſs and tyranny of theſe uſurpations, aboliſhed them intirely, and permitted every farmer, if he thought himſelf moleſted or ill treated by the proprietor of the fief, to ſell his property, and to retire wherever he pleaſed: moreover the proprietors of the fiefs had claimed a power of giving their farmers as hoſtages, or as a ſecurity to each other as well as to ſtrangers for the performance of contracts or agreements; which practice they had carried to a moſt infamous height, and thereby oppreſſed and vexed thoſe poor people beyond all deſcription: Caſimir likewiſe aboliſhed all theſe acts of tyranny, and forbad any proprietor of a fief to practiſe the ſame in future, under the moſt ſevere penalties. So many juſt and uſeful regulations framed in favour of the oppreſſed part of the nation, made many of the haughty and inſignificant nobility give Caſimir the title of King of the Farmers, though in my opinion this title, as he protected the oppreſſed, and taught the proud oppreſſors to know their maſter, was more to his honour than any other title they could have beſtowed upon him; and if all his ſucceſſors had in this particular followed his example, Poland would have been to this day a great and powerful nation.

But

But as great virtues are often accompanied with great vices, Caſimir frequently fell into unpardonable exceſſes and luxuries, particularly in eating and drinking, and his example made the Poles give themſelves up to the ſame kinds of debauch, with an indiſcretion that neither time nor reaſon has ſince been able to correct; moreover his incontinence had no bounds, and his palaces became the places of proſtitution, where, without any taſte or delicacy, a number of innocent, and oftentimes unworthy victims, were ſacrificed at the ſhrine of debauchery.

The whole nation imitated their maſter, and by little and little the corruption of manners ſpread itſelf among all orders of people. At length however a prieſt of Cracow dared raiſe his voice to reproach Caſimir with the atrociouſneſs of his conduct; but his indiſcreet zeal was immediately puniſhed; the king ordered him, when he was in a fit of paſſion, to be drowned in the Viſtula; but this action, worthy of a tyrant, ſet all his ſubjects againſt him; and the plague, which ſoon after followed, appeared to them as the chaſtiſement of heaven for this horrid crime; indeed Caſimir thought the ſame, and repented ſincerely of what he had done; he even ſolicited the pope for abſolution, and ſubmitted himſelf to the penitence that was impoſed upon him. Whoever would ſearch after the origin of the actual liberties of the Poliſh nobility, will find it during the reign of this prince, who, under the cloak of moderation, knew how to make himſelf deſpotic: he apparently commanded peaceable and ſubmiſſive ſubjects; but in fact, he commanded a people who had revolted againſt his authority. The ſtates of the kingdom acknowledged and approved the choice which the king had made of his nephew the king of Hungary to ſucceed him; but afterwards they ſent their deputies to Buda, to inform him of the approach-

approaching death of his uncle; and at the ſame time demand ſome new privileges, which they repreſented as the only means of increaſing the affection of his ſubjects who raiſed him to the throne. Whether that the king of Hungary did not perceive the conſequences of what they demanded of him, or whether he propoſed to himſelf to break all the promiſe s which he had made, he obliged himſelf to exempt the Poliſh nation from all kinds of taxes and contributions when he came to the throne, and not to avail himſelf of any pretence to impoſe ſubſidies; not take any thing when upon a journey for the ſupport of his court, more than what had been eſtabliſhed by cuſtom for time immemorial, and to reimburſe the expences and even the damages cauſed by any wars which he might undertake againſt the neighbouring powers.

The act which contained theſe articles was ſigned as well for him as for his ſucceſſors, and was for ever to be regarded as a fundamental law of the kingdom. The Ariſtocracy of the nobles was hereby eſtabliſhed upon a permanent foundation, but the power of the crown was deſtroyed, ſuppoſing that the act of this prince before he came to the throne of Poland, was binding on the kings who ſucceeded him upon that throne.

Caſimir died in the year 1370, and by his death the crown of Poland intirely removed from the Piaſt family, who had worn it above 500 years.

If Caſimir had great faults, it muſt be acknowledged that he had alſo great virtues: he was good-natured, affable, complaiſant, and knew how to captivate the hearts of mankind: he was a friend to the oppreſſed, and to thoſe who had merit, whom he generally

generally regarded and recompenſed: he was active in detecting acts of injuſtice, and no leſs ſevere in puniſhing them; but, ſays a Poliſh author, he always puniſhed as a father, and recompenſed as a king.

Lewis king of Hungary had no ſooner mounted the throne of Poland, than he alienated the hearts of all his new ſubjects from him; he ſet aſide the teſtament of Caſimir, and removed the proprietors from the domains and the palatinates which they held from the munificence of this king, and gave them to his creatures; he declared the two daughters of his uncle illegitimate, and ſent them into Hungary; fearing that they might afterwards marry princes who might one day diſpute the crown with him. A conduct ſo indiſcreet could not fail to add new force to that ſpirit of independence which had already ſpread among all the Poliſh nobility; and Lewis, ſhocked at the reſiſtance which they appeared to make to his orders, returned into Hungary, and left the government of Poland in the hands of the queen Elizabeth his mother.

In the year 1372 Lewis ceded all his pretenſions to the province of Sileſia to Sigiſmund marquis of Brandenbourg, which he had no right to do without the conſent of the ſtates of the kingdom; though it is upon this foundation that the preſent king of Pruſſia has built all his claims to this province, and to revenge himſelf of the Poles for the murmuring and oppoſition which they made to this grant, he renewed, notwithſtanding the oath which he had taken, the ancient tax called Krolewczyzna, which ſignifies the royal tax. The farmers were obliged to give the prince, according to this regulation, a certain quantity of grain, and a ſum of money, the value of the whole being

being about one ſhilling and ſix-pence ſterling for every acre of arable land. The Poles made ſtrong remonſtrances againſt this tax, and at length got it reduced to one third of what it originally was; but with this condition, that they would chooſe one of the daughters of Lewis to be their ſovereign, if he died without male heirs. The nation were not then afraid to introduce an order of ſucceſſion which had not been followed during the period that the Piaſt family had been ſeated on the throne; but they marched on to liberty under the covert-way of a feigned obedience: the ſtates inſiſted that the land-tax as now regulated ſhould be the only tax upon the nobility and upon the farmers; that the offices and places in the adminiſtration of the public affairs ſhould always be granted to Poles during life; and particularly that the command of the fortreſſes and caſtles ſhould be entruſted to the common nobility, and not to thoſe who by their great riches and power might make themſelves chiefs of a dangerous party. Lewis granted them all they deſired; and from this time we may date the origin of that republican government or ariſtocracy which has ever ſince continued in this kingdom, and which has been always active to ſupport the privileges that it has given itſelf againſt the prerogatives of the crown. It appears from the annals and hiſtorians of Poland, that though a king was not legally inveſted with the royal power before he was approved by the general voice of the people, yet when he was ſo choſen and crowned, he was inveſted with the whole legiſlative authority, till the beginning of this reign: the executive part of the ſovereign power was chiefly entruſted to the palatines, governors, and other great officers of ſtate. There are many examples in the hiſtory of this kingdom, where the people depoſed their king when he behaved ill, but not one

inſtance where they pretended to ſhare the legiſlative authority with him.

After Lewis had granted the before-mentioned privileges to the nation in general, and others to the ſenate, which in later ages has been inveſted with a great part of the executive power, but which till the reign of Lewis was very little eſteemed, the members of this great council, clandeſtinely ſupported by the ſtates, entered frequently into diſputes with the ſovereign, aſſumed to themſelves a conſiderable part of the ſovereign authority, and continually oppoſed the ariſtocratical government againſt the prerogatives of the crown. During the firſt years of this reign the Lithuanians ravaged ſeveral of the provinces of Poland; and Lewis, finding all his meaſures oppoſed by the Poliſh nobility, made a peace with them, which was very diſadvantageous to the nation. In the year 1381 the people of Poland ſeemed to be determined to eſtabliſh their new-born liberties and privileges, and the king reſolved to ſupport his rights.

In the midſt of theſe commotions Lewis convoked a diet to meet at Buda in Hungary, where, according to the accounts of the beſt authors, only fourteen ſenators attended, who ſubſcribed to the demand which the king made of diſmembering from the crown of Poland ſome provinces which bordered upon Hungary: and upon this foundation the empreſs-queen of Hungary, in our days, formed her pretenſions to thoſe provinces, but with what juſtice will hereafter appear. The biſhop of Uladiſlaw was the only perſon who oppoſed this act of cowardice; and having informed Raphel Granowſki, the great general of the crown, of what had paſſed, this latter, in concert with the archbiſhop of Gneſna

Gneſna and the general of Great Poland, convoked a general aſſembly of the ſtates, where the king and the ſenators of his party were invited. The king came there, attended by all thoſe of his party; whereupon Granowſki ſeized thoſe ſenators who had ſigned this act, and ordered their heads to be cut off and their bodies to be placed at the foot of and around the throne, and to be covered with tapeſtry.

Lewis, who was not informed of this terrible execution, entered the hall of the ſenate, when the general of the crown, in the name of the ſtates, reproached the king with every thing that he had done againſt the intereſts of the ſtate; proteſted in form againſt all that had been done at Buda; and afterwards raiſed the tapeſtry, and ſhewed him the dead bodies of thoſe ſenators: "Behold," ſaid he to Lewis, "what will be the puniſh-"ment of thoſe traitors who ſhall adhere to your intereſts in "prejudice to thoſe of their country."

The following year the king ſent his ſon-in-law, Sigiſmond of Brandenbourg, to govern Poland in his name, whom he had likewiſe by a diet, which had ſold themſelves to his intereſts, got acknowledged to be his ſucceſſor; but he died at Tyrnau before Sigiſmond entered Poland, and the whole body of the Poliſh nation, who were now united to ſupport their own intereſts, refuſed to ſubſcribe to this election, and to have any connection with the family of Brandenbourg, whoſe tyrannical and oppreſſive principles were well known, even in thoſe days, and called the princeſs Hedwige, the ſecond daughter of Lewis, to the throne, on condition that ſhe married a prince who was agreeable to the nation.

Among all the princes who pretended to the crown of Poland, and to be the huſband of Hedwige, Jagellon duke of Lithuania was preferred, in conſequence of the great advantages which he offered to the Poliſh nation. The Lithuanians were ſtill idolaters; but Jagellon promiſed not only to become a Chriſtian himſelf, but to endeavour to reduce all his ſubjects to the ſame mode of thinking; and he obſerved his promiſe. Maſter of very conſiderable territories, he united them to the kingdom; and thus Lithuania, Samogitia, and a part of Ruſſia became provinces of Poland; and he moreover engaged himſelf to re-conquer Pomerania, Sileſia, the palatinate of Culm, and all the territories which had been torn from the ſtate by the unſucceſsful wars of his predeceſſors. Hedwige would have lived happy with her huſband, who was an honeſt man, if calumny had not thrown ſome of her dangerous ſhafts at her. One of her courtiers, for ſome motives which hiſtory has not yet developed, informed Jagellon that the queen ſtill preſerved a tenderneſs for William duke of Auſtria her firſt lover, whom ſhe continued to ſee in ſecret. Tranſported with rage on hearing this news, Jagellon reſolved to be ſeparated from his wife immediately; but ſome of his favourites, having reaſon to ſuſpect the truth of this intelligence, interrogated the accuſer and intimidated him; and as this wretch could not ſupport his accuſation by any proof, he was condemned to ſuffer the puniſhments which were inflicted upon calumniators; which, as they are ſingular in their nature, and are ſtill practiſed in Poland, I will ſet forth at large.

When a calumniator is judicially convicted of his crime, he is conducted into the great hall of the ſenate, where he is obliged to lie down under the ſeat of him whom he has offended, and there,

there, in this humiliating ſituation, he is obliged to pronounce, with a loud voice, that he repents ſincerely of the calumnies and falſehoods which he has wickedly ſpread againſt the reputation of the perſon whom he accuſed, and that he lied like a dog; and after this public confeſſion the guilty perſon is obliged to counterfeit three times the barking of a dog, which terminates this ſingular ſcene.

In the year 1399 the queen Hedwige died, greatly eſteemed by all her ſubjects for her piety and virtues; and Jagellon, who was returned from his errors, and had rendered her his love and friendſhip, was inconſolable for her loſs. He had formed a reſolution to abdicate the crown, which he ſuppoſed he had held only in right of his deceaſed wife, and would retire into his own territories; but the principal perſons of the kingdom, alarmed at this unexpected meaſure, went immediately to the king, and renewed their oaths of fidelity to him, and engaged him to retake the reins of goverment into his hands, and to marry the princeſs Ann, daughter of the late king Caſimir.

Soon after this the inhabitants of Bohemia were highly diſguſted with the conduct of Wenceſlas their king, whoſe infamous debaucheries diſhonoured the crown, which they offered by their deputies to Jagellon, who refuſed it, and made a very extraordinary ſpeech to the deputies on this occaſion: "Your king," ſaid he, "does not owe his crown to any earthly power, and is "accountable for his defaults to God alone: if he diſhonours "his rank by his conduct, his ſubjects are not his judges, and "it is even an advantage to them that they are not; for they "could never be happy if the legiſlative power did not reſide "only in the perſon of the ſovereign: there is no unhappy

"ſituation

" ſituation equal to that of a ſtate where the ſovereign authority " is divided among the multitude: the confuſion that you would " introduce into your kingdom will be more dreadful than the " vices of a maſter whoſe exceſſes you abhor. You have no " other arms to make uſe of at preſent but patience; and " though I am extremely ſenſible of the eſteem which " you have manifeſted towards me, I am much leſs touched " with it than aſtoniſhed at your aſſurance in propoſing to me " to do an act of injuſtice which is ſo oppoſite to my ſen- " timents."

Though I am by no means of Jagellon's opinion in every reſpect, I cannot help admiring his honeſty. Bohemia was at this time a monarchy, partly elective and partly hereditary, like the reſt of the northern governments. When a king mounts the throne, he, at leaſt tacitly, enters into a contract with his people to govern them juſtly, and according to the received fundamental laws and cuſtoms of the country; but the moment that he wantonly breaks this ſocial contract they are no longer bound in obedience to him, but have a right, according to the laws of God and nature, to depoſe him and to chooſe another ſovereign. All mankind are born equal when in a ſtate of nature, but when they enter into civil ſociety, and engage for themſelves and for their deſcendents to give up a part of their natural rights to live peaceably and quietly and according to certain preſcribed forms under the direction of a chief, they are obliged to conform to the terms therein preſcribed; and every oppoſition which they make thereto may juſtly be regarded as an act of rebellion, ſo long as ſuch chief continues to perform his part of the contract, which is ſeverely cenſured by the divine laws, and is no leſs repugnant to the laws of every well-regulated ſociety; and con-

ſequently,

ſequently, as Jagellon has juſtly obſerved, nothing can equal the unhappy ſituation of a country whoſe inhabitants are in a ſtate of confuſion and anarchy, where every perſon thinks himſelf ſuperior to all laws and regulations. Jagellon's opinion reſpecting the unhappy ſtate of a power where all the legiſlative authority is not veſted in one perſon cannot be adopted; becauſe we have many inſtances of a well-regulated form of government where the legiſlative authority is veſted in a certain number of perſons, with proper limitations; but then thoſe perſons act as a corporate body, and conſequently repreſent the ſovereign. I am of Jagellon's opinion, that no ſovereign is accountable for his conduct to his ſubjects, except he breaks the contract which is between them, that bond of human ſociety; in which caſe they have an undoubted right to depoſe him; but while he is their ſovereign they have no right to judge him, neither have they any laws whereby they can condemn him; ſo that all the redreſs they can legally have in this ſituation is to depoſe him, and to chooſe a new maſter.

But to return to my ſubject: In the year 1408, Jagellon declared war againſt the knights of the Teutonic order, and appointed his couſin, the governor of Lithuania, to a principal command in the army under him. While the king was at his devotions, ſeveral of his officers came at different times to inform him that the army of thoſe knights drew near; but Jagellon continued his prayers with great devotion, ſo that many regarded his pious reſignation to the will of God as an act of cowardice: even the enemies remarked that the Poles began to dread their approach, and formed the ſame opinion of their king; ſo that their grand maſter at length ſent deputies to him, who preſented him with two naked and bloody ſwords: "Our chief," ſaid they,

"is

" is not afraid to furniſh you with arms to inſpire you with more " courage, as we are upon the point of beginning the battle: if " the ground upon which you are encamped is too narrow, and " you are too much crowded to go through your military " exerciſes, we will conſent to retire a little."

Jagellon, who notwithſtanding his indifference and apparent inattention had taken his meaſures with great exactneſs, and without appearing to be offended with this bravado, informed the deputies, that he was greatly ſurprized that their grand maſter ſhould preſs him ſo ſtrongly to receive their arms: "I " receive thoſe that you preſent me," ſaid he, " with pleaſure, " as I draw a favourable omen from them for the ſucceſs of this " day." Certainly there was never any audacious act puniſhed more cruelly than this was, for out of 140,000 ſoldiers, of which the army of the Teutonic knights was compoſed, 50,000 fell dead upon the field of battle, among which was their grand maſter and 300 of their principal knights or commanders, and 11,000 were made priſoners. During the courſe of this battle Jagellon perceived that the right wing of his army began to give way, whereupon he eſcaped from among his guards and ran into the middle of his troops, rallied them with great exactneſs, and led them on again to the combat. One of the enemy's knights, completely armed, attacked the king with his ſabre in his hand, and would ſoon have cut him ſhort in his career; but a young Pole, called Sbignee Oleſnicki, who alone ſaw the danger the king was in, though he had only a piece of his lance left him, ſtruck this bold knight ſo violently with it that he laid him dead at his feet, and thereby ſaved his maſter. Penetrated with gratitude, and pleaſed with the zeal and courage of his deliverer, Jagellon would have made him a knight im-

mediately upon the field of battle and have inveſted him with the military banner; but the modeſt Pole refuſed it, confeſſing at the ſame time, that he deſigned himſelf for the ſervice of the church; Jagellon afterwards gave him the biſhopric of Cracow. The knights of the Teutonic order were ſo humbled by this battle that they never after attempted to make head againſt Jagellon during the whole courſe of his reign.

In the year 1313 the inhabitants of Lithuania and Samogitia, according to the Poliſh hiſtorians, were converted to the Chriſtian religion; and this converſion was ſo much the more remarkable, becauſe, as they had not at that time eccleſiaſtics enough in Poland who knew the Lithuanian language, the king had ſo much zeal for his religion that he preached the goſpel himſelf, and thereby greatly contributed to propagate the Chriſtian doctrines in thoſe provinces.

Jagellon continued to govern his kingdom with great juſtice and integrity, and was univerſally eſteemed for his honeſt and upright conduct, until the year 1433, when, in a diet held at Brzeſcia, the Poles named Uladiſlas, his eldeſt ſon, to ſucceed him, but under the promiſe that the king would confirm their ancient privileges, and grant them ſome new ones which they then demanded. Preſſed to declare his ſentiments, and ſhocked at the audacious manner in which the nobles explained themſelves, Jagellon anſwered, that what they demanded of him was unjuſt, and his honour, as well as what he owed his ſubjects in general, forbad him to grant it them; whereupon there was a general cry of indignation throughout the whole aſſembly, and they called upon the biſhop of Cracow to produce the act which had been ſigned reſpecting the election of the prince, and which

had been entruſted to him, and having received it, they cut it in pieces before the king's eyes. Jagellon did not appear to be at all moved at this audacious act, but ſhewed an intrepidity which ſilenced the ſeditious. This was what the Poliſh nobility called their liberty; but ſuch an example of licentiouſneſs towards ſo good and ſo worthy a king as Jagellon, is not to be found perhaps in the annals of hiſtory. However, as this prince was a man who always made it a point of conſcience to fulfill his promiſes and to keep his word even with the meaneſt of his ſubjects, though he would not be forced to comply with the requeſts of the nobility when demanded in ſuch outrageous manner, he afterwards fulfilled his promiſes, and confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to the people by Lewis, and added ſeveral new ones to them. He engaged himſelf not to confer the great offices and dignities of the ſtate but upon ſuch Poles as poſſeſſed a conſiderable property in the different provinces where thoſe employments were to be exerciſed, and not to name any perſon to an employment before ſuch employment was become vacant; not to coin any money but with the conſent of the prelates and principal nobility; and not to arreſt any noble before he was fully convicted, in a regular court of juſtice, of the crime for which he had been attached.

The following year Jagellon, who was preparing to enjoy the bleſſings of peace and the fruits of his labours, was attacked with a violent fever, which ſoon brought him to his end. This prince, who was born an idolater, convinced his ſubjects, by his example of integrity and piety, that it was conviction alone which determined him to embrace the Chriſtian religion, and not the advantages of a throne. Honour, probity, and fidelity were his favourite virtues: he had courage and bravery

equal

equal to any man, but he often made them give way to policy, which he found was the ſureſt way of accompliſhing his deſigns: he was liberal, and generally directed his generoſity to ſuch as were worthy of it: he took every opportunity to do juſtice to thoſe who were oppreſſed and ill uſed, and particularly to inform himſelf of the miſery and diſtreſs of his poor ſubjects, to whom he never failed to ſend relief. The only amuſement that he allowed himſelf was that of hunting, of which he was paſſionately fond.

After the death of Jagellon, a great part of the Poliſh nobility oppoſed the election of his ſon Uladiſlas, who was then but ten years of age, under pretence that he was not yet in a ſituation to take the reins of government in his hands. Sbignee Oleſnicki, biſhop of Cracow, who was a friend to the royal family, endeavoured by gentle means to bring over this part of the nobility to favour the election of the young prince; but failing in his attempt, he thought of an expedient which had never before been practiſed in that kingdom, and which has never ſince been put in practice: he pretended to put the nomination of a chief of the ſtate to chance, and to caſt lots for it; and deſired the great marſhal of the crown to give notice to all thoſe who refuſed to give their voices to Uladiſlas to ſeparate themſelves from the partizans of this prince, to the end that their voices might be counted, and a deciſion made with regard to the greateſt number. The rumour that was raiſed in the aſſembly in conſequence of this meaſure intimidated the oppoſite party; they could not agree among themſelves, and every perſon was fearful to be ſingular in his opinion; and under the apprehenſion of expoſing themſelves to the hatred and vengeance of the prince's party, they all remained quiet, and Uladiſlas was proclaimed king

of Poland without any oppoſition. When this prince became major he was likewiſe called to the throne of Hungary by a great part of the nation, who were intimidated by the powerful armaments which the Turks were making againſt them: hereupon Uladiſlas conducted a conſiderable army into Hungary, ſeized upon the city of Buda, where he was crowned king, notwithſtanding the powerful efforts of the oppoſite party, who pretended to preſerve the crown for the poſthumous ſon of whom the queen dowager Elizabeth was delivered: nevertheleſs the party of this young prince continued to increaſe, and that of Uladiſlas was ready to be cruſhed; when the king of Poland aſſembled all the Poliſh nobility who appeared to be the moſt devoted to his ſervice, and addreſſed them in the following manner: "Was it thus," ſaid he, "that you propoſed to ſerve me "when you choſe me to be your king? I am juſt now returned "from fighting againſt your enemies, who were maſters of your "frontiers, and you are raiſing me up others, who are more "dangerous, in the boſom of your kingdom. Muſt I abſolutely "deſtroy you to bring you to be ſubmiſſive to legal government, "and muſt I be obliged to hold by force of arms what I ſhould "not chooſe to grant to the general demand of all your fellow-"citizens? I own I had ſome reaſon to be conſtantly upon my "guard againſt that apparent unanimity which led them to "ſubmit themſelves to my laws. I know the men; they only "appeared to be unanimous in order to have the opportunity after-"wards of diſuniting themſelves from the majority of their fellow-"citizens; but ſhould I wait the general defection of a people, "who by their cries and their groans obliged me to have com-"paſſion upon their ſufferings; and at a time too, when one of "my provinces was ready to be torn from my ſtates, and engaged "me to ſuccour it?—Except you grant me ſuccours at this

"time,

" time, I muſt abandon you to all the dangers which threaten " you from abroad, and to all the evils which you are ready to " draw upon your own heads. If I was really in a ſituation to " preſerve you againſt the violence of your own paſſions, can I " equally ſave you from the hands of the Infidels? I will now " go and fight thoſe barbarians with a people almoſt exhauſted " by a civil war, with men ſtained with the blood of their rela- " tions, brothers, and thoſe of their fellow-citizens, who had " the glory and intereſt of their nation at heart. I would not " have you imagine that I am fearful of this ſultan of the " Turks, this Amuzath, who appears ſo terrible to you. If " you are of the ſame opinion, unite yourſelves, acknowledge " your maſter, follow me, and notwithſtanding the apparent " weakneſs of our forces, I will anſwer for the conqueſt of " your enemies; but if you heſitate to return to your duty, you " muſt not be aſtoniſhed if I leave you, and endeavour to find " more faithful ſubjects."

That noble boldneſs, which characterizes this diſcourſe, re-animated the party of Uladiſlas, who ſupported him with various ſucceſſes till the death of Elizabeth queen dowager of Hungary. This princeſs, who had a reſolution above the greateſt number of her ſex, when ſhe found herſelf drawing near her end, ſigned a peace with Uladiſlas, who now being ſole maſter of Hungary, and having ſubdued the Lithuanians, who by the intrigues of Caſimir his brother had revolted, turned all his forces againſt the Turkiſh ſultan, over whom he gained ſuch ſignal advantages that he obliged him to make peace. The Chriſtians took an oath to obſerve this famous treaty upon the Evangeliſts, and the Turks ſwore upon the alcoran of Mahomet. The articles of the peace were faithfully obſerved by the latter; but the

the pope truly diſapproved of this proceeding, and gave a diſpenſation to the imprudent Uladiſlas to break his oath, and to take up arms againſt thoſe reputed Infidels. Very ſoon afterwards the two armies met near Varna, and a ſmart engagement enſued, where the king of Poland, as a juſt recompence for his perjury and credulity, was killed in the field of battle.

When we reflect upon the proſtitution that was made of the Chriſtian religion in theſe days by the court of Rome and the pretended fathers of the Chriſtian church, and as well of the ſcandal to the inhabitants of Aſia, Africa, and America by thoſe who called themſelves the teachers of this religion, it muſt fill every thinking perſon with horror: a religion that was firſt propagated by the God of peace and love, and whoſe principal characteriſtics are charity, unity, humility, and brotherly love, was ordered by the popes to be propagated by fire and ſword. Jeſus Chriſt ordered his followers to forgive their greateſt enemies, and to avoid giving offence to any man; but the Romiſh clergy, vindictive to the laſt degree, forbad their followers to keep any promiſes, or even oaths, that were made to thoſe who were not of their way of thinking, and inſtead of endeavouring to bring them over to obſerve the true dictates of the Chriſtian church by their edifying doctrines, and by letting their light ſo ſhine before men that they might ſee their good works, and glorify their Father who is in heaven, they ordered them to be extirpated from the face of the earth, and their habitations to be burnt up.

Uladiſlas, who at the age of twenty-one was become one of the greateſt generals of his age, and who to all the virtues of a hero joined all the amiable qualities neceſſary to

make a great and a good king, fell a ſacrifice to the wickedneſs and tyranny of the Romiſh clergy, who likewiſe gave the moſt pernicious example to the heathen world. Well may the Turks, conſcious of their fidelity and ſtrict obſervance of the moral laws, exult in the greatneſs of their prophet, and declare the Chriſtians to be a ſect of infamous, perjured, and abandoned wretches, who diſregard and reject all the good principles of the prophet of Nazareth, and retain only the name of being his followers.

After the death of this young king, Caſimir his brother, who was already duke of Lithuania, thought that he might ſeize the crown of Poland, or at leaſt receive it upon his own terms; and therefore he declared to the Poliſh nobility, that he would not accept their crown but with the conditions that the Lithuanians ſhould in future be independent of Poland, and that the republic ſhould reſtore them the province of Podolia and ſome duchies: however the firmneſs of the Poles to ſupport their rights and privileges ſoon diſconcerted all the projects of Caſimir, and he feigned a compliance; but ſcarce had he mounted the throne, when at a diet which was held at Lublin he again laid open his pretenſions, and demanded the independence of Lithuania. In vain did they repreſent to him that Podolia had been conquered from the Tartars, and that all the revenues of Lithuania were not ſufficient to re-pay the Poles the ſums which they had expended in fortifying Kaminiec and other places in this province. The king would not liſten to any of their reaſons; whereupon one of the ſenators roſe in the aſſembly and obſerved, "That it "could not be for the intereſt of the Lithuanians to ſolicit the "Poles to break an union from which they drew ſo many ad-"vantages. Is it not to us," ſaid he, "that they owe their

"nobility,

" nobility, their liberty, and all their privileges? What in-
" tereſt can they have to break the treaties which they ought
" themſelves to force us to keep, if we were ever capable of
" breaking them?"

Caſimir always inſiſted upon the liberty of the Lithuanians, but the Poles would not give up any of their rights; and at length carried their reſentment ſo far that they told the king, " They could no longer acknowledge the authority which they " had confided to him, and that he had only one method left to " preſerve it, or rather to retake it, which was to engage himſelf " by an oath never to attempt any thing againſt the liberties and " privileges of the nation."—To ſuch a height had the Poliſh nobility carried their independence even in thoſe days.

In the year 1455, Sbignee Oleſnicki, biſhop of Cracow, who has been already often mentioned, was the firſt Pole who was honoured with the Roman purple. If we except that ambition and thirſt of power which characterize the Romiſh clergy, this biſhop was in every other reſpect a very decent man, and was made a cardinal by three popes ſucceſſively; but this new dignity was the cauſe of much trouble in the republic. The archbiſhop of Gneſna, primate of Poland, diſputed the precedency with the cardinal-biſhop; and after many debates, and even ſome bloodſhed, it was decided, that wherever the cardinal and the archbiſhop ſhould meet, whether in the diets or whether in the council, the latter ſhould give the right hand to the former; but at the ſame time it was enacted that no Poliſh prelates ſhould in future ſolicit a cardinal's hat without the permiſſion of the king and of the nobility.

The following year the Pruſſians, who were dreadfully oppreſſed by the tyranny of the Teutonic order, put themſelves under the protection of the king of Poland; and Caſimir received the homages of his new ſubjects at Thorn; whereupon the knights of this order raiſed a great army to force the Pruſſians to return again under their obedience, and beat the forces of Caſimir near Marienbourg; but the garriſon of that important fortreſs, who had not been paid for ſome time before, gave it up to the king of Poland for the ſum of 470,000 florins, and this purchaſe was of more ſervice to the nation than four victories.

While Caſimir led his forces into Pruſſia againſt the Knights of the Teutonic order, the Lithuanians revolted and ſeized upon Podolia. Caſimir, it is true, had heretofore propoſed this project, but thoſe people betrayed him as well as the Poles, and wanted to give themſelves a new ſovereign, though this prince ſtill gave them the preference, ungrateful as they were. Caſimir was not at all beloved by the Poles, who imputed to him all the bad ſucceſs which they had met with in Pruſſia: he was even afraid that they had formed a deſign to depoſe him, and full of this idea he would not appear at the diet of Petrikow without ſuch a ſtrong guard, as was capable of impoſing ſilence upon the ſeditious. However, when the nobles of the palatinate of Cracow ſaw that the king was attended with ſuch an armed force, they likewiſe armed themſelves, ſo that the town reſembled a plain where two armies were drawn up, and only wanted the ſignal to engage. After the ſeveral parties had gone through ſome trifling matters in the firſt ſeſſion of the diet, John Rythwienſki, Staroſt of Sendomi, addreſſed the king in the name of the nobility, and reproached him with having been the cauſe of all the diſorders that troubled the republic, of the relaxation of

juſtice, and of the enormity of the taxes, with which both the nobles and the farmers were loaded; and afterwards raiſing his voice, he aſked the king, "In what conſiſted the merit of the "Lithuanians, that they ſhould be preferred to us, and that "being ſubjects of the crown of Poland, but proud of the ſup-"port which they receive from you, they would ceaſe to have "us for maſters, and would even make us their vaſſals? They "have betrayed your anceſtors, and even yourſelf, and yet "you love them. Reflect a little upon what they have always "been, and upon what we are. Was it not we who drew the "king your father from the obſcurity in which he lived in a "barbarous country, and made him known to all the world "by the ſplendour of his victories? And reflect a moment upon "the immenſe ſums which theſe victories coſt us. Reflect like-"wiſe upon the blood and treaſure which we expended to place "your brother upon the throne of Hungary. And to whom "do you give the glory of commanding us, as well as that "which you acquired againſt the Knights of the Teutonic "order? Is this the recompence that you would give us for our "ſervices, and is this what we may hereafter expect from a "ſubmiſſion to your laws?" This ſpirited harangue had the deſired effect; the king deſiſted from his pretenſions in favour of Lithuania, and the buſineſs of the diet was afterwards carried on without any oppoſition.

In the year 1466 the Knights of the Teutonic order, intimidated by the irreparable loſſes which they had ſuſtained, entered into a treaty of peace with the Poles, which terminated that cruel war that had ravaged this kingdom for ſo many years, by which they reſtored to the king and to the republic of Poland the duchy of Pomerania, and the diſtricts of Culm and of Milhalow,

which had been diſmembered therefrom for near 180 years: they likewiſe ceded to the Poles the cities of Dantzic, of Marienbourg, and of Elbing, and all that territory which is now called Poliſh Pruſſia, and obliged themſelves to do homage for the other part of Pruſſia which they held of the king and of the republic. And thus this terrible war was terminated which continued twelve years, which coſt the Pruſſians a million of florins (an immenſe ſum in thoſe days) the Knights of the Teutonic order 1,500,000, and the Poles more three millions of florins: moreover before this war began they counted 21,000 villages in Pruſſia; and when the war ended, there were only 3013 remaining which had eſcaped the fire and the horrors of the war. It was likewiſe calculated that the Poles had loſt 300,000 men in a number of little battles that were fought during this period.

Can we then ſufficiently admire the aſtoniſhing effrontery of the late manifeſto of Potzdam, calculated to make out an ancient and a legal claimwhich the marquiſſes of Brandenbourg had to the provinces in queſtion, when all the Poliſh and the beſt of the German hiſtorians poſitively affirm that the family of Brandenbourg never had directly or indirectly any pretenſions to Pruſſia, or to any other part of thoſe territories, till the beginning of the ſixteenth century, when Albert of Brandenbourg was grand maſter of the Teutonic order?

The war with Pruſſia had abſorbed the greateſt part of the revenues of Poland, and had ſo loaded the ſtate with debts, that there was a neceſſity for ſeveral new taxes to pay them off; but as the nation reſolved to inquire into the mode that was propoſed to pay this debt, as well as to regulate the manner of raiſing

thoſe taxes, this gave riſe to a conſiderable alteration in the Poliſh government: before this time all the Poliſh nobility who had voices in the diet generally attended it; and as many of the members were not only turbulent, but extremely ignorant of the different matters they were to decide, great confuſion and diſorder aroſe from ſuch a mixed multitude.

Whereupon it was now decided that every Palatinate ſhould ſend their deputies to the diet, who were called Nonces, and who were inveſted with full powers to enter into all the details of government. The diet which was convoked upon this new plan, was very peaceable, was of ſhort duration, and eſtabliſhed good order in the adminiſtration: though the moſt judicious Poles continue to this day to be of the opinion that this eſtabliſhment of Nonces has ſince been more prejudicial than uſeful to the ſtate. Theſe Nonces have ſince eſteemed their body as the firſt order of the republic; and in the place of regarding themſelves as the intermediate power between the chief and the ſenate, or the firſt members of the ſtate, they often came into the diet only to manifeſt their independency, to oppoſe the moſt ſalutary deſigns of the prince, and to contradict the advice of the ſenate.

Caſimir reigned till the year 1492, and died very little regretted: this prince, who was weak and indolent, had no ambition, but was a lover of flattery and falſe glory: he thought he could never diſhonour himſelf; he was liberal by oſtentation, but avaricious by nature; his devotion was mere grimace; he paſſed his time in a continued ſcene of pompous idleneſs, and during his adminiſtration Poland owed her ſucceſſes more to a concurrence of circumſtances than to his abilities.

After

After the death of this prince, John Albert his third ſon was advanced to the throne of Poland. Albert had ſhewn great bravery in a war which the Poles waged with the Tartars, and had thereby gained the affection of the people, whoſe general voice contributed more towards his election, than the conſent of the Senate and of the Nonces, and diſconcerted all the partizans of his brothers Alexander duke of Lithuania and Uladiſlas king of Hungary, as well as thoſe of John duke of Mazovia, as of the ancient houſe of the Piaſts. We find nothing extraordinary, or even worth recording during the reign of this prince till the year 1500, when, threatened by the Moſcovites, who would ſeize upon the duchy of Smolenſko, he ſolicited the ſuccours of Schah Matei, Kan of the Bulgarian Tartars. Schah Matei, according to the cuſtom of thoſe Tartars, immediately dipped the point of his ſabre in water, and took an oath to join the Poliſh army with 100,000 men upon the banks of the Dnieper. The Tartar prince kept his word, but John Albert did not appear, which gave the Tartars a very bad idea of the Poliſh faith.

The following year John Albert was attacked with an apoplexy and died. The people were extremely deceived in their opinion of this prince's activity and bravery, as his whole reign was only diſtinguiſhed by baſe and weak actions; an indolence and indifference were the diſtinguiſhing characteriſterics of his life; he eaſily received every kind of impreſſion that was given him, as he had not ſufficient diſcernment to diſtinguiſh between good and bad counſels; he was incapable of reflection, and nouriſhed in his prejudices, without any taſte or any principles: it is true a great part of his faults ought to be attributed to the infamous conduct of his governor, who gave him no inſtruction, in order that he might govern the ſtate under the name

name of a weak and ignorant maſter. The Poles were now obliged more by their intereſt than by policy to elect Alexander the fourth ſon of Caſimir, who was already duke of Lithuania, to the throne. Either they were to receive him for their maſter, or to ſee Lithuania ſeparated for ever from Poland.

Alexander agreed when he took the reins of government in his hands, "That from that time forward the Poles and the Li-"thuanians ſhould be one people, under the ſame king, and "under the ſame government; that this king ſhould be always "elected in Poland; that the Nonces and the great nobles of "Lithuania ſhould concur in the election; that the two nations "ſhould have the ſame prerogatives, counſels, intereſts, and "the ſame coins; that they ſhould have every thing in com-"mon among them, their loſſes and advantages, and their "good and ill ſucceſs; but that each ſhould preſerve their "courts of law, and the forms of their judicial proceedings." And thus was the famous project of Uladiſlas Jagellon fully confirmed in the year 1501.

I have already made mention of Schah Matei, the Kan of the Bulgarian Tartars, who came with a powerful army to aſſiſt the Poles, who waited a conſiderable time for their joining him upon the banks of the Dnieper, and at length not only found himſelf deceived by the Poles, his pretended allies, but attacked by the Tartars of the Crim: he was himſelf abandoned by a great part of his army, who joined the enemy; was then obliged to ſupport an unequal combat for ſeveral days, and at length, after having loſt almoſt all his army, and wandered for ſome time through the deſerts of Podolia, he came to Kiovia, where he was

arreſted

arreſted by the palatine of that province, and ſent to Wilna, to wait for the king's orders.

This unhappy prince was kept in priſon till the year 1505, when he was conducted to Radomſko, where he addreſſed the following diſcourſe to the king before the whole ſenate: "I "ſhall take care not to reproach you with bitterneſs for the in- "ſults which you have ſhewn me, becauſe this would be the "means of meriting them; my loſſes, my captivity, and your "own conſcience will ſufficiently explain your injuſtice. Was "it only to deſtroy me that you drew me ſo far into this coun- "try? I came to aſſiſt you when you were in diſtreſs, and con- "fided in your promiſes and your oaths: I have loſt on your "account my ſubjects, my troops, my glory, and my nation; "and how am I recompenſed? Is there any other nation in the "world that would treat an enemy with ſo much barbarity as "you have treated a friend and an ally? But thoſe who break "their word with God, will not heſitate to break it with men." When lifting up his hands towards heaven, which he called to witneſs the ingratitude of the king and of the republic of Poland, "Oh heaven," ſaid he, "thou wilt one day revenge me "of the injuſtice which they have done me."

Schah Matei afterwards inſiſted upon the obligation which they were under of ſetting him free, and of conducting him ſafe into his own country; and promiſed in acknowledgment to raiſe a new army, and to conduct them againſt the enemies of Poland: "It may be," ſaid he, "that you will heſi- "tate to give me my liberty, through fear that I may one "day revenge myſelf for the injuries which I have received; "but learn to know me; I have no longer any thing to re-

"venge

" venge myſelf of, if you repent of your injuſtices, as there are " only actions which are truly noble, generous, and humane, " which make a laſting impreſſion upon my heart."

The king and a great many of the nobility of Poland, degenerated as they were, would have ſet this noble ſpirited Tartar free; and by an exceſs of kindneſs, have endeavoured to make him forget the unkind treatment which he had received, but the clergy oppoſed this meaſure, and obſerved that they ought never to keep any promiſes, or even oaths, with people who were not of their religion.

When we reflect upon the honeſt and noble behaviour of this Tartar, and upon the wretched, mean, and baſe behaviour of the Poles, not to ſay any thing of their perjury, it will fill us with aſtoniſhment: but the latter were acting under the direction of their ſpiritual paſtors, who deſired that Schah Matei might be retained: they afterwards endeavoured to deceive him; he attempted to eſcape out of their hands by flight; but was afterwards retaken, and guarded more ſtrictly than ever; and although he never could bring Alexander and the Poliſh clergy to act as honeſt men, he at leaſt had the conſolation to make them bluſh by his integrity, firmneſs, and courage.

The following year the Tartars attacked Poland with a powerful army, and made great ravages; but the Poliſh army, commanded by the king's favourite Glinſki, gained a complete victory over them: in this memorable battle the Tartars left 20,000 men upon the place of action; the Poles took 23,000 horſes, and delivered 40,000 of their countrymen, whom the former were leading into ſlavery.

The

The king received the news of this victory ſome minutes only before his death: his eyes immediately flowed with tears of joy; he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and expired ſoon after.

This prince, who had but weak abilities, pretended to form great projects, the weight of which was too powerful for him: he was fearful, inquiet, bigotted, and credulous, and ſuffered himſelf to be governed by intereſted and wretched flatterers; he even heſitated to make uſe of that natural judgment and reflection which is inherent in all mankind, and to reject the counſels of thoſe falſe and avaricious people: he was pompous without magnificence, and prodigal without diſcernment; as he even gave away the property which was annexed to the crown; he was inſenſible of the real wants of the ſtate, and yet made it a neceſſity to ſatisfy the miſerable wants of a baſe and diſhonourable voluptuouſneſs. After the death of this prince, his brother Sigiſmond, who was already elected duke of Lithuania by the nobility of that province, was elected king of Poland without any oppoſition, or even any diviſion of the voices.

The former part of the reign of this prince was not diſtinguiſhed by any particular action worthy of our attention, or which contributed in any reſpect to make an alteration in the government of this kingdom; but in the year 1524 we find that he concluded a very remarkable treaty, which at that time was undoubtedly prejudicial to the intereſts of Poland, and which has ſince been much more ſo.

Albert of Brandenbourg, who had been a canon of the church of Cologn, and afterwards ſerved in the emperor's army, where

he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much that he was choſen grand maſter of the Teutonic order; and fearing that the king and the republic of Poland, either through intereſt or through zeal, would ſeize upon that part of Pruſſia which had been ceded by the laſt treaty to the knights of this order, he propoſed to Sigiſmond to divide the territories which appertained to the order in common: this propoſition was liſtened to by the king of Poland, as coming from his ſiſter's ſon; and by the treaty which they concluded in conſequence of it, it was agreed, that "In fu-
"ture all the towns, caſtles, and territories in Pruſſia, ceded
"to the Knights of the Teutonic order, by the treaty made be-
"tween the king Caſimir the Fourth, and the grand maſter
"Lewis Eclichauſen, ſhould appertain only to Albert; and that
"they ſhould paſs to his heir male, and in default thereof to
"his brothers; and moreover that theſe latter might diſpoſe of
"them in favour of their iſſue male; but in caſe that their poſ-
"terity came to be extinguiſhed, then thoſe towns, caſtles, and
"territories ſhould return under the dominion of the king and
"of the republic of Poland; that each of theſe princes ſhould
"be obliged to do homage for thoſe terrritories to the king,
"and to the republic; and ſhould not be at liberty to ſell, to
"alienate, to engage, or to diſmember them without the con-
"ſent of the diet; and that there ſhould always be an ap-
"peal from the judgments of theſe princes to the principal
"tribunal of the kingdom; and moreover as members of the
"ſtate, they ſhould be entitled to have ſeats in all the public
"aſſemblies, where they ſhould occupy the firſt place near the
"king."

This is the original title by which the family of Brandenbourg held that part of Pruſſia for which they took the title of king; but

but with what legality or juſtice the world will judge from the peruſal of the terms of this treaty.

Sigiſmond was in many reſpects a great prince, but he acted a very imprudent and impolitic part in ſuffering the turbulent and tyrannical marquiſſes of Brandenbourg to have any footing in his country: he was likewiſe a great general; as during the whole courſe of his reign, while he commanded their army, the Poles were victorious againſt all their enemies: in fact, ſuch was the love of the people for Sigiſmond that, without any regard to the conſtitution of the republic, they named his ſon Sigiſmond Auguſtus his ſucceſſor to the throne, and crowned him during his father's life-time.

I cannot better deſcribe the character of Sigiſmond than by ſetting forth the leſſons which he gave to his ſon ſome time before his death, and which are tranſmitted down to us with great exactneſs by ſeveral of the beſt of the Poliſh hiſtorians. "My "ſon," ſaid this great king to the prince his ſucceſſor, "it is "ſome time ſince that I have ſeen with ſecret pleaſure all the "hearts of the people turned towards you; and I doubt not "but that you will one day fulfill all their hopes. You are "not ignorant that Poland owes much to us; but learn from "me to-day, that we owe much more to the Poles: they pre-"ferred us and our anceſtors to princes who were much ſupe-"rior to us by their property, by their power, by their birth, "and by their talents; and elected us to be their chiefs and their "maſters: and in the courſe of a century and half, how "often have they ſhown us particular marks of their zeal; they "thought that you in particular was worthy of their voices; "you was not in a capacity to merit them. And is there then

" any thing ſo difficult, any thing ſo great or ſo dangerous, that " you ought not to undertake for their repoſe and for their " glory? You will ſatisfy them without doubt, if you will not " affect to govern as a ſovereign a people whoſe liberties make " them the arbitrators of your conduct, and the judges even of " your virtues. You muſt not attempt to lord it over them, except " by the wiſdom of your counſels, nor to order them any thing " but by the authority of the laws which they have made for " themſelves; you muſt not attempt to command them, if I " may make uſe of ſuch an expreſſion, but by obeying them; " for it is only taking care to preſerve their privileges, that you " may acquire ſome power over them. Deſcend towards them " without demeaning yourſelf; flatter their ambition, without " letting them perceive your own; gain their confidence, and " they will abandon all their privileges to you; behave towards " them in ſuch a manner as to make them think that they have " nothing to fear from you, and from that moment they will " only fear for you, and you will have no reaſon to fear them. " You muſt have no other enemies but theirs; but you muſt " think leſs of defending them, than of making them happy; " be faithful to your promiſes, equitable in your judgments, " magnificent in your gifts, and obliging even in your refuſals; " reduce them to the ſituation of not ſetting any limits to your " power, when it is applied to promote the public utility and " felicity."

During the reign of this amiable prince the cities became flouriſhing, the number of the fortreſſes was increaſed, and ſeveral ſumptuous public edifices were raiſed. The arts and ſciences which he introduced into the kingdom ſoftened and poliſhed in ſome meaſure the manners of the nobility; the farmers were

were relieved from oppreſſion, agriculture was recommended and protected, and abundance was ſpread throughout all the provinces of the kingdom.

This prince died in the year 1548, in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, ſincerely and univerſally regretted by all his ſubjects: he was maſter of his own ambition, which he reſtrained, and knew how to make it ſubſervient to the intereſts of his people, which always appeared to be the great object of his policy. More jealous of the happineſs of the nation, than of the glory of acquiring new kingdoms, as he refuſed the crowns of Sweden, of Hungary, and of Bohemia: he was courageous, but not raſh; bold but not preſumptuous; firm but not opinionated; he corrected the turbulent humour of the Poliſh nobility by reſpecting their privileges, and gained the eſteem and confidence of his neighbours, leſs by his power, and the real force of his ſtates, than by the exact probity with which he fulfilled all his engagements.

Sigiſmond Auguſtus, who was elected and crowned king during his father's life-time, mounted the throne without any oppoſition. This prince married firſt the archduchеſs Elizabeth, daughter of Ferdinand king of the Romans; but as he ſoon became a widower, he fell violently in love with a young widow, the daughter of George Radziwil, and as he could not ſeduce her, he reſolved to marry her, which he did without the conſent of the king, or of the ſenate, which were neceſſary in thoſe days, and without any other witneſs than the contracting parties. While he was paſſing ſome days with his new bride, a courier brought the news of the death of his father, on which he hid the courier for three days, and during this time he declared his

marriage, and gave orders to all the Palatines of Lithuania, the habitation of the Radziwil family, and all the great officers of the ſtate, to acknowledge the princeſs as their queen.

The news of the marriage of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, contracted without the participation and conſent of the republic, ſet the whole nation againſt him, and was the principal object of the deliberations of the diet of Petrikow. Several of the Nonces there obſerved, that "As the ſtate was in want of proper alli-"ances, the kings ought to regulate themſelves thereby, and "not by following their blind paſſion to ally themſelves with "ſuch courts as were jealous of their people's happineſs, or "with poor or degraded houſes. And what advantage," ſaid they, "are we to expect from the alliance in queſtion? What "ſuccours, what property, what reſources, can ſuch a perſon "bring to the ſtate? the widow of a ſubject, whoſe birth, diſ-"tinguiſhed as it may be, is much inferior to the rank to which "ſhe imagines ſhe may raiſe herſelf, and where, by your con-"currence, ſhe hopes to ſupport herſelf."

Upon which the diet decided that the king ought to join with them to diſſolve the marriage, and to contract another, which might be more honourable and advantageous to the nation. Upon which the king addreſſed the diet in the following terms: "Permit "me," ſaid he with great gentleneſs, "that I may fulfill m "engagement, and with that probity which you would wiſh "ſhould be always an eſſential part of my character. Attached "to the republic, I would not wound its authority, and hav-"ing pledged my faith to my wife, I will die ſooner than be-"tray her confidence; if I have acted contrary to your laws, "if I have wounded your privileges, I will endeavour to re-"dreſs the latter, by confeſſing before you all that I have

" been wanting to; and I will offer you a means to re-
" eſtabliſh your rights, by deſiring you to give your conſent to
" my marriage; as it cannot be diſſolved, you have no other
" method to take but to approve of it. In that caſe my ho-
" nour will not ſuffer, and you will loſe nothing of you rigid
" liberties, upon which you ſo much glorify yourſelves." This plain and reaſonable diſcourſe, far from calming the minds of this people, ſerved only to irritate them. The archbiſhop of Gneſna obſerved, that " If it was a ſin for a man to put away
" his legal wife, every Pole ought, for the good of the ſtate,
" to take a part of it upon his conſcience." Another learned biſhop ſpoke much for the diſſolution of the marriage, and to give the more weight to his opinion he cited the famous paſſage of Euripides, " That if we were at any time authorized to
" offer any violation to juſtice, it ſhould be particularly in the
" exerciſe of the ſovereign authority." Hereupon the debates began to be very warm in the diet, but the king reſolved to hear no more of them; the ſenators threw themſelves at his feet, but he ſhook them off; one of them, with tears in his eyes, attempted to ſpeak, but the king commanded him to be ſilent. Then the palatine of Bizeſcia roſe up, and with a degree of firmneſs which almoſt bordered upon a defiance, addreſſed the king in the following manner: " Has your majeſty forgotten what ſort
" of men you pretend to command? We are Poles, and the
" Poles you know take as much pleaſure in honouring ſuch of
" their kings as reſpect their laws, as in oppoſing the haughti-
" neſs of thoſe who deſpiſe thoſe laws: take care that by
" breaking through your oaths, you do not force us to break
" ours likewiſe: the king your father took our advice on moſt
" occaſions, and it depends upon us to act in ſuch a manner,
" that in future you ſhall be obliged to liſten to that of a re-

" public,

" public, of which you ſeem to forget that you are but the firſt " citizen." Nothing was capable of ſhaking the firmneſs and reſolution of the king, nor the obſtinacy of the Poles: the diet was diſſolved, and if the Tartars had not at this time attacked and ravaged ſome part of the kingdom, this ſpark would in all probability have cauſed ſuch a flame as might have proved the means of dethroning Sigiſmond Auguſtus.

In the year 1556 Sigiſmond took advantage of the troubles of Livonia to ſubmit this rich province to the dominion of Poland: he compelled the grand maſter of the Teutonic order, under whoſe ſubjection this province was at that time, to ſign a treaty, whereby he declared himſelf to be a vaſſal of the crown, and moreover obliged himſelf not to make any alliance with the Ruſſians, but with the conſent of the republic.

In the year 1561 Godhard Kettler, grand maſter of this order, not being in a ſituation to ſupport himſelf againſt the formidable power of the Ruſſians, rendered Livonia to the crown of Poland, on condition that he ſhould poſſeſs Courland and Semigall, under the title of duchy, for which he and his ſucceſſors in perpetuity ſhould do homage to the king and to the republic. Kettler, when he ſigned this treaty, gave up his croſs and the ſeal of his order, put the Poles in poſſeſſion of the town and of the caſtle of Riga, and was proclaimed hereditary duke of Courland and of Semigall. Many hiſtorians have been much ſurprized at the facility with which this grand maſter diveſted himſelf of a great part of his territories; but following the example of the famous Albert of Brandenbourg, and having like him changed his opinion reſpecting religion, to follow the doctrines of Luther, he choſe rather to divide his provinces with an ally powerful enough

enough to ſupport him againſt his enemies, than to ſee them attacked on every ſide by a powerful neighbour.

Towards the end of the year 1568, Albert Tredeni of Brandenbourg, having ſucceeded his father Albert duke of Pruſſia, came to Lublin to demand of the king and of the republic of Poland the inveſtiture of his duchy; he was received before the diet, and promiſed the king Sigiſmond to be faithful and obedient to him as his natural and hereditary lord; whereupon the king gave him a white ſtandard, on which a black eagle was painted, which had on its ſtomach the two letters S. A. (Sigiſmond Auguſtus); and when he had taken the oaths, the king girded on a two-edged ſword to the duke's ſide, and paſſed a chain of gold about his neck as a mark of knighthood. Conſidering the nature of this inveſtiture, and the circumſtances which attended it, is it not aſtoniſhing that the family of Brandenbourg, 150 years after, ſhould have the aſſurance to take the title of king for this little territory, which was no more than a fief of the crown of Poland? and that in our days a Hohenſhollern, with a degree of perſuaſion peculiar to ſome military geniuſes, ſhould attempt by a manifeſto to perſuade mankind, that the whole territories of Pruſſia legally appertained for ſeveral hundred years paſt to his family?

The following year the great affair of the union of Lithuania with Poland, ſuch as it is at preſent, was finally ſettled. By this agreement both ſtates are to concur equally in the election of the kings; and no perſon can be king of Poland who is not at the ſame time duke of Lithuania. The king of Poland renounced for himſelf and for his children all the rights which his anceſtors had left him upon this duchy, and conſented that it

ſhould no longer be regarded as an appendage of his family. In the year 1571, Sigiſmond Auguſtus died; and though he had been guilty of many irregularities in the early part of his reign, was much lamented by all his people. This prince, who was born with great virtues and ſome vices, knew how to follow his father's inſtructions, and to engage the eſteem and love of his ſubjects: he was an enemy to flattery, and was even highly offended with any perſon who attempted it: he was ſlow in forming his projects, but very prompt in executing them: he reaſoned very well upon moſt matters; and to draw people over to his opinion, he often made uſe of ſoft inſinuations, which made others with whom he converſed believe that he gave into their way of thinking: he was bold and enterprizing in war, and often expoſed himſelf to dangers when he thought he could thereby paſs on to victory; but on the other hand, he likewiſe knew how to avoid them when he ſaw that no good conſequences were likely to follow. At a time when ignorance appeared to be one of the characteriſtics of grandeur, he protected and encouraged the arts and ſciences in his kingdom. With this prince the male iſſue of the family of the Jagellons was extinguiſhed, who had occupied the throne of Poland near 200 years.

The throne of Poland being now vacant, ſeveral candidates appeared to be elected to this high and important dignity; among whom were the archduke Erneſt, ſon of the emperor Maximilian the Second; the king of Sweden and his ſon; duke Albert of Pruſſia; and the elector of Saxony; but by one of the capricious acts of dame Fortune this crown was reſerved for Henry duke of Anjou, brother to Charles the Ninth king of France. Certain it is, that the court of France had at that time no connection with Poland, and except two or three who

were

were in the ſecret, thought very little of giving a maſter to this ſtate. A Poliſh gentleman who was at Paris, and who was admitted to ſome familiarities with Catherine of Medicis, was the firſt to whom the propoſition was made by that artful and intriguing queen, who loaded him with riches, and by him ſent ſeveral rich preſents to ſome of the principal clergy and nobility of Poland. When he returned into his own country, theſe preſents, and the report which he made of the great qualities of the duke of Anjou, pleaded ſo much in his favour, that when Sigiſmond Auguſtus died, a part of the nobility uſed their utmoſt endeavours to place this prince upon the throne, and he was elected notwithſtanding all the efforts of the partizans of the archduke of Auſtria. It was at the diet which was convened for the election of this prince that we firſt find the name of Diſſidents mentioned; a name which was given to all who diſſented from the Roman Catholic religion, as it was then practiſed in this kingdom, if ſuch a ſcene of horrors and abuſes as were uſed by the moſt abandoned clergy that ever diſgraced human ſociety may be called a religion: it was at this diet likewiſe that the act called the Pacta Conventa, or the written conventions that the kings of Poland make with the republic, and which hath ſince been eſtabliſhed as a fundamental law of the kingdom, were firſt formed. Before this time the kings of Poland agreed tacitly or verbally to govern their ſubjects according to the laws and cuſtoms of the ſtate; but the laſt article of theſe conventions ſigned by Henry of Anjou expreſſes, that if the prince ſhall break any of the engagements which he has entered into with his ſubjects and ſworn to keep, the oaths of fidelity which the ſubjects have taken ſhall from that moment be diſſolved and regarded as null. All the acts which have been ſigned ſince this æra by the kings of Poland when they came to the throne, have

had this for a model, and this laſt article in particular has never been omitted. Before this æra the Poles regarded their kingdom as partly elective and partly hereditary, but ſince this time the crown has always been ſuppoſed, even by the laws of the ſtate, to be entirely elective; and this people have always endeavoured to preſerve the right of depoſing their kings if they break their engagements.

However, notwithſtanding Henry ſigned this formidable act, the wicked characters of Catherine de Medicis and of her adherents were ſo well known at this time throughout all Europe, that all the Diſſidents and a great of the Poliſh nobility formed a kind of an aſſociation againſt this prince; and when the day appointed for his coronation arrived, and the primate had begun this grand ceremony, Tirley, the great marſhal of the crown, roſe up, and addreſſed the Poles who were of his party in the following manner: "It was in vain then," ſaid he to them, "that you and I flattered "ourſelves, even to this day, with being free; but they play "with our privileges, and the greateſt part of our fellow-citizens, "by an infamous and perfidious ſilence, condemn themſelves to "an eternal ſlavery. Let them early ply their necks to the yoke "of ſlavery, as they are not worthy of liberty; but for us, my "friends, who have at the ſame time our laws and our religion "to ſupport, let us ſhew the world by our boldneſs or by our "death, how we are diſpoſed to oppoſe tyranny. You cannot "have forgotten the juſt and equitable demands which were made "of the king by the almoſt unanimous deſire of the whole "nation for the free exerciſe of the reformed religion in the "kingdom, and which by his ambaſſador were conſented to: "do you imagine that we ought to forget them, becauſe "the king has rejected them and broke his promiſes? What

"baſeneſs,

" baſeneſs, what ſhame for us that we have ſuffered them ſo " long? For my part, I am determined to bear it no longer; " and if the king will not immediately accept the conditions " which he has granted, and ſwear to obſerve them, from this " moment I will oppoſe his coronation."

Such an audacious act would in all probability have been followed by a bloody battle, if the French ambaſſador, who was ſeated near the king, had not addreſſed himſelf immediately to the archbiſhop of Gneſna in the following manner: " The king " orders you to begin the ceremony for which we are here " aſſembled, and his majeſty, with the ſenate, will regulate the " reſt." This tone of firmneſs and of confidence ſilenced the inſulting clamours of the other party, and the ceremony was finiſhed without any diſturbance. However, as Henry ſtill refuſed to fulfill his promiſes (indeed they were not made with the intention to be fulfilled, as he was at that time in the plot with the reſt of his amiable family to cut off all the Proteſtants from the face of the earth) he found his ſituation in Poland very diſagreeable, and there was the greateſt probability that the nation would have ſoon been plunged in a civil war; but happily for the Poles, Charles the Ninth king of France ſoon after died, and Henry, who was heir to that crown, quitted Poland in the night with the greateſt precipitation. All the Poles who were of his party were filled with amazement and conſternation when they heard that Henry had abandoned the kingdom; and they immediately ſent the great chamberlain, count Tenczyn, to deſire the king to return. Tenczyn joined the king in Sileſia, threw himſelf at his feet, and conjured him to yield to the deſire which his ſubjects expreſſed to ſee him; he painted the melancholy ſituation of the dom, torn to pieces by inteſtine factions, in the moſt lively colours,

colours, but all he could ſay was to no effect; Henry had formed his reſolution, and ſent back Tenczyn with vague promiſes to return, and in the mean time to ſend ſome wiſe and prudent miniſters, who would watch over the repoſe of the ſtate.

However the Poles, perſuaded that Henry had abandoned their kingdom for ever, declared the throne vacant. The nation was now divided into two parties; the one proclaimed the emperor Maximilian the Second their king, and the other agreed to place the princeſs Ann Jagellon, ſiſter to Sigiſmond Auguſtus, upon the throne, on condition that ſhe ſhared the ſovereign authority with Stephen Battori, prince of Tranſilvania, whom they deſigned for her huſband. The death of the emperor Maximilian delivered this kingdom from a dangerous enemy, who was preparing to take advantage of the diviſions of the kingdom and to aſſert the rights which one part of the nation had given him; ſo that in the year 1576 Stephen Battori was proclaimed king of Poland: but as this prince was a ſtranger, and not ſuppoſed to be well enough acquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of the ſtate, the diet named ſixteen ſenators, who were always to be near the king, and to aſſiſt him with their counſel: this is the origin of the reſident ſenators in this kingdom.

The following year the magiſtrates of the city of Dantzic, who refuſed to acknowledge Stephen Battori as king of Poland, were declared rebels to their country, and the city was beſieged in form by this prince; but as they afterwards complied, their crime was pardoned, and the king confirmed all their privileges. During this ſiege Mark Sobieſki beat the rebels near the Dirchaw, and purſued their general to a conſiderable diſtance, when he overtook him and killed him near the Viſtula within the king's ſight;

ſight; whereupon Battori obſerved, "that if he was to riſk "the fate of Poland upon a ſingle combat, as that of Rome "was formerly done, he would not heſitate to name Mark "Sobieſki for this purpoſe."

Stephen made a great reformation in the adminiſtration of juſtice and in the internal policy of the kingdom: he eſtabliſhed the great tribunal of the crown; all the caſes of the nobility of Great Poland were judged at Petrikow, thoſe of the nobles of Little Poland at Lublin; the law-ſuits of the nobility of Lithuania were judged at a tribunal that was inſtituted three years after this, which was held ſix months at Wilna and the other ſix months at Novogrodek. This prince eſtabliſhed a law, which has ever ſince remained in force, that no commoner of Poland ſhould be ennobled without the conſent of the diet: he likewiſe publiſhed ſeveral new military orders, re-eſtabliſhed the diſcipline of the Poliſh cavalry, and formed a new body of troops, which were deſigned to act againſt the Tartars, and ſent them into the Ukraine, at that time almoſt a deſert country from Bar and Kiow almoſt to the Black Sea, but which is at preſent, by the prudence and policy of Battori, filled with well-peopled towns and villages. Till the reign of Stephen Battori the Coſacks had lived in a kind of independence, and, in fact, almoſt in a ſtate of nature; and ſupported themſelves by hunting, robbing, and plundering: this prince attempted to reduce this turbulent people, to make them ſubject to proper laws and regulations, and to make them as a kind of rampart for Poland againſt the Turks and the Tartars: he formed a perpetual militia among this people, granted them great liberties and privileges, permitted them to elect a chief, to build the town of Terechtemirow, and aſſigned them a conſiderable extent of country upon the frontiers of the kingdom; and

and from hence we may date the origin of the form of government which was practiſed among the Coſacks for more than 120 years, and which ſubſiſts, in ſome meaſure, to this day.

In the year 1579 Stephen Battori declared war againſt the Ruſſians, and laid ſiege to the town of Polock in Lithuania, which was conquered by the latter under the reign of Sigiſmond the Second.

The Poles took the place after a ſhort ſiege, and flattered themſelves that they ſhould find a very conſiderable booty in it, but the enemy had the precaution to carry off every thing that was valuable, except the library, in which were found ſeveral ancient and intereſting manuſcripts and the writings of ſeveral fathers of the Greek church tranſlated into the Sclavonian language by Methodius, apoſtle of the Sclavonians, and by Cyrill his brother, known under the name of Conſtantine. This library was carried to Wilna, where an academy was founded this year, and confirmed by a bull of pope Gregory the Thirteenth. This ſame year likewiſe Godhard Keſler did homage to the king and to the republic of Poland, and received from them the ſolemn inveſtiture of the duchy of Courland. In the year 1582, a treaty of peace was ſigned between the Ruſſians and the Poles by the mediation of the pope, whereby the former ceded above thirty fortreſſes in Livonia and Eſtonia to the latter, and by that means all their communication with the Baltic ſea was cut off; but as the court of Moſcow had no idea in thoſe days of the great advantages of a marine and of commerce, this loſs was not judged to be of any great conſequence.

In the year 1586 the whole kingdom of Poland were greatly afflicted by the loſs of Stephen Battori. This juſt and amiable prince acquired the greateſt part of his knowledge and of his virtues in the ſchool of adverſity: in the early part of his life he was attached to Ferdinand king of Hungary, and loſt his liberty in fighting for him, who repaid his friendſhip and ſervices with black ingratitude. John prince of Tranſilvania drew him to his court, and charged him with an important commiſſion to the emperor Maximilian the Second, who arreſted him under pretence that he had broken the truce: he was retained three years in priſon, during which interval he ſtudied hiſtory, converſed with men of genius, and employed all his vacant hours in reading good books; but, like the great Condé, he would never permit that Cæſar's Commentaries ſhould be read to him. After the death of John, the ſtates of Tranſilvania elected him unanimouſly to be their prince, and ſoon afterwards he was elected king of Poland. This prince was affable, humane, and good-natured to a great degree, and never gave any perſon reaſon to fear him, but the enemies of his country: he was a great general, and as prudent as he was brave and intrepid. After his death the kingdom was again divided into two factions; one of them pretended to have a Piaſt for their king, and the other would give the crown to a ſtranger: each party ſupported their ſentiments with ſo much obſtinacy, that there was even a diviſion in the ſenate upon that head; whereupon the true patriots, to prevent a civil war, elected Sigiſmond, ſon of John king of Sweden and of Catherine Jagellon, daughter of Auguſtus the Firſt, to be their king, while the oppoſite party proclaimed the archduke Maximilian. The Auſtrian prince entered Poland with ſome troops, but he was beaten and obliged to retire into Sileſia: ſoon after Sigiſmond entered Poland and was crowned king, and afterwards

he followed Maximilian into Germany, who ſhut himſelf up in Witzen; the place was beſieged and taken, and the unhappy prince was made priſoner; but however he obtained his liberty the following year, on condition that he renounced the title of king.

In the year 1518 the two nephews of the late king Stephen, Andrew and Balthaſar Battori, were formally naturalized by a law of the ſtate. Before this time all the ſtrangers who eſtabliſhed themſelves in this kingdom enjoyed the privileges of natural-born ſubjects without having any occaſion for an act of naturalization; before this time likewiſe the landed as well as perſonal property of all the great families was equally divided among all the children of each houſe reſpectively, ſo that the eldeſt had no advantage over the youngeſt: but in the year 1589 a law was enacted to alter this order of ſucceſſion, and to eſtabliſh a certain right in the eldeſt child of a family to ſucceed to the principal landed eſtate of the family, without dividing it with the younger children, and to prevent it from being charged with any mortgage.

Soon after the Coſacks, who, as I have before mentioned, were living peaceably under a civil government upon the frontiers of Poland, were attacked by a great army of Tartars, who would revenge themſelves for the ravages which theſe robbers had formerly made in their country. Theſe Tartars paſſed the Dneiper, and came and encamped themſelves near Leopold; whereupon the general Zamoyſki was deputed with a body of troops to ſuccour the Coſacks, who were immediately victorious, and drove the enemy out of their territories; but, blinded by their ſucceſs, they fell into an ambuſcade, and were in danger of being all

all maſſacred; they even offered to ſurrender upon honourable terms. The Kan of the Tartars, who after his firſt defeat had brought a new army into the field, to animate and encourage his ſubjects refuſed treating with them upon any conditions. The Coſacks, driven to deſpair, exhorted each other mutually to ſell their lives dear, and fell with ſuch fury upon the Tartars, that they cut their way through the Tartar army with which they were ſurrounded, and made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter, that their enemies betook themſelves to flight; their Kan was wounded, and his ſon, covered with wounds, expired before his eyes: in fact, the Coſacks gained a complete victory. Hiſtory furniſhes us with many examples of this kind: drive an enemy to deſpair, and you furniſh him with new arms to vanquiſh you.

The following year died Godhard Kettſco, duke of Courland; and in a diet that was held ſoon after, it was decided, that as this prince died without any male iſſue, Courland ſhould be governed immediately by the king; they likewiſe ſettled proper revenues to ſupport the honours and dignity of the crown, as well in Lithuania as in Poland, of which the following are an exact liſt: The ſalt works of Cracow, the mines of Olkuſz, the cuſtom-houſes of the crown and thoſe of the province of Red Ruſſia, the ſalt-works of Ruſſia, the ſtaroſties of Sendomir and of Sambor, the diſtricts of Ozimin and of Medeniec, the cuſtoms of Marienbourg, of Rogozno, and of Dirchaw, the cuſtoms of Dantzic and of Elbing, of Plocko and of Riga in Lithuania, the cuſtoms of Grodno, of Szawle, of Brzeſc, of Kobryn, of of Mohilow, and of Olita, together with the produce of the coinages and of the public carriages. Many of theſe articles are annexed to the domain of the crown to this day. The cuſtoms of Dantzic are now the property of the magiſtrates, who pay

the crown of Poland a certain fixed ſum yearly as an equivalent for them; and the rich ſalt-works have lately been uſurped by the court of Vienna.

The Coſacks, proud of the protection of the Poles, continued to plunder and depopulate the territories of the Tartars, on which the latter ſent deputies to the republic to make complaints againſt the Coſacks, and to demand reparation for the wrongs which had been done them. The Poles on this made them a preſent of a great number of ſheeps ſkins; and promiſed to pay them 20,000 ducats a year to keep them in peace and tranquillity, which gift the Tartars regarded as a tribute.

In the year 1592 the king of Sweden died, and the king of Poland departed immediately from Cracow to take poſſeſſion of the crown of this kingdom, to which he was the heir. In paſſing through Dantzic, one of the Poles who was in his train imprudently wounded one of the citizens of that place, which immediately cauſed a general revolt in the town: the inhabitants ſhut the gates, armed themſelves, advanced ſome pieces of cannon, and fired ſeveral ſhot againſt the houſe where the king was lodged; ſeveral Poles were killed; but after ſome difficulties the minds of the people were quieted, and Sigiſmond embarked for Stockholm. We may from hence ſee the abuſe which the inhabitants of Dantzic, now grown rich by commerce, made of the liberties and privileges which they had ſome years before obtained from the Poles in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and how dangerous it is for a government to entruſt too much power to the people without having a proper controul over them: the making the nobility independent, and ſetting up ſo many little ſovereignties and free ſtates within the territories of this great ſtate, has been the

ruin

ruin of Poland, and will inevitably bring this once powerful kingdom to its final deſtruction.

In the year 1594 Sigiſmond was crowned king of Sweden at Upſal; and after having confirmed the privileges of the nation, he entruſted the government to his uncle Charles duke of Suder-mania, the father of Guſtavus Adolphus: but before he could ſettle this affair and his plan of government, he had many debates with the ſenate; the former pretended to re-eſtabliſh the Roman Catholic religion; and the latter inſiſted that the practice of this religion ſhould be totally prohibited; and the king's authority was obliged to give way to the unanimous opinion of the ſenate, of the ſtates, and of the multitude.

Sigiſmond left Sweden without being able to extinguiſh the fire which his propoſition had raiſed in all parts of the kingdom, and immediately the ſtates aſſembled at Suder Cöeping, where Charles of Sudermania was not only eſtabliſhed regent of the kingdom by the general voice of the people, but it was likewiſe enacted that this prince ſhould not diveſt himſelf of this important dignity on any account whatever. Highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of Charles and of the ſtates, Sigiſmond made ſeveral efforts to re-aſſume his authority, but he was oppoſed by all the partizans of his uncle, and matters were at length carried to ſuch a height, that their differences could not be decided but by arms. Sigiſmond pleaded his ſovereign rights, and Charles the love of the people: the two rivals met at Stegebourg; their armies engaged, and Sigiſmond was vanquiſhed; whereupon the deciſion of their differences was remitted to the diet at Stockholm, which, after having in vain demanded that Sigiſmond ſhould come and reſide in Sweden, or at leaſt ſend his

ſon

ſon there to be educated in the Lutheran religion, decided that duke Charles ſhould be king. Sigiſmond made ſome bitter complaints of this unjuſt proceeding to the diet at Warſaw; but he could not perſuade the Poles to enter into a war of which the cauſe appeared to them, if not contrary, at leaſt entirely foreign to the intereſts of the republic.

In the year 1604 a bloody war broke out in Livonia in conſequence of the unhappy differences of theſe two kings, when this rich province was laid waſte; and during five years the armies of the two parties were ſometimes victors and ſometimes vanquiſhed. However the Poles, ſupported by the troops of the duke of Courland, at length raiſed the ſiege of Riga and drove the Swedes out of Livonia; but either they did not know how to make a proper uſe of the advantages which they had gained, or they feared, by purſuing their victories, to lend their forces to increaſe the royal power, which they imagined would be dangerous to their liberty. Moreover the Poles were at this time much diſſatisfied with Sigiſmond's conduct, who was about to marry an Auſtrian princeſs the ſiſter of his former wife; and they moreover ſuppoſed that the king had deſigned to quit the crown of Poland in favour of his ſon Uladiſlas.

The following year the kingdom of Poland was in the greateſt confuſion on account of the differences between the king and the nobility; the latter aſſociated to oblige the king to reform the enormous abuſes which had been introduced into the adminiſtration of the public affairs: all who did not enter into this league were declared enemies of their country. The nobles armed their vaſſals, and the king aſſembled his troops and marched againſt the diſcontented party: the two armies were ready to engage,

and one citizen to aſſaſſinate another, when the ſenators deſired to have a conference with the chiefs of the anti-royaliſts; who at length conſented to wait quietly the deciſion of the diet of Warſaw, on condition that the king would not aſſiſt there in perſon. However this treaty did not take place; and notwithſtanding Sigiſmond uſed every conciliating method to pacify the people, the chiefs of the rebels, in a kind of council which they held, had the aſſurance to declare the throne vacant, and the adherents of their legal prince traitors to their country. The turbulent Radzivil of Lithuania had even the audacity to convoke the ſtates of the kingdom to Warſaw to elect a new king. Theſe troubles continued during the whole reign of Sigiſmond, and only ceaſed with his death.

In the year 1610 the Poles beſieged Smolenſko, and their famous general Zolkiewſki beat the Ruſſian army which came to ſuccour the place, and purſued them to Moſcow, which he likewiſe took; and as they had juſt then depoſed Baſil Suiſki their czar, proclaimed Uladiſlas, ſon of Sigiſmond the Third, czar of Ruſſia. The following year John Sigiſmond of Brandenbourg received the ſolemn inveſtiture of the duchy of Pruſſia from the king and from the republic of Poland. In the year 1620 the general Zolkiewſki was ſent with 8000 men to ſuccour Gratian the palatine of Moldavia againſt the Turks and the Tartars, where, although he was environed with more than 100,000 men, he cut a paſſage through the enemy's army and eſcaped; but he was purſued and harraſſed for more than 100 leagues; and, arrived at the banks of the Dneiper, he thought himſelf in ſafety, when all on a ſudden he ſaw himſelf abandoned by his cavalry, which paſſed the river by ſwimming; whereupon the ſon of this general threw himſelf at his father's feet, and deſired him

him to think of ſaving himſelf; but this brave man anſwered, "The republic has entruſted the whole army to my care, and I "cannot abandon my infantry." In fact, the Turks and the Tartars fell upon this weakened body of troops with great fury and made a terrible ſlaughter: the ſon, covered with wounds, expired in the arms of his father, who likewiſe fell ſome minutes after upon his bleeding body. The republic afterwards raiſed a monument upon the field of battle, where the praiſes of Zolkiewſki were rehearſed in four languages, which monument, as well as the memory of this brave man, has always been reſpected by the Turks and by the Tartars.

The following year Sultan Oſman, a bold and enterprizing young man, attacked the Poles with an army of 300,000 Turks and 100,000 Tartars: the Poliſh army was only 65,000 men, who were entrenched near Chockzin, a town in Moldavia; Oſman attempted to force the Poliſh camp, but without ſucceſs, and in the ſeveral attacks which he made loſt 80,000 men; whereupon the Turks, deſpairing of gaining any advantage over their enemies, offered them peace, which the Poles, who were greatly diſtreſſed for proviſions, accepted without much difficulty. The principal articles of this treaty were, 1ſt. That the ſultan ſhould employ his utmoſt endeavours to keep the Tartars within bounds. 2d. That Sigiſmond ſhould ſuppreſs as much as poſſible the robberies and plunderings of the Coſacks. 3d. That Oſman ſhould name the woiewode of Moldavia: the Sultan promiſed, on his part, that he would not raiſe any perſon to this dignity but a Chriſtian prince and a friend of the Poles.

Scarcely had Sigiſmond finiſhed this formidable war, when the diet of the kingdom broke out into loud murmurs againſt him:

him; they accuſed him, firſt, of having named his ſon Albert to a biſhopric, though he was only nine years old; ſecondly, of having ſent great bodies of Coſacks to ſupport the emperor againſt the Turks; thirdly, of having aſſiſted the queen to buy the territory of Zyviec upon the frontiers of Hungary, contrary to the laws of the ſtate, which forbid the king or the queen to acquire any freehold lands in the kingdom. To quiet the minds of the people, Sigiſmond promiſed that his ſon, when he was of age, ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the republic, and that they ſhould declare all the Poles who ſerved in foreign armies, infamous and rebels; but he ſaid nothing reſpecting the acquiſitions which the queen had made. However in the following diet it was decided, that the hereditary eſtates of the nobility ſhould not be transferred but to their equals; and that the republic or any noble ſhould be at liberty to purchaſe the territory of Zyviec of the queen, and that the king ſhould not give any vacant places or dignities but to nobles of the Poliſh nation.

In the year 1632 Sigiſmond the Third died at Warſaw in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age: as being full of unhappy events, the reign of this prince is particularly diſtinguiſhed in the Poliſh annals: he was called to the government of this kingdom by a formidable party; he triumphed over the forces of the houſe of Auſtria, and carried away the crown from Maximilian his competitor; but he loſt an hereditary throne in purſuing after one that was elective. Maſter of Moſcow, he had neither talents nor reſolution ſufficient to ſupport himſelf there: obſtinately attached to his own ideas, he never ſtudied the genius of his people, but ſuffered himſelf to be governed by the times and by particular circumſtances. If the nation had been always at

peace, Sigiſmond might have governed with tolerable ſucceſs; but in the midſt of thoſe political ſtruggles which Poland underwent during his reign, he held the reins of government with a very weak hand.

The diet which was ſoon after convoked for the election of a new king was very tumultuous; though no other candidate appeared for this dignity but the prince Uladiſlas, the ſon of the late king.

The elector of Brandenbourg, as duke of Pruſſia, pretended to have the right of voting, but the diet remitted it to the king who ſhould be elected to decide the validity of this pretenſion. The Coſacks likewiſe pretended to have the ſame right; but their pretenſion was rejected with indignation. Another quarrel aroſe in this diet on account of the arrival of the prince Uladiſlas, as by the fundamental laws of this ſtate all thoſe who offered themſelves as candidates for the throne, were to keep themſelves at a diſtance during the time of the election. The city of Dantzic obtained the right of voting by their deputies in this diet. In fact, after ſome time Uladiſlas was proclaimed unanimouſly king of Poland, and took the neceſſary oaths for the ſupport of the liberties and privileges of the nation.

A moſt ſingular anecdote happened during this diet, which will give us a clear idea of a fundamental law of Poland, by which it was neceſſary that the king ſhould be elected *nemine contradicente*. One ſingle Poliſh gentleman oppoſed the election of Uladiſlas: they aſked him the reaſon of his oppoſition, and whether he had any thing to reproach the prince with? he anſwered in the negative; "But," ſaid he, "I will not have

"him

" him to be my king." The election was thereupon ſuſpended, and they had much difficulty to bring this gentleman over to the opinion of the aſſembly. Some time after Uladiſlas ſent for him, and aſked him, why he had oppoſed him? to which he anſwered, " I was determined to ſee whether our liberties ſtill ſubſiſted; I " am now ſatisfied, and you have not a better ſubject in your " kingdom."

No ſooner was Uladiſlas crowned, than he was attacked by the Ruſſians, who made great ravages upon the frontiers of the kingdom; he immediately marched a conſiderable force againſt him, and by his great ſkill as a general, drew them into narrow defiles, ſurrounded them, and forced them to ſurrender at diſcretion with very little loſs; whereupon the Turks, to ſupport the Ruſſians their allies, made a powerful diverſion on the ſide of Moldavia; Uladiſlas immediately led on his troops againſt theſe new enemies, and gained a complete victory over them; this was ſoon after followed by a general peace, which procured Uladiſlas as much honour as his two victories.

In the year 1637 a cruel war broke out between the Poles and the Coſacks. It has been already obſerved that this people, who were deſigned to be as a kind of barrier to obſtruct the invaſions of the Turks and of the Tartars, had obtained of Stephen Battori a conſiderable tract of land in the Ukraine, together with many privileges and the free exerciſe of the Greek religion. Afterwards the eſtabliſhments of the Coſacks became the aſylum for all the Poliſh farmers and labourers, who were kept in a ſtate of oppreſſion, and who would ſhake off the tyranny and ſtate of ſlavery under which they were kept. The nobles and the proprietors of fiefs demanded the reſtitution of their ſlaves;

the Coſacks refuſed to reſtore them; and the nobles on the other hand reſolved not only to take them by force, but alſo to reduce the Coſacks to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery in which their farmers were actually at that time.

Nicholas Potocki conducted a body of troops into the Ukraine, and raiſed a conſiderable fortreſs upon the banks of the Dnieper. At the ſight of this rampart, which threatened their liberty, the Coſacks took up arms, but they were defeated; and notwithſtanding the Poles entered into a treaty with them to confirm their privileges, and thereby promiſed alſo to forget all that was paſt, they afterwards cut off the head of their general Paulux, and of ſome others of their chiefs. At this period even the Coſacks had no deſign to ſhake off their obedience to Poland; but they were from this time forward treated with ſuch oppreſſion and tyranny by the republic, that they ſoon after declared war in form againſt their tyrannical maſters, and reſolved to ſhake off the yoke.

In the year 1645, as the kingdom of Poland was torn to pieces by the quarrels between the Roman-Catholics, Greeks, Lutherans, and Calviniſts about religious matters, Uladiſlas attempted to unite all theſe ſects, ſo as to form only one communion. He ordered an aſſembly of the moſt learned clergy of theſe communions to meet at Thorn, and to lay open their doctrines, and the great chancellor was to preſide there in the name of the king: but this aſſembly, far from endeavouring to unite theſe ſeveral ſects, irritated them the more againſt each other, and their doctors as uſual ſeparated greater enemies to each other than ever.

The

The following year Uladiſlas, threatened by the Turks and by the Tartars, entered into a treaty of alliance with the Venetians, and obtained conſiderable ſubſidies of the pope and of the Italian princes for carrying on the war he was going to undertake. But though this treaty was made with the knowledge and conſent of the nobility, ſuppoſing that their liberties were in danger, they obliged the king to promiſe ſolemnly for himſelf and for his ſucceſſors not to raiſe any body of troops, not to make any alliance, nor peace, nor war, nor to ſend any ambaſſador into any foreign court, nor to admit any ſtranger into his council, nor to augment his guards above 1200 men, without the conſent of the ſtates. Conſidering the turbulent and tyrannical diſpoſition of the Poliſh nobility, and their deſire not only to be independent themſelves, but to oppreſs and enſlave their fellow creatures, we may juſtly date the origin of that plan of government, which has ſince brought the kingdom to deſtruction, from this period. The crown had no longer any power or controul over thoſe little tyrants, and the ariſtocracy of the nobles was now become inſufferable, and bore down all regularity and good government before it; every proud inſignificant noble ſet himſelf up for the chief of a party, and under the pretence of doing himſelf juſtice, led on his vaſſals to plunder and oppreſs his neighbours.

In the year 1648 Uladiſlas was at Meretz in Lithuania, where he was ſeized with a violent fever and died, without leaving any iſſue. This prince had all the qualities of a great general; he was moreover bold and active, and braved dangers, without fearing or without deſpiſing them too much: he was generous and good-natured, and knew how to make himſelf beloved; but he was too complaiſant to the Poliſh nobility, and without conſidering

ſidering the conſequences, gave up to them many of the great prerogatives of the crown, and ſacrificed the general good of the nation to the ambition and tyranny of this turbulent order.

The death of Uladiſlas was the ſignal of revolt among the Coſacks; deprived of their privileges, diſturbed in the exerciſe of their religion, and plundered by the Poliſh nobles, who had lands in the neighbouring provinces, they only wanted a chief to declare openly againſt the tyranny of the Poliſh government, which they ſoon found in the perſon of Bogdan Chmielnicki. The father of this famous man was originally of Lithuania, and afterwards came to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Ukraine. His ſon, after his death, was carried off by the Tartars, but afterwards ranſomed by his mother, and peaceably cultivated his little inheritance.

Jatinſki, the Poliſh governor of the town of Czeſizin, plundered and carried off the works of ſome mills which belonged to Chmielnicki. The Coſack carried his complaints in a very humble and decent manner to the king of Poland, but could not obtain juſtice: ſhocked at this treatment he murmured loudly againſt the prince, and againſt Jatinſki, who arreſted him, treated him as if he had been one of his ſlaves, ordered him to be whipped in the public places, carried off his wife and raviſhed her, and becauſe ſhe made ſome reſiſtance, ordered her and her ſon afterwards to be put to death.

My readers will from this ſee the manner in which the Poliſh nobility treat their fellow creatures, who are ſo unhappy as to be born upon their lands.

Driven to deſpair, this injured gentleman fled to the banks of the Dnieper, raiſed and armed all the Coſacks, and was unanimouſly declared their general, and without loſing a moment of time, and being ſupported by a body of Tartars, he immediately entered Poland, and deſtroyed all the houſes of the nobility with fire and ſword, ſparing neither age nor ſex; the farmers and day-labourers alone were ſpared, as they were regarded as ſuffering equally the oppreſſion and tyranny of thoſe proud and hardened wretches, whoſe blood now made an atonement for the numberleſs ſcenes of murder, oppreſſion, and tyranny with which they had for ſome time before diſgraced the very nature of human beings. The town of Leopold was ſaved from deſtruction at the expence of a great ſum of money; all the ornaments of the crown were carried off from Cracow, which was threatened by the Coſacks: the nobles aſſembled in the diet at Warſaw propoſed to retire to Dantzic: in fact, Poland would have been deſtroyed if the Coſacks and the Tartars had not quarrelled about dividing the ſpoils. This diſſention, as it obliged them to retire for ſome time into their own country, ſaved the republic.

The diet now recovered a little from their firſt terror, and proceeded to the election of a king. Several candidates propoſed themſelves for the crown; George Ragotſki, prince of Tranſilvania, preſented himſelf at the head of 30,000 men, who were to act againſt the Coſacks if he was elected, or to join them if he was refuſed. This indecent propoſal was the means of excluding him immediately; neither did they pay any greater regard to the demands of the czar of Ruſſia, becauſe he talked to them as if he was their maſter. A conſiderable party was formed in favour of Charles Ferdinand, biſhop of Breſlaw and of Ploſko,

the

the youngeſt ſon of Sigiſmond the Third; but at laſt all the voices united to raiſe John Caſimir to the throne. This prince, who was the next brother to Uladiſlas, had actually entered into the order of Jeſuits, but he was releaſed from his vows by the pope, who had likewiſe given him a cardinal's hat, which he now exchanged for a crown.

No ſooner was this prince crowned, than all the nation ſolicited him to put himſelf at the head of a powerful army to revenge the depredations which the Coſacks had made in the kingdom: but this prince, who wiſhed to bring this turbulent people back to their duty by gentle meaſures, anſwered thoſe who gave him this counſel in the following manner: "We "ought not to have plundered and deſtroyed Chmielnicki's "mills, and much leſs to have raviſhed his wife, and afterwards "maſſacred both her and her ſon; if we had been juſt in this "affair, we ſhould not at preſent have been obliged to revenge our-"ſelves of their crimes, which we have authorized by ſetting them "the example." The Poles ſoon after concluded a truce with Chmielnicki, who was acknowledged as general, or hettman, of the Coſacks. The deputies of the republic were even obliged to preſent him with the ſtaff of command, the horſe tail, and the ſtandard, as marks of the authority which had been conferred upon him by the Coſacks. But this truce was ſoon diſſolved; the war broke out again; the Poles were beaten, and at laſt they were obliged to publiſh an act of indemnification, without any reſerve, to the Coſacks, and to confirm all their privileges to them: however, John Caſimir perceived that there was little dependence to be placed upon the faith or oaths of the Coſacks, and therefore he demanded ſuccours of the pope to make war againſt them. The holy father ſent him a large ſupply of indul-

gences and benedictions; but as the Coſacks were not much terrified with this kind of artillery, the following year they again erected the ſtandard of rebellion, and when joined with a conſiderable body of their allies the Tartars, they formed an army of 300,000 men: John Caſimir, at the head of 100,000 Poles, gained a complete victory over them, and forced the Coſacks to renounce the alliance with the Tartars, and to ſubmit themſelves peaceably to the Poliſh government.

Scarce had the Poliſh army returned into their own country, when the Coſacks, at the perſuaſion of the Turks, revolted again: whereupon a new diet was convoked in Poland, to conſider of proper means to reduce them to obedience; but this diet was ſoon diſſolved by the oppoſition which one of its members made to the meaſures which were then in agitation, for by the fundamental laws of Poland a ſingle member of the diet, with the word VETO, may ſtop all the proceedings of this aſſembly, render ineffectual their beſt concerted deliberations, and annul all the reſolutions which they may have formed.

The following year Radziejowſki, the vice-chancellor of the crown, was convicted of having excited the Coſacks to revolt: he immediately fled out of the kingdom, but he was condemned by the tribunal of the crown to loſe his honour and his life; however, this ſentence was afterwards changed into that of perpetual baniſhment. It will from hence be ſeen to what a daring height of inſolence and licentiouſneſs the nobility of Poland had arrived in thoſe days. Matters were now carried to ſuch a height between the Poles and the Coſacks, and the animoſity was ſo great on both ſides, that there was no likelihood that their differences could ever be properly adjuſted, or the in-

juries which they had done each other forgotten, and therefore the following year Chmielnicki put himſelf under the protection of the Ruſſians, and received the Ukraine in fief from the czar; ſo that this rich and fertile country was now ſeparated for ever from the crown of Poland on account of the wickedneſs and tyranny of the nobility of this kingdom, and from the viciouſneſs of their ariſtocratical government. The Coſacks by this convention were to ſerve in the Ruſſian army as auxiliary troops. This act of the Coſacks was looked upon as a ſignal for the deſtruction of the Poliſh republic.

Charles Guſtavus king of Sweden entered Poland with a conſiderable army; and in leſs than three months made himſelf maſter of all Pruſſia, except Dantzic, of a conſiderable part of Lithuania, of the cities of Warſaw, Cracow, and of other places in the Greater and Leſſer Poland; moſt of the people of thoſe provinces ſwearing allegiance to him, as they were deſerted by their king John Caſimir, who was fled into Sileſia: the Ruſſians ravaged all the northern parts of Lithuania, and the Coſacks had ſeized upon the greateſt part of Red Ruſſia. In the midſt of this ſcene of diſtreſs, John Caſimir put his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, as Lewis the Thirteenth had done that of France in the year 1683, and continual prayers and ſolicitations were offered up to the Virgin, to induce her to grant them aſſiſtance in this time of calamity. But Caſimir, finding that her ſuccours were very tardy, turned his attention towards the elector of Brandenbourg, with whom he and the republic concluded the celebrated treaty of Welaw, which was in itſelf highly advantageous to the republic, but has ſince been made much more ſo by the wicked and abominable behaviour of the elector and of his ſucceſſors. By this treaty it

was

was ſtipulated that the elector ſhould aſſiſt the Poles with a certain number of troops, and that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould be the perpetual allies of Poland, and ſhould no longer be the vaſſals of the republic, and that in conſideration thereof he ſhould poſſeſs the dukedom of Pruſſia in full ſovereignty for himſelf and for his male heirs and ſucceſſors, ſaving the privileges of the nation. By another treaty the diſtricts of Lavebourg and of Butow were granted in fief to the elector; and Elbing and the Staroſty of of Draheim were ceded to this prince, as a mortgage for 4000 crowns. So far from complying with the conditions of this treaty, the electors of Brandenbourg and the king of Pruſſia have often declared themſelves the enemies of the republic, without any provocation on the part of the latter, and the preſent chief of the Brandenbourg family took the opportunity, when Poland was diſtreſſed, to join with the enemies of that republic, to ſeize upon a large tract of territory which has been for ſome hundred years paſt a part of that kingdom, to which neither he nor any of his anceſtors ever had or ever could have any legal pretenſion whatever, though he has no other title to the dukedom of Pruſſia from which his family have lately taken the title of king, but the before-mentioned treaty, which he has broken to all intents and purpoſes: no right of conqueſt could be pleaded here, becauſe Pruſſia never was conquered by any of the Brandenbourg family.

But to return to my ſubject: in the midſt of the troubles of this horrible war, which the republic had to ſupport againſt all her neighbours, the clergy propoſed taking violent meaſures for the ſupport of the Roman Catholic religion in the ſtricteſt manner; and in conſequence of this the diet renewed an ancient law of Uladiſlas Jagellon againſt all kinds of heretics, as they

called them, who were thereby condemned to loſe their property and their lives, or to leave the kingdom if they did not renounce their errors in three years. It is not at all ſurprizing that the Poles, who had not yet renounced their ancient barbarous way of thinking, ſhould be led to add to the miſeries and calamity of their country by depopulating and driving ſuch a number of uſeful ſubjects out of their kingdom; becauſe we find that the government of France ſome years after, and at that time judged to be the moſt civilized government in Europe, by the deſire of the Romiſh clergy, drove 600,000 of their moſt uſeful ſubjects out of the kingdom, with all their arts, manufactures, and riches; ſo much has mankind been bigotted to the unmeaning ceremonies of that wicked prieſthood, who are no leſs uncharitable than they are ignorant and ſuperſtitious. The treaty of Olivia reſtored peace to Poland; but this war was fatal to her on every ſide. The czar of Ruſſia thereby ſecured the poſſeſſion of Smolenſko, of Kiovia, and of the Ukraine.

In the year 1661 a capitation-tax was laid upon the Jews in this kingdom, which was fixed at 105,000 florins, and a tax was laid upon the conſumption of tobacco in Lithuania to ſupply the preſſing wants of the ſtate; but at the ſame time Caſimir forced great numbers of his ſubjects to leave the kingdom on account of their religion, and to take refuge in other ſtates, and for this reaſon, the honeſt pope Alexander the Seventh granted him the title of orthodox king.

The following year, after the peace was concluded, the finances of Poland were in the greateſt diſorder, and the army ready to enter into a confederacy; the very thoughts of which make all the Poles tremble. Without comprehending the pre-

tenſions

tenſions of the Lithuanians, thoſe of the Poles alone exceeded ſix-and-twenty millions of Poliſh florins, near three millions of pounds ſterling, an amazing ſum in a country which had no commerce in thoſe days. For to ſatisfy theſe exorbitant demands, the diet eſtabliſhed a general capitation-tax; they coined a new ſpecies of money, much inferior in quality to the ancient coin of the kingdom, and they entered into a compoſition with the Poles, who agreed to receive eight millions of florins.

As ſoon as the army in this country enters into a confederacy, all kinds of diſcipline is aboliſhed, the ſoldier ſets no bounds to his licentiouſneſs and depredations; he no longer acknowledges the authority of his general, and chooſes himſelf a marſhal or a chief, who, ſomething like a Roman dictator, is inveſted with the power of all the orders of the republic. This marſhal of the confederacy commands the army, raiſes troops, eſtabliſhes taxes, receives ambaſſadors, and has the power of life and death. Theſe confederacies are contrary to the laws of the ſtate; but force and frequent example ſeem to make them appear legal, and they only become criminal when they are the weakeſt party.

The republic has four great officers, among whom the four principal branches of its government are divided. The firſt is the great general of the crown, who has the direction of the military affairs, and of every thing which depends on it, and he commands the army: ſecond, the great chancellor, who is the chief of the law: third, the high treaſurer, who preſides over all the finances of the ſtate: fourth, the great marſhal, who is at the head of the police. Theſe four great officers are called Brachia Regalia, or the King's Arms, and when they join with the court they keep the republic in awe.

In

In the year 1665 Lubomirſki, the great general of the crown, who had heretofore oppoſed the election of a ſucceſſor to the throne, was accuſed of having fomented the troubles of the ſtate, and, after the example of Cromwell, that he intended to introduce into Poland the new form of government which had been received in England, to declare himſelf Protector, and to ſecure this eminent dignity to his deſcendents; and as this great officer could not well clear himſelf of this charge, he retired to Breſlaw in Sileſia, and ſoon after re-entered Poland with ſome of his friends in a hoſtile manner: in a ſmall ſpace of time this weak troop became a great army.

John Sobieſki, who from being enſign of the crown was made general, marched by the king's orders againſt Lubomirſki, but he was ſoon defeated; and what made this victory the more glorious, and diſcouraged the royaliſts, was the generous behaviour of Lubomirſki to his countrymen; he ſent back all the priſoners whom he had taken without any ranſom, and contented himſelf with having humbled his enemies, and reverſed the judicial ſentence which was given againſt him, for endeavouring to overturn the government of the ſtate; but fearing the clandeſtine meaſures which were taking by thoſe who covered their hatred towards him, he returned to Breſlaw, and ſix months after died ſuddenly.

Sobieſki, now become general of the crown through the queen's intereſt, he having married the daughter of her governeſs, gained the eſteem of the public, and the friendſhip of the king, which he found were of great uſe to him in his new dignity; as during the courſe of the following year 100,000 Tartars ravaged the provinces of Podolia and of Volhinia, who were likewiſe joined by a great body of Coſacks. The Poles had not at this

time above 12,000 men under their colours, and the king, in the greateſt diſtreſs, concluded that every thing was loſt; indeed Sobieſki was almoſt the only perſon in the kingdom who thought otherwiſe: he immediately raiſed a conſiderable body of men upon his own lands, and formed a magazine for their ſupport; he paid them with his own money, and borrowed upon his credit for their ſubſiſtence: in fact, he formed an army of 20,000 men, and therewith marched to meet the enemy, and during this march he wrote the following letter to his wife: "On ſuch a day I will occupy, with 12,000 men, an entrenched "camp before Podahiec, where the Coſack Doroſeenſko will "come and beſiege me; the next day, and the following days, "I will make a ſally upon the enemies: I have already diſpoſed "the ambuſcades upon all the paſſages, and I make no doubt "but that I ſhall be able to ruin this great army." The Poles blamed their general very much, and murmured loudly againſt his conduct; whereupon he harangued his army in the following terms: "I will make no alteration in my plan, and the "ſucceſs of it will make it appear that it was well digeſted: "moreover, I am not diſpoſed to retain any perſons with me "who are afraid to die in defence of their country; they may "retire when they pleaſe, and die ignominiouſly by the ſword "of the Coſacks or of the Tartars: for my part I am determined to remain here with thoſe brave men who love their "country, and who are not intimidated by the numbers of thoſe "turbulent robbers. I know that victory has often decided in "favour of a ſmall number of men who were animated by their "country's wrongs, and doubt not but that ſhe will declare in "our favour." The Poles bluſhed at hearing this diſcourſe, and reſolved to ſupport their general, who in the midſt of his intrenchments, where he had every thing to fear, inſulted continually

tinually 100,000 enemies who beſieged him. The moſt important and deciſive battles are often gained or loſt in four hours, but this was diſputed during ſeventeen hours ſucceſſively, during which the Coſacks and Tartars made a conſiderable number of ineffectual attacks and aſſaults, and the Poles an equal number of ſallies, and the whole was concluded by a general action, wherein the Tartars, after the moſt powerful efforts, left 20,000 men upon the field of battle. The Poles were aſtoniſhed at their ſucceſs, and remained in a ſtate of admiration; but Sobieſki, by the ſuperiority of his genius and his experience, had foreſeen every thing, and thereby ſaved the ſtate. This ſignal victory obliged the Coſacks and Tartars to retire, and gave the nation ſome time to breathe: but this joy was ſoon after troubled.

Fatigued by the troubles and chagrin which he had ſuffered upon the throne, during a reign which had undoubtedly been much agitated, Caſimir reſolved to deſcend from it, and convoked a diet to make known to them his reſolution. The Poles made ſeveral remonſtrances againſt this meaſure, but to no purpoſe; whereupon the ſenators, and even the primate, were ready to throw themſelves at the king's feet, but he forbid them to act this humiliating part, till now unknown in the republic; and when all the members of the ſenate and of the diet were aſſembled, the king mounted the throne for the laſt time, and made the following diſcourſe to them: "It is two hundred and "eighty years that my anceſtors have governed you; their time "is paſt, and mine is ready to expire. Fatigued by war, by "counſels, and by age, and cruſhed down by the labours and "toils of a twenty-one years reign, I, your king, and your fa-"ther, deliver into your hands, what the world eſteems the

"moſt,

" moſt, a crown, and chooſe for a throne ſix feet of earth to
" unite myſelf to my fathers. When you ſhew my tomb to
" your children, tell them that I was the firſt in the battle and
" the laſt in the retreat; that I have renounced the grandeur of
" kings for the good of my country; that I have reſtored the
" ſceptre to thoſe from whom I received it. It was your love
" for me which raiſed me to the high rank where I am at
" preſent, and it is my love for you which makes me deſcend
" from it. Many of my predeceſſors have tranſmitted the
" ſceptre to their ſons or to their brothers; for my part, I will
" reſtore it to the country of which I have been the child and
" the father, and from this moment, diveſted of all kind of
" grandeur, I will mix with the crowd; from being the
" ſovereign, I will become the ſubject; from being your king,
" I will become your fellow-citizen, and leave my place to him
" whom you ſhall think worthy of your voices: the republic
" will chooſe well, and will proſper, if heaven will hear my
" prayers in the ſolitude where I am going to retire. I muſt
" now thank the republic for all the ſervices which ſhe has done
" me, for all the counſels which ſhe has given me, and for all
" the zeal that ſhe has ſhewn in my behalf; and if, contrary to
" my inclination, I have been ſo unhappy as to diſpleaſe any
" individuals, I muſt deſire them rather to impute it to the un-
" happineſs of the times, or to chance, than to any inclination
" of mine, and to pardon me, as I do pardon all thoſe who have
" offended me. I will now bid you all adieu; but I always will
" keep you in my remembrance; diſtance of place may ſeparate
" me from the republic, but my heart will always be with this
" tender mother; and I will order that my remains ſhall be
" laid in her boſom."

Caſimir hereupon preſented the deploma of his abdication in form to the ſtates, who returned him the counter-part, and a penſion of 300,000 florins.

John Caſimir was the laſt prince of the race of the Jagellons; born the ſon of a king, he became a Jeſuit and a cardinal, and mounted the throne of Poland; and afterwards deſcended from it to retire into France to govern the Monks of St. Germain des Pres and St. Martin de Nevers, of whom Lewis the Fourteenth granted him the abbeys.

Caſimir was a good huſband, a good maſter, a good friend, brave and undaunted in war, a judge of great integrity, and an honeſt man; but he wanted that application and activity which are neceſſary to govern a ſtate well; calculated to lead a private life, his quiet virtues made no great figure in the ſtorms and confuſion which generally ſurround a throne.

The foundation was laid for the deſtruction of this once powerful kingdom by diſmembering the provinces from the dominion of the crown, and eſtabliſhing a number of little ſovereignties in the boſom of the ſtate, and by the independency and tyranny of the clergy and the nobles; but during the reign of John Caſimir, all mankind ſaw the declenſion of the republic. The Coſacks had ſhaken off all obedience to Poland, and put themſelves under the protection of the Ruſſians; the ſovereignty of the dukedom of Pruſſia was ceded to the elector of Brandenbourg; the diſtricts of Lavebourg and of Butow were conferred in fief upon this prince, and Elbing and the ſtaroſty of Draheim were engaged to him for a great ſum of money; and a great part of Livonia and the

palatinates

palatinates of Smolenſko, of Severia, and of Czerniechow were diſmembered from the kingdom.

The abdication of Caſimir opened the way to the throne of Poland to all the foreign princes who thought themſelves worthy of aſcending it. A great number of candidates entered the liſts, but neither of them could fix all the voices of the electors in his favour, and the different parties were ready to begin a civil war, when one of the ſenators propoſed the election of a Piaſt, named Michael Wiecnowiecki, whom, to prevent any worſe conſequences, they unanimouſly elected king. They ſent immediately in ſearch of Wiecnowiecki, and found him in a convent at Warſaw: they informed him that he was king; he fell into tears, and declared himſelf incapable of ſupporting the weight of the crown. In fine, after ſome ſolicitations he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, and with trembling knees he mounted a throne which he was not in a ſtate to fix. When Caſimir heard of this election, he cried out, "How! have they crowned this poor man!"

The following year the Coſacks threatened Poland, and the king and his miniſters endeavoured by negociations to hinder a war, but without ſucceſs; whereupon John Sobieſki, great general of the crown, was ſent to oppoſe them, and he began his operations by intriguing and ſetting them one againſt the other; afterwards he attacked and took the towns of Bar, of Nimirow, of Braclaw, and all the tract of country between the Bog and the Dneiſter; whereupon the vice-chancellor wrote to the general in the following terms: "We cannot enough admire your courage and "your prudence in this expedition. How is it that, with a "handful of men, you have been able to re-conquer ſo many "places; Braclaw in particular, which alone is worth a victory?

" You have opened us a paſſage into the Ukraine, and I make " no doubt but that you will oblige the Coſacks to return " again under our obedience, whereby even envy herſelf will " be forced to acknowledge that you are the defender of your " country."

The Poliſh nation ſoon repented that they had crowned Michael Wiecnowiecki; they murmured loudly when they heard that he had married Eleanor arch-ducheſs of Auſtria, and when they ſaw him decorated with the order of the golden fleece. " It was " not in this manner that Stephen Battori conducted himſelf," ſaid ſome of the boldeſt of the Poles, " when the Spaniſh am- " baſſador preſented him with the ſame order. This king, " whoſe memory we ſtill revere, made a collar, to which was " hung, in the place of a fleece, the figure of a king armed, " with a menacing aſpect." " *This is my order*," ſaid he to the ambaſſador; " *I will accept yours, when my brother the king of* " *Spain ſhall have received mine.*"

In the year 1672 the nation were ſo highly offended with Michael that they wanted to depoſe him; and at a diet which was held at Warſaw the primate addreſſed the following diſcourſe to him: " The nation has made you king, and you want to " deſtroy her: inſtead of endeavouring to pacify the Ukraine, " you have done every thing to irritate the Coſacks againſt us. " You have not repaired the fortifications of Kaminiec, this " rampart of Poland. You have retained the German guard, " which the republic cannot ſee but with regret. You retain " men at your court, and even in your cabinet, who ſacrifice the " intereſts of the kingdom for thoſe of the king. You diſpoſe " of the ſtaroſties and of the places of ſenators before the death

" of

" of thoſe who occupy them, which you know is contrary to " our conſtitution. You have diſſolved two diets, becauſe you " would not expoſe your authority to the animadverſions of the " laws. You have reclaimed the ancient rights of the kings of " Poland, and proteſted againſt every thing which tended to " diminiſh them. Where will you ſearch after thoſe ancient rights, " that they may be extended as far as you could wiſh them? " Will you ſearch for them in the records of Vienna and of " Madrid? You declared ſoon after your coronation, in the " preſence of ſeveral perſons, that you had ſworn to obſerve the " Pacta Conventa with a mental reſtriction. What faith then " can we add to your oaths? We will break ours alſo, and " follow your example."

Highly offended at this diſcourſe, Michael aſſembled 100,000 gentlemen of the inferior nobility upon the borders of the Viſtula, and choſe Czarneſki to be marſhal of this royal confederacy, to whom he likewiſe gave the power to raiſe a new army. The army of the crown confederated themſelves likewiſe under the command of their general Sobieſki, who eſtabliſhed his camp at Lowitz in the palatinate of Rava. The king ſet a price upon the head of Sobieſki, as well as upon that of the primate, without conſidering that the kingdom was at that time threatened by a great army of the Turks and another of the Tartars and Coſacks. It was upon this occaſion that all the officers in Sobieſki's army took an oath to ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood. " I accept your " oath," ſaid he to them, " but let us firſt think of defending our " country." At the approach of the Turkiſh army the 100,000 royaliſts diſperſed themſelves, and this vain pageant of a king ran away, and ſhut himſelf up in the town of Lublin; where-upon Sobieſki, who had now nothing to fear from his fellow-citizens,

citizens, attacked the enemies with great vigour; and after a great number of ſmall actions, and a general action wherein he gained a complete victory, drove the Tartars and Coſacks out of the kingdom, and reſtored 30,000 Poles their liberty. If this great body of royaliſts, as they called themſelves, had ſeconded his operations, the Turks would have ſhared the ſame fate; but finding no oppoſition they made themſelves maſters of Kaminiec, of the Ukraine, and of Podolia, which were ceded to them by a treaty of peace, in which the king Michael likewiſe obliged himſelf to ſubmit to pay an annual and perpetual tribute of 100,000 ducats to the Ottoman Porte. Poland, which was greatly weakened in the preceding reign, was now reduced to the loweſt ebb; and the principal part of her inhabitants ſeverely repented that they had elected this thing of ſtraw to be their king. In the year 1673 they ſolicited John Sobieſki to attend the diet at Warſaw to concert ſome meaſures for drawing the kingdom out of this unhappy ſituation; and notwithſtanding he expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, as Michael had ſet a price upon his head, this great man reſolved to brave all dangers, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſave his country: he diſcovered the wounds of the ſtate, and at the ſame time offered to cicatrize them: he ſhed tears upon reciting the late treaty with the Turks, and concluded, that the republic ought to declare it null, as being made without their participation. "We may very eaſily do it at Warſaw," ſaid one of the ſenators to him, "but how will they regard this "rupture at Conſtantinople?" "With fury, no doubt," ſaid Sobieſki, "but we have ſabres and courage ſtill left, and we will "not wait for the enemy to come to us, but we will go and "attack him." And to give the more weight to his ſentiments, he continued his diſcourſe with that rapid and manly eloquence which inflames the paſſions of the auditor, and leaves him no

time for reflection. "I am well acquainted," ſaid he, "with "the ſmall number of our troops, and with the diſtreſſed ſtate "of our finances; but neither of theſe diſorders is without a "remedy. The farmers who cultivate our lands gain ſome "degree of liberty when they have arms in their hands, and "they will very ſoon become ſoldiers when their chief is a "general. I will only demand 60,000 men to make you entirely "independent of the Ottoman Porte: but perhaps you will aſk "me, where are we to find a fund to pay this army? If I was "to propoſe to you to ſell the ſacred veſſels of the church, you "ought even to conſent freely to it, becauſe our country is "more ſacred to us than the inſtruments and ornaments of "religion; but I ſhall not propoſe any ſuch meaſure: the re-"public has a treaſure in the caſtle of Cracow; will you wait "for the Turks to come and take it away from you as ſoon as "they know that it is there? Let us employ it to break the "chains which they have forged for us. You will wait for a "more favourable opportunity, for alliances, for ſubſidies, &c. "but you will permit me to tell you, that negociations are "often very long, the event is uncertain, and the preſent is in "our power: your anceſtors would have preferred death to one "year of ſlavery."

This diſcourſe ſo animated and inflamed all the ſenators, that they immediately declared the treaty null, and reſolved upon a war; but while preparations were making to carry Sobieſki's plans into execution, an infamous informer accuſed that general of having called the Tartars into Poland, and of having received money for giving up Kaminiec. Surprized and ſhocked at this accuſation, the general retired: the accuſer was arreſted and croſs-examined, when he prevaricated; and at length confeſſed,

that

that a cabal of the court had puſhed him on to this wicked action: however he was condemned to death; and they gave him into the hands of Sobieſki, who, as being the great marſhal of the crown, was to order his execution: but this was to ſave his life; for they knew that Sobieſki had too much grandeur of ſoul to put his enemy to death when he was at his feet crying for mercy.

Soon after this a Turkiſh Aga came to Warſaw to demand of the Poles the humiliating tribute which was granted by the laſt treaty of peace; but he found the king Michael expiring, and could not deliver him the ſultan's letter. At the ſame time Sobieſki attacked the Turkiſh army near Chockzin and gained a complete victory over them: 20,000 Turks were killed upon the field of battle, and 10,000 more were drowned in the river Dneiſter; the vanquiſhers did not loſe 6000 men. The king Michael died the ſame day that the battle of Chockzin was fought: he was one of the weakeſt and moſt inſignificant creatures that ever was placed at the head of any government. One of the moſt ſingular caprices of fortune placed him upon the throne; and his death put an end to the intrigues and meaſures which were ſecretly carrying on to make him deſcend from it again.

There were never ſo many competitors for the crown of Poland as at this time: among many others were the dukes of Lorraine and Mantua, the count of Soiſſons, the eldeſt ſon of the duke of Neubourg, the ſon of the czar of Moſcovy, the dukes of Bavaria, of York, and of Vendome, the prince of Tranſilvania, don John of Auſtria natural ſon of Philip the Second king of Spain, all of whom made the moſt ſplendid

offers

offers to gain the voices of the nation; but the great merit and reputation of John Sobieſki eclipſed them all, and, by the almoſt unanimous conſent of the nation, he was advanced to the throne.

Beſides ſwearing to obſerve the Pacta Conventa, this prince obliged himſelf to pay out of the royal revenues the dower which was aſſigned to the queen Eleanor, to give up to the republic a pretenſion which he had to 150,000 florins, and with his own money to redeem the jewels of the crown, which were engaged for 338,000 florins, to eſtabliſh a military ſchool, and to fortify two towns; ſo that, if we conſider the whole of theſe obligations, Sobieſki, with all his merit, was rather obliged to purchaſe the crown than otherwiſe.

Mortified at their late defeat, and breathing nothing but revenge againſt the Poles, the Turks the following year advanced with a formidable army towards Poland. Sobieſki, who was now in the Ukraine, quitted that country, and came and encamped under Leopold: he had only 15,000 men to oppoſe the Grand Vizier's army, which was near 200,000 men; but while he was intrenching himſelf, he was informed that the Turkiſh general, inſtead of marching directly to him, entered the Ukraine, and amuſed himſelf with beſieging Human; whereupon Sobieſki declared, that "as he knows no better, I will give a good "account of this great army before the end of the campaign." Nevertheleſs the Vizier detached 50,000 men to deſtroy Sobieſki's little army; and the Poles, more anxious for their king than for themſelves, deſired him to retire to a place of ſafety; but the king anſwered them ſmiling, "Surely you would deſpiſe me if "I was to follow your counſel." The Turks attacked the Poles

with great vigour, but after the ſecond diſcharge they were thrown into diſorder and retired with great precipitation: 15,000 Turks fell upon the field of battle, and the night coming on preſerved the remainder of this army.

While one part of the Turkiſh army was beaten under the walls of Leopold, the Vizier, Kara Muſtapha, occupied himſelf with beſieging the fortreſs of Trembowla in Podolia, which was defended with great bravery till it was reduced almoſt to the laſt extremity; but John Sobieſki, who had now increaſed his army to 35,000 men, arriving, forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and to retire with the loſs of 8000 men. After the campaign was finiſhed, Sobieſki returned to Cracow with an Aſiatic pomp, where he was crowned; and the whole nation, full of gratitude, ſaw with joy the crown upon the head of a prince who had ſo often ſaved his country.

The queens of Poland always deſired to be crowned at the ſame time; indeed they were particularly intereſted in having this ceremony performed, for without it, when they became widows they were no longer treated as queens, and loſt their dower of 2000 ducats yearly, which the republic aſſigned them upon the ſalt-works, and upon the ſtaroſties of Spiz and of Grodnec; however, ſuch was the turbulent diſpoſition of the Poles at this time, that notwithſtanding all the great acts which Sobieſki had done for them, it was not without much tumult and difficulty that he could obtain the favour of having his wife crowned with him.

The following year, 1676, an army of 300,000 Turks and Tartars advanced towards Poland; Sobieſki, at the head of 38,000

38,000 men, marched out to meet them, and encamped near Zurawno in the province of Pokuchia, between the Seevitz and the Dneiſter, where he was ſoon after ſurrounded by this great army. The Poles began to tremble; whereupon Sobieſki aſked them, whether he had not ſaved them when they were in the ſame ſituation at Podhayec, and when their army was not above 24,000 men? "And do you think," ſays he, "that the crown "has weakened my head?" All communication was ſoon cut off, ſo that the Poles were as it were beſieged in a citadel, to which the Turks endeavoured to advance by trenches, and the Poles endeavoured to keep them off by counter-trenches: this was perhaps the firſt time that two armies approached each other in this manner. Though Sobieſki was in this dangerous ſituation, the Turks thought him formidable, and offered him peace; but all their propoſitions were rejected with diſdain; he deteſted every article wherein the tribute was mentioned which was impoſed upon his predeceſſor, and declared that he only wanted a ſufficient ſpace to decide the fate of the two empires by force of arms. The Tartars murmured; the Ruſſians armed themſelves to aſſiſt the Poles, and ſeveral other Chriſtian powers propoſed themſelves as mediators of the peace, or otherwiſe threatened to take an active part in the war. The Turks therefore gave up the affair of the tribute, reſtored the two thirds of the Ukraine, and were glad to preſerve the fortreſs of Kaminiec, and to ſign the peace.

Sobieſki engaged himſelf by this treaty to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to the Sultan: Gninſki, palatine of Culm, was charged with this commiſſion the following year, and was accompanied with 700 Poles. When he was diſtant one league from Conſtantinople, he pretended, contrary to the common practice, that the

Grand Vizier ſhould come and receive him at the gate of the city. Kara Muſtapha let him ſtay for ſome time at the place where he ſtopped; but when he demanded proviſions for the 700 men who were with him, the Vizier wittily anſwered, "If he is come "to take Conſtantinople, he has not men enough; but if it "is only to repreſent his ſovereign, he has too many: and it is "as eaſy for the Sultan to furniſh a table for 700 Poles as to "nouriſh 7000 who ſerve in his gallies." When this ambaſſador made his public entry, he ordered his people to ſhoe his horſes with ſilver, and to fix them on in ſuch a manner that they might part eaſily in paſſing through the town. The Turks brought one of theſe ſhoes of ſilver to the Vizier, who obſerved, that "this Infidel has ſhoes of ſilver for his horſes, but he has "a head of lead; ſince, as he is ſent to repreſent a poor "republic, he does not know how to employ his ſilver in a "better manner."

In the year 1681 there was a diet held at Grodno, agreeably to the propoſal which had been made in the year 1673 for that purpoſe, in which the queen wiſhed to have ſome propoſitions made touching the augmentation of her houſhold; and as ſhe aſſiſted at the deliberations of this aſſembly, ſhe perceived that neither the king nor any of his friends mentioned her affair; ſhe therefore ſent her chancellor, who was a churchman, to deſire the king to think of her propoſition. The king refuſed to hear the chancellor, and ſent him back; but he was obliged to return, and was worſe received than before: and moreover ſome very hard and inſulting words eſcaped the prince upon this occaſion; whereupon the chancellor, with as much reſpect as firmneſs, replied, "If your majeſty has forgotten that I am a "clergyman, you ſhould remember at leaſt that I am a gentle-"man."

"man." "It is ſufficient," ſaid the king, "that you are a "man; I feel that I have done wrong; you ſhall not in future "have any reaſon to complain of me." The chancellor returned, penetrated with the king's goodneſs of heart, and the queen's propoſal was immediately brought before the aſſembly. This diet, from the multiplicity of affairs which it had to regulate, had already continued ſix months, and was then diſſolved by one of thoſe abuſes of liberty which we often meet with in the hiſtory of this kingdom.

It had been an ancient cuſtom, which had at length paſſed into a law, that every ſeſſion of the diet ſhould finiſh by a certain day; but they had ſtill ſeveral other affairs of conſequence to bring on before this diet, and for the greater expedition, the king at one of their meetings ordered that the candles ſhould be lighted, which was contrary to the letter of the law; whereupon the Nonce Priemſki diſſolved the diet, proteſted againſt their proceedings, and retired, and they could never engage him to return again.

In the year 1683, during the war between the Turks and the Imperialiſts, the imperial army was beaten, and the Turks laid ſiege to Vienna, which was cloſely preſſed on every ſide, and ready to fall into the enemy's hands, who, by that means, would have made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of the Auſtrian dominions. The emperor, his family, and all the principal inhabitants of this city had abandoned it, and were in the greateſt diſtreſs: they ſolicited Sobieſki to grant them ſuccours, otherwiſe the proud Auſtrian, notwithſtanding all his German connections, would not have been maſter of a place whereon he could lay his head. This great prince, at the head of 36,000

Poles, marched immediately to their aſſiſtance, raiſed the ſiege of Vienna, and forced the Turks to retire into their own country. We have lately ſeen the manner in which this ſtately court recompenſes ſuch ſignal acts of favour and protection.

As the Turks had now received a ſevere check, Sobieſki made preparations the following year to retake Kaminiec, but without ſucceſs; the place was well defended; and the two armies remained encamped for ſome time oppoſite to each other upon the two banks of the Dneiſter, ſo that neither of them dared undertake any great operation. According to the law the diet ought to have been held the following year at Grodno in Lithuania, but Sobieſki convoked it to Warſaw; and as a reaſon for this meaſure, he obſerved that Grodno was at ſuch a diſtance, that it would not be poſſible for the officers to arrive from thence to the ſouthern frontiers of the kingdom early enough in the ſpring to open the campaign. The Lithuanians would not receive this excuſe, but aſſembled themſelves at Grodno, formed a ſenate and a chamber of Nonces, and oppoſed their diet to the other. This affair would have become ſerious, if the king had not propoſed to elect a Lithuanian to be marſhal of the diet, and to give the council of the republic which was held at Warſaw the name of the diet of Grodno; this meaſure was adopted, calmed the ſpirits of the turbulent nobles, and prevented a dangerous ſchiſm. Hence it will be ſeen, that in matters of politics as well as in thoſe of religion, the moſt obſtinate people will permit themſelves to be ſeduced by words, while they neglect the reality of things.

Never were the members of any diet more turbulent than in the preſent: the king in his privy-council had named Oginſki, palatine

palatine of Troki, to be great chancellor of Lithuania; but the Poliſh nobility pretended that this nomination ought to have been made in the diet, and great debates aroſe upon this matter. The Lithuanians pretended that Oginſki ſhould reſign his place; or that, after a new nomination, he ſhould take an oath in the aſſembly to act in every reſpect according to law. Pack, a near relation of the late chancellor, had flattered himſelf to ſucceed to this office; but, deprived of this hope, he ſpoke very boldly in the aſſembly, and made ſome very ſevere reflections upon the king in his preſence; whereupon this prince, forgetting what was due to himſelf, laid his hand upon his ſabre, and drawing it half out of the ſheath, told him, "You will oblige me to make "you feel the weight of my arm." Upon which Pack, in the ſame attitude, replied, "You will remember, Sir, when we "were upon an equality, that you have experienced what I was "capable of doing in this way." It was very common in thoſe days for the members of the diets of Poland to enter upon an intereſting argument with their ſabres in their hands.

The queen, who was the protectreſs of Oginſki, was the cauſe of all this quarrel; but ſhe adviſed the means of extinguiſhing it. By her deſire, the Lithuanians were aſked by what authority they were called together to form a diet? They could not avoid confeſſing that it was by the authority of the chancellor whoſe nomination they conteſted; whereupon they were informed, that they were not Nonces if this magiſtrate was not legally nominated: from that moment all thoſe who would remain nonces conſented that Oginſki ſhould remain chancellor. The king, whoſe bad ſtate of health prevented him from taking the command of the army, appointed the general Konſki to this command; but it was very ſoon obſerved, that the Turks were not ſo much kept

in

in awe by the preſence of this general as they were by that of the king. The Turkiſh army was double the number of that of the Poles, and Konſki was obliged to make a retreat; upon which his officers and ſoldiers murmured loudly, and deſired him not to wound their honour and that of their country. "I am "not wounded," ſaid the general, "but I ſee ſome wounded "perſons among you who would fight with their wounds." No great action paſſed during this campaign; both parties acted rather upon the defenſive than otherwiſe.

In peruſing the hiſtory of this kingdom it will be obſerved, that diſorder, tumult, and diſcord have always been the ſoul of their diets, and that the moſt trifling accident has often deſtroyed their beſt intentions, from an abuſe of that power with which the members of thoſe aſſemblies are inveſted, which they call liberty, but which I ſhould deem licentiouſneſs. No ſooner was the diet opened at Grodno in the year 1688, than the greateſt part of the members expreſſed their reſentment and indignation againſt the king, who had often ſaved his country from deſtruction, and preſerved them even the exiſtence of a diet, becauſe he would place the young prince, a child of whom he was very fond, by his ſide upon the throne. They all cried out that it was a violation of the laws, and that Sobieſki would give a king to Poland againſt the conſent of the nation: moreover, they threatened to diſſolve the diet if the prince did not immediately quit Lithuania. He was obliged to quit the province as ſoon as poſſible; but the queen, to revenge herſelf, puſhed on a turbulent Nonce, who by uttering the word VETO with a thundering voice, rendered all the deliberations of the diet null.

The

The king was in hopes of remedying this diſorder, and quieting the people by a decree of the ſenate; but a diſpute about a chair deprived him even of this reſource. Radziowſki, biſhop of Warmia, as biſhop, had by right a place in the ſenate; but as he had ſome time before received a cardinal's hat from Rome, he pretended to have the firſt chair. By the laws of Poland, the Roman purple gave no rank, nor any precedence to the prelate who was inveſted with it, except by the conſent of the ſtates, and therefore the claim of precedence could not have been made, if the archbiſhopric of Gneſna, which was become vacant, had not been given to Radziowſki, who, as the primate of the kingdom, could have no competitor; nevertheleſs the other biſhops inſiſted that as he had not yet received the bull to qualify him as archbiſhop from Rome, he could not be regarded in that quality; and the king and his friends had much difficulty to make them underſtand that this bull regarded only the ſpiritual functions, and not the prerogatives of the primacy.

During theſe troubles, which agitated the republic, a preacher in explaining the neceſſity of the confeſſion, addreſſed the following words to the queen: "Kings confeſs their little crimes, but "not thoſe which are of any great conſequence; there is a "prince, who without doubt does not believe that it is a crime "to ſell all the places of truſt in the republic, and to ruin his "country for the blind complaiſance which he has for his wife." This bold preacher was obliged to retract in the pulpit what he had ſaid; but he was not puniſhed, as his words were general; however, as many of the Poles were convinced of the truth of what he had ſaid, this daring act highly exaſperated the people againſt the king and queen.

Two Jews, who were protected by the queen, had the greateſt authority in Poland during the latter part of the reign of Sobieſki: the one called Jonas, was his phyſician, and the other called Bethſal, rented the lands of the crown much above their value, which he made up by harraſſing the people and by ſelling the king's favour. By an ancient cuſtom eſtabliſhed in Poland, when the general of the crown divided his troops into winter quarters, he generally ſpared the lands which belonged to the church, as well as thoſe of the nobility; ſo that the poor farmers and others were often by this means diſtreſſed and ruined, whilſt the proud and inſolent nobility and clergy, who were their neighbours, were rioting in luxury and opulence; and this was deemed Poliſh liberty!

But in the year 1693 Sapieha, general of Lithuania, preſſed by neceſſity, judged that he ought to regard the public good in preference to any cuſtom of this kind, and that no lands ought to be excepted in ſuch a caſe, on account of any kind of privilege whatever; whereupon the biſhop of Wilna poured the thunders of the church upon the head of this pretended criminal in the following terms: "As Caſimir Sapieha, "general of Lithunia, renouncing the obligations of his bap-"tiſm to obey the inſtigation of the devil, has violated the "eccleſiaſtical immunities, it is by the ax of excommunication "that we muſt cut off this rotten member, to the end that the "whole body of the faithful are not thereby brought into a ſtate of "corruption; and for this reaſon, by the power which God had "given us to bind and to unbind in heaven and upon the earth, "in the name of the Holy Trinity, of St. Peter, and of all "the ſaints, we do forbid the ſaid Sapieha to enter into the "church, to uſe the ſacraments, and even to come into the

"ſociety

" ſociety of Chriſtians; and we deliver him and all his adhe-
" rents over to the power of the devil, and to eternal fire."

It would be loſing time to make any comment upon this infamous proſtitution of the Chriſtian religion, becauſe this has been the conſtant practice of the Romiſh clergy for ſeveral centuries paſt.

Sobieſki, forgetting that he was a great general and a king, was ſo weak as to eſpouſe the cauſe of this abandoned biſhop; but the nobles joined the party of Sapieha. The eccleſiaſtics in their writings quoted the deciſions of the three councils, and of many popes, in favour of their immunities, and particularly the famous bull of Paul the Fifth *in cena Domini*, and the orders of five kings of Poland. The nobles replied, that Sapieha was obliged by neceſſity to make uſe of the lands of the eccleſiaſtics, as well as thoſe of the nobles, and that he was authorized by the republic ſo to do, and conſequently that the excommunication was unjuſt and null in itſelf. But this quarrel, kindled by a wicked and abandoned biſhop, divided the nation, as the clergy were now very powerful, and was the cauſe of much diſorder and bloodſhed.

In the year 1694, during the diet which was held at Warſaw, where the nobility of Poland and the nobility of Lithuania troubled the republic by their reciprocal animoſity, their valets, who were for the moſt part the ſons of the prior and inferior claſſes of the nobility, aſſembled themſelves in a remote part of the town, and formed two armies, the one Poliſh and the other Lithuanian, elected two generals, marched on to the field of battle, fought with ſticks and ſtones, beſieged each

other in the farmers houſes, made priſoners, reſtored them, and afterwards entered into the town with all the ſubordination of regular troops.

This action, though ſeveral were killed, would have been of no conſequence, was it not that two Lithuanian officers, with 150 men, attacked the Poliſh ſervants with their piſtols and ſabres, and then great numbers were killed upon the ſpot. The Poles fled, and night coming on, quelled in ſome meaſure this diſorder; but the next day it recommenced; they brought the dead bodies of thoſe unfortunate ſervants to the door of the aſſembly houſe: the two officers who were the cauſe of thoſe murders, attempted to enter the diet, and to take their places, but they were inſulted and beaten, and the Poliſh ſervants followed them into the chambers of the Nonces. The Lithuanians, aſtoniſhed at theſe exceſſes, retired, and declared that there was no longer any ſecurity for them in the territories of the republic; and the diet was immediately diſſolved.

I ſhould not have taken notice of this anecdote, but to ſhew my readers the terrible diſorders and ſcenes of bloodſhed which frequently happened in this kingdom from the abuſes of what the Poles call their liberty.

The following year, John Sobieſki being in a very weak and infirm ſtate, the queen was very deſirous that he ſhould make a will: a biſhop charged himſelf with making the propoſal to him, and took the firſt opportunity to inſinuate to his majeſty the neceſſity that he was under of declaring his laſt will and teſtament: to which the king very ſeriouſly anſwered, "It will not be pro-"ductive of any good end. Do not you ſee," ſaid he, "that

"the

" the hearts of all the people are corrupted, and that their heads " are disordered? And can I flatter myself to restore good order " by a testament? Unhappy kings! we give orders in our life- " time, and they will not obey us, how then can we expect " that they will hear us when we are no more? I esteem him " who when in the midst of his carreer does good to his relations " and friends; but does he know that what he leaves them " when he dies will ever come to them? What are become of " the testaments of the kings my predecessors; in a nation where " gold commands, it is the money that judges; and would you " have me to make a testament to embroil and disorder the na- " tion still more?" Sobieski has here given a lively character of the Polish nation; for I should have observed, that testaments in this kingdom are generally much more favourable to the executors than to the heirs, as the former are always chosen from among those powerful persons who do not want the means of retaining the inheritance of their pupils.

Soon after this a paralytic disorder put an end to the days of John Sobieski, who died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign.

This prince had great talents and many good qualities, but he had likewise many vices. He was a good husband, a good father, and was capable of friendship; he was well instructed in the laws and political interests of his country, as well as of those of the neighbouring states; he was well informed in all the modern polite literature, and expressed himself with great eloquence in many languages; he was a great general, who by the superiority of his genius often saved his country from destruction, and his military services raised him to the throne: he pardoned all the insults which were offered to his person,

and only puniſhed ſuch as offended againſt their country; he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to drive the ſpirit of intolerance in matters of religion out of Poland; in fact, the Poles admired many of his great actions, but they could not love him, becauſe they found that he gave way too much to and often countenanced the intrigues of the queen, whoſe avarice was inſatiable, and who was continually taking ſome clandeſtine meaſures againſt the liberties of the ſtate. Sobieſki ſuffered himſelf to be blindly led by this avaricious woman, and by that means made a great part of the Poliſh nation diſlike him; ſo that notwithſtanding all his great acts he could not form a party to raiſe his ſon to the throne. Charles the Twelfth, who only admired the hero, when he ſaw his tomb, ſhed ſome tears, and ſaid, "That ſuch a great king ought never to die."

When the throne was declared vacant, the candidates for this high dignity were prince James Sobieſki, eldeſt ſon of the late king, the brother of the elector of Palatine; Leopold duke of Lorraine; Lewis prince of Baden; Frederic Auguſtus elector of Saxony; and the prince of Conti; but all the voices were divided between the two latter, each of whom was elected by the party that ſupported him; but Auguſtus at length obtained the prize. The party of the prince of Conti, at the head of whom was the primate of the kingdom, ſupported itſelf to the end of the year, when that prince appeared with a French fleet and ſome troops in the harbour of Dantzic; but the Saxons troops, who were ſtationed upon this coaſt, ſo intimidated the Poles, that they dared not declare in his favour; ſo that this prince was forced to retire into France, and leave the kingdom to his competitor,

who

who ſoon after accommodated matters with the cardinal primate, and all the reſt of his party.

When Auguſtus came to the throne, beſides ſwearing to obſerve the Pacta Conventa, he engaged to retake Kaminiec, as well as to reſtore the rich province of Livonia to the republic, which was at that time in the hands of the Swedes. It is true, that what their king Michael had ſo ignominiouſly loſt, and what John Sobieſki could not retake during two bloody wars, Auguſtus recovered without ſhedding the blood of any of his ſubjects; for by the peace of Carlowitz, made in the year 1699, the Ottoman porte reſtored to Poland the fortreſs of Kaminiec, and all the places which the Turks held in Podolia and in the Ukraine. This ſame year the diet of pacification confirmed the election of Auguſtus the Second, and paſſed ſeveral acts for the ſupport of the Catholic religion, as well as for the ſupport of all the rights and privileges of the nation: they aſſured the prince the nomination to all the biſhoprics and abbies: but in the year 1736 Auguſtus the Third reſerved only the nomination to twelve of the principal abbies, and permitted the Monks of all the others to elect their reſpective chiefs themſelves.

In the year 1700 a great ſcene was opened in the North, which drew the attention of all Europe. Auguſtus had promiſed to render Livonia to the republic, but he was firſt to take it from the Swedes, and for this purpoſe he formed an alliance with the czar Peter the Firſt and with the king of Denmark, as hath been before obſerved, and inveſted Riga with a Poliſh and Saxon army, which he bombarded for ſome time, but without any effect, as the Swedes defended themſelves with great

bravery

bravery. At length, through the interceſſion of the Dutch, who had a great magazine of merchandize in the town, which they were fearful would be deſtroyed, and through the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which had deſtroyed a much greater number of his men than the fire of the enemy, Auguſtus raiſed the ſiege, and retired to ſome diſtance from the town into winter quarters.

During the courſe of this winter, Auguſtus allied himſelf more cloſely with the czar, againſt Charles the Twelfth, who now appeared in this country at the head of a powerful and victorious army. Theſe two ſovereigns had an interview at Birzen in Lithuania. Auguſtus promiſed to furniſh his ally with 50,000 Germans, who were to be hired from the different princes of the empire; and the czar was to ſend 50,000 Ruſſians into Poland to learn the military exerciſes. If thoſe princes had had time to carry this treaty fully into execution, in all probability they would have given laws to all the North, and Poland would have ſoon become an hereditary monarchy; but they had to contend with a bold, active, and enterprizing enemy, who defeated all their ſchemes, at leaſt for ſome time, who beat the Saxon and Poliſh army near Riga, ſeized upon all the duchy of Courland, and purſued his enemies into Poland. Hereupon the nation divided again into two factions; the one, who had formerly taken the part of the prince of Conti, joined Charles the Twelfth, and the other gave very little aſſiſtance to their legal king: ſuch has been always the nature of the Poles when they ſaw themſelves obliged to ſubmit to any regular form of government.

The beginning of the following year Auguſtus was informed that the ſenate of Poland was determined to ſend an embaſſy

to

to Charles the Twelfth, and therefore he determined to avert this blow, which was aimed againſt his authority, and rather to receive laws from a generous enemy than from his ſeditious ſubjects, he ſent a ſecret deputation to make ſome propoſals to Charles, but they were not heard; and as the ſeaſon for taking the field advanced, Auguſtus put himſelf at the head of all his forces, and reſolved to riſk his fortune upon the event of a battle, which was ſoon after fought at Cliſſow; and if the Poles had ſhewed as much valour and bravery as the Saxons, Charles the Twelfth had been obliged to retire with precipitation out of Poland. The two kings fought as if they were to decide the fate of Europe: Auguſtus was preſent in the greateſt danger, and rallied his troops three times himſelf; and Charles as often ſuſtained the impetuoſity of the Saxon troops; but the right wing of Auguſtus's army, which was compoſed entirely of Poles, fled with the greateſt precipitation after the firſt fire, and gave the Swedes an opportunity of flanking the Saxons, ſo that victory declared in favour of the former. Such were the dreadful effects of the hatred which the Poles had conceived againſt the Saxons. Trembling for their pretended liberty, or rather licentiouſneſs, the ſubjects of the king dreaded more the ſubjects of the elector, who came to defend them, than of the Swedes who would oppreſs them.

After this battle Auguſtus convoked an extraordinary diet to aſſemble at Lublin, wherein the cardinal primate endeavoured as much as poſſible to hide his animoſity againſt the king Auguſtus: this prelate was ready to take an oath that he had not undertaken any thing againſt his king; but Auguſtus ſtopt him, and told him, he would prevent him from being perjured; and

deſired him not to undertake any thing againſt his king in future.

But ſcarcely had this primate quitted Lublin before he again declared openly in favour of Charles the Twelfth, joined the aſſembly at Warſaw holden under the auſpices of the king of Sweden, and there declared "Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, "incapable of wearing the crown, and pronounced the "throne vacant." Hence it will be ſeen that perjury, rebellion, ingratitude, and every other mean and baſe act concur to form the character of a Poliſh archbiſhop and a cardinal.

Charles the Twelfth had deſigned to give the ſceptre of Poland to the prince James Sobieſki, the eldeſt ſon of the late king, for whom he had a great veneration; but this prince and his brother Conſtantine were carried off by a party of Saxons, and conducted to a fortreſs in Saxony: whereupon Charles offered the crown to their younger brother Alexander, who nobly refuſed to take any advantage of the unhappy ſituation of his elder brothers.

In the year 1704, Staniſlas Leczinſki was deputed to make ſome propoſals to Charles the Twelfth by the aſſembly at Warſaw, whoſe open countenance, air of frankneſs and probity, wiſdom and moderation, and love for his country, for which he let fall now and then ſome words as if he was fearful of diſcovering his ſentiments, fixed the attention of the king of Sweden. "How "can we proceed to an election," ſaid Staniſlas, "whilſt "the princes James and Conſtantine Sobieſki are captives?" "How can we deliver your republic," replied Charles, "if we

"do

"do not elect a new king!" From this moment Charles reſolved upon advancing Leczinſki to the throne, who was ſoon afterwards proclaimed king. Charles now reſolved to conquer Leopold, the only part of the kingdom which ſtill continued in the intereſt of Auguſtus, and was in march towards this place; Staniſlas was ſtill at Warſaw, but was preparing to follow him, when he was informed that Auguſtus, who had deceived the Swedes by ſome forced marches, was near that capital at the head of 20,000 men, and therefore he was forced to retire with the greateſt precipitation.

Pope Clement the Eleventh took the part of king Auguſtus, and ſent briefs to all the Poliſh biſhops, in which he threatened them with excommunication if they dared aſſiſt at the coronation of Staniſlas. Every method was taken to prevent theſe briefs from being circulated in Poland, but without effect: they were received by a Franciſcan Monk of Warſaw, with orders to diſtribute them ſecretly: he immediately ſent one to the biſhop of Chelm, who carried it to the king without breaking it open. Staniſlas ſent for the Monk, and aſked him how he dared to charge himſelf with this diſtribution? I was ordered by my general to do it, ſaid the Monk. "Retire," ſaid Staniſlas, "and "in future I order you rather to obey the orders of your king, "than thoſe of the general of the Franciſcans."

The beginning of the following year the cardinal primate, who was retired to Dantzic, was ſolicited to return to perform the ceremony of the coronation of Staniſlas; but this prelate, whoſe irreſolution and cowardice were equal to his baſeneſs and ingratitude, and who endeavoured to keep upon ſome terms with Charles the Twelfth, with Auguſtus, with Staniſlas, and with

the Pope, thought proper in the night to fix the pope's brief to the church doors. In vain did the magiſtrates endeavour to diſcover the authors of this act, the cardinal was very ſure they would not be diſcovered: however this cardinal did not long ſurvive this piece of fineſſe, and the kingdom was delivered from one of her wicked and turbulent ſons, who had been the author of much miſchief; but hiſtory is very ſilent when his good actions ſhould be recorded.

The beginning of the following year Staniſlas was crowned at Warſaw with great pomp and ceremony in the preſence of the king of Sweden, who aſſiſted there incognito; and having ſworn the preceding day to obſerve the Pacta Conventa, the morning before he was crowned he went in great ceremony to the church of St. John; and when he was arrived near the altar the archbiſhop of Leopold, who performed the functions of the primate, placed himſelf in a large chair, and the biſhop of Kaminiec addreſſed him in the following terms: "Our mother, "the holy church, deſires that this valiant knight, elected king, "ſhould be crowned." "Is he worthy of it," anſwered the archbiſhop, "and will he fullfil the duties of a king?" "He "is worthy," replied the biſhop, "and he will do his duty." Whereupon the king renewed his oaths upon the Evangeliſts, and afterwards the archbiſhop anointed him with holy oil. They now preſented a naked ſword to his majeſty, who formed ſome croſſes with it in the air, and then ſheathed it: they proceeded next to crown the queen, with nearly the ſame ceremonies, which were followed by a Te Deum.

While they were diveſting Auguſtus of the ſceptre of Poland, this prince renewed the order of the White Eagle, which had the

the following device, *pour la foi, la loi, et le roi.* At this time it was only a medal which the knights wore upon the ſtomach, and was fixed on with a ſmall blue ribbon; and it was not till the year 1713 that it was eſtabliſhed in the form that it is at preſent.

After Charles the Twelfth had eſtabliſhed Staniſlas upon the throne of Poland, he purſued his enemy Auguſtus into Saxony, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of this electorate; by the different records and regiſters of which he diſcovered, that ſince the beginning of the war they had tranſported from Saxony into Poland 800 pieces of cannon, 36,600 ſoldiers, who were all either killed or made priſoners, together with 8,800,000 German florins: and if we add to this the immenſe ſums which Charles the Twelfth raiſed in contributions while he was in this country, which were not leſs than ten millions of florins, it will be ſeen how much this electorate ſuffered for the ambition and wicked intentions of its maſter; as Charles the Twelfth would never have thought of entering into Saxony, nor even into Poland, if he had not been provoked to it by Auguſtus's having attacked Livonia, and entered into a league with the king of Denmark and with the czar of Moſcovy to ſtrip him of all his dominions on the eaſt ſide of the Baltic.

Whilſt Staniſlas, ſupported by Charles the Twelfth, was making himſelf maſter of Poland, Auguſtus, to ſave the electorate of Saxony from ruin, was obliged to conſent to a ſhameful peace, as hath been before obſerved, and even to write the following letter to compliment his ſucceſſor on his coming to the throne: "We thought that it was not neceſſary to enter into

"any

" any particular correſpondence by letter with your majeſty;
" nevertheleſs, to pleaſe the king of Sweden, and to the end
" that it might not be thought that we ſhould make any
" difficulty to ſatisfy his deſires, we do hereby felicitate you
" upon your advancement to the throne; and we do heartily
" wiſh that you may find in your country ſubjects more faithful
" than thoſe whom we left there. All mankind will do us the
" juſtice to believe that we have been repaid with ingratitude for
" all the favours which we have beſtowed upon Poland, and that
" the greateſt part of our ſubjects took every poſſible meaſure to
" advance our ruin. We wiſh you may not be expoſed to the
" like calamities; and recommending you to the protection of
" the Almighty, we remain,

" Your brother and neighbour,

" AUGUSTUS, Rex."

To which Staniſlas ſent the following anſwer.

" The correſpondence of your majeſty is a new obligation
" that I owe to the king of Sweden. I thank you for the con-
" gratulations you make me upon my being advanced to the
" throne: I hope that my ſubjects will have no reaſon to be
" wanting in fidelity to me, ſince I ſhall obſerve the laws of the
" kingdom.

" STANISLAS, King of Poland."

The wickedneſs and perjury of the Poles were now ſeverely puniſhed: the czar, irritated to the laſt degree at the peace which was concluded between Auguſtus and Charles, permitted his troops to make the moſt terrible ravages in Poland. Of 3000 houſes which compoſed the town of Liſſa, ſeventeen only eſcaped

eſcaped the flames; and all the manufacturers, who worked on a large manufacture of cloth which was carried on in this place, were tranſported to Moſcow. A great number of valuable pictures, ſtatues both ancient and modern, and ſilver veſſels, which ornamented the temples and the palaces of Warſaw, were taken down and packed up in ballots to be carried into Ruſſia under a ſtrong eſcort; but a party of the Poles, who ſhewed more courage than thoſe who compoſed the right wing of Auguſtus's army, as before mentioned, attacked the Ruſſians, and carried off this rich prize, with which Peter had deſigned to decorate his new reſidence at St. Peterſbourg.

The defeat of the Swediſh army at Pultawa, as hath been before obſerved, paved the way to Auguſtus's re-aſcenſion of the throne of Poland and broke the ſceptre of this kingdom in the hands of Staniſlas. A bull which the pope publiſhed at this time to abſolve the Poles from the oaths of fidelity which they had taken to Staniſlas removed the greateſt difficulties; and when this prince ſaw that he could not retain the crown but by increaſing the troubles and miſeries of his country, he nobly renounced it.

In the year 1710 Frederic Auguſtus again mounted the throne of Poland, and by his prudence, moderation, and juſtice he brought the nobility back to their duty; but willing to revenge himſelf upon the Swedes for all the loſſes which he had ſuſtained, though he had drawn all his misfortunes upon himſelf, he again renewed his alliance with the king of Denmark; and the forces of the two kings laid ſiege to Stralſund in Pomerania, but they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege for want of artillery.

In

In the year 1713 the king of Pruſſia, who was much diſquieted by having ſuch great bodies of Ruſſian troops ſo near his little kingdom, entered into an alliance with the king and with the republic of Poland to drive thoſe troubleſome neighbours back into their own country, and to reſtore the tranquillity of the North. The Pruſſian monarch was in hopes that Charles the Twelfth would come into this meaſure, as Staniſlas had conſented to it and was willing to abandon the crown of Poland to quiet the diviſions and diſorders of his country: but Charles, to whom Staniſlas made the propoſal by letter, refuſed to enter into this alliance; ſo that the czar ſoon after became the law-giver of the North.

During three years ſucceſſively Poland became again a prey to the moſt cruel diviſions and diſorders. The new Saxon troops, which Auguſtus had brought into the kingdom, ſerved as a pretence for the diſcontented party to form new confederations, and to commit all kinds of diſorders: however, by a treaty which was ſigned at Warſaw the 30th of January 1717, every thing was pacified.

Before this æra the troops were obliged to wait the iſſue of a diet, which was often diſſolved without coming to any reſolution, before they could obtain their pay, accruing from the taxes which were then levied on the people for this purpoſe; and if the collection of theſe taxes met with any difficulties, and was retarded, the ſoldiers believed themſelves authorized to live at diſcretion upon the people. This diet declared every kind of confederacy illegal, broke the army entirely, and formed a new one, compoſed of national troops as well as of ſtrangers.

The

The national troops were divided into pulks or brigades: in Poland theſe brigades comprehended the huſſars, a kind of light-horſe, compoſed of Poliſh gentlemen; the pancerns, likewiſe compoſed of the Poliſh nobility; and another ſort of light troops, called petyhorſkie. The Lithuanian army is formed of huſſars and of other light troops, of ſome ſquadrons of Tartars and of Coſacks. The foreign troops in the ſervice of Poland are ſome regiments of infantry and of dragoons and ſome companies of Hungarians. From hence it will clearly appear that the principal force of the Poliſh army is in their cavalry.

The funds which are allotted for the payment of theſe troops are, 1ſt. A capitation-tax, raiſed in due proportions upon every palatinate, ſo that each brigade, or each particular regiment, may draw their pay from it immediately. 2d. The hibernes and the capitation which is laid upon the Jews: this in Poland is calculated for extraordinaries. In Lithuania they raiſe for this purpoſe the hibernes, a tax upon ſpirituous liquors, a capitation upon the Jews, a tax upon houſes, and the cuſtoms.

Beſides the troubles and diviſions with which this unhappy kingdom had been torn ſince the beginning of this century, and which were not yet ſubſided, in the year 1718 the Romiſh clergy began again to kindle a perſecution againſt the Diſſidents; thoſe turbulent ſons of wickedneſs, like the envious man, were content to ſuffer conſiderably that their neighbours might be effectually cruſhed. Auguſtus likewiſe, who, from being a zealous Lutheran, was become a bigotted Roman Catholic for the ſake of the crown of Poland, in order to recommend himſelf to the good graces of the Pope, who had made the greateſt part of the Poliſh nation add perjury to their other crimes to favour this prince's

reſtoration, joined heartily with the clergy to exclude the Diſſidents from all charges of truſt in the ſtate. In the year 1661 the diet formally decided, that any Proteſtant ſubject, who was otherwiſe qualified, might be elected a Nonce, and exerciſe all the functions of this high office: this year they refuſed Piotrowſki, the Nonce of Wielun, the privilege of giving his voice in the diet held at Grodno, becauſe he profeſſed the reformed religion. The taking away this privilege from the Diſſidents has been the cauſe of all the troubles which have ſince reigned in this kingdom; ſince, as they were denied the liberty of oppoſing ſuch laws as were unfavourable to them, they have been entirely cruſhed by them. In the diet 1733, it was enacted, that in future all the Diſſidents ſhould be excluded from the enjoyment of any places or dignities under the crown, from the nonciatures, deputations and commiſſions, and ſtaroſties with juriſdiction; and the diet of 1735 gave this regulation the force of a fundamental law.

Towards the end of this year Charles the Twelfth was killed in Norway, and Staniſlas, to whom he had been a particular friend and benefactor, was obliged to retire out of the duchy of Deux-Ponts, which Charles had ceded to him, and which, by the death of this monarch, fell to a prince of the houſe of Palatine.

In the following year count Poniatowſki negociated the treaty of peace between Poland and Sweden, wherein it was ſtipulated that the princeſs Ulrick, queen of Sweden, ſhould acknowledge Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, as legal king of Poland, and that ſhe ſhould no longer ſupport count Staniſlas Leczinſki. It was likewiſe ſtipulated by this treaty, that Staniſlas ſhould retain the name

name and honours of a king; that all his hereditary property ſhould be reſtored to him, and that the Poles ſhould grant him a ſufficient revenue to ſupport his dignity; and that all his friends and partizans ſhould be re-inveſted with their reſpective titles, properties, and prerogatives of which they had been diveſted during the troubles of the ſtate: but this treaty was not publiſhed before the following year.

Scarce were the troubles of this kingdom calmed, when an accident, trifling in itſelf, had nearly blown up the fire again with as much violence as ever. Under any civilized government ſuch an affair would have been ſoon ſuppreſſed; but in Poland, where an inſolent nobility and a profligate clergy have no controul upon their actions, ſuch examples of licentiouſneſs often throw the whole kingdom into the greateſt diſorder.

The ſeals of the kingdom, to which the prince Czartoriſki pretended, had been given to the prince Wieſnowiſki, which had created ſuch a hatred between theſe two families, that they only waited to have a proper opportunity to attack each other. A ſecretary of Czartoriſki's was diſcharged by this lord for his bad behaviour, and he immediately obtained the protection of Wieſnowiſki; the former complained of this conduct, but inſtead of being heard, Wieſnowiſki gave the ſecretary a place in the ſtaroſty from whence he had been diſcharged. As ſoon as Czartoriſki diſcovered what had been done, he immediately flew to the palace of Wieſnowiſki, forced open the door of his cabinet, and, not finding him, he wounded his ſecretary with his ſabre. This difference was thought ſufficient to heat all the orders of the ſtate, who entered into this quarrel, ſome on one ſide and ſome on the other, according to the connections which

they had with theſe two families, each of which were already arming their vaſſals to attack each other, when the king interpoſed, and happily adjuſted their differences, which would otherwiſe have kindled a civil war in the kingdom. Thoſe inſolent lords would have thought that their liberties were attacked if they had been ordered to arm their vaſſals in the defence of their country.

If we except ſome trifling perſecutions againſt the Diſſidents, the Poles after this were tolerably quiet till the year 1724, when, on account of ſome differences which aroſe between the ſtudents of the Lutheran college and thoſe of the Jeſuits college at Thorn, the whole kingdom was again thrown into an uproar. The Roman Catholics of this town, inſtigated by the whole body of the Jeſuits, made the moſt bitter complaints to the diet of Warſaw againſt the Lutheran ſcholars, and againſt ſome of the magiſtrates of Thorn, on account of this quarrel, although the latter, to avoid giving any offence, did not at all enter into it. By the intrigues of the Jeſuits, commiſſaries were named from among the moſt ignorant and bigotted of the Catholics to judge thoſe ſuppoſed guilty perſons, who heard all that the Jeſuits and their party could ſay againſt the Lutheran ſcholars, but would hear nothing from the other party. Several of the Lutheran ſtudents were condemned to die; the preſident and the vice-preſident of the town were ſentenced to be beheaded, and to have their goods confiſcated, becauſe they did not join the Jeſuits party; and the burgrave and vice-burgrave were declared infamous, and rendered incapable of poſſeſſing any charge in future under the government. The Lutherans were ſtripped of ſeveral of their churches, and they erected a column, upon which was a ſtatue of the Virgin Mary, in the very place where during

the

the quarrel it was ſaid they had prophaned her image. All the neighbouring princes complained loudly againſt the injuſtice of this ſentence, which they pretended the Jeſuits had extorted by the moſt infamous practices from the council of Poland. The miniſters of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, England, and Holland made ſome ſtrong repreſentations upon this head in favour of the Diſſidents; whilſt the Poliſh Catholics, on the other hand, made preparations for a civil war, if any foreign power ſhould attempt to re-eſtabliſh the Greeks or the Diſſidents in their former privileges and prerogatives.

In the following year count Maurice of Saxony, natural ſon of Auguſtus the Second, was elected duke of Courland and Semigall by the ſtates of the country; but this election was oppoſed by Ruſſia and by the republic of Poland, becauſe Ferdinand the uncle of the late duke was the legal heir, and had not done any act againſt the crown of Poland to forfeit this fief, or even to merit the diſpleaſure of the Poles; and the king was obliged in ſome meaſure to declare the election null and illegal, and to order his ſon to renounce his pretenſions. However Maurice refuſed to obey the orders of the republic, imagining in all probability that he had little to fear from that quarter, or being ſecretly authorized by his father to act in this manner, and attempted to ſupport himſelf by force; but being overpowered by a numerous Ruſſian army, and not well ſupported by the inhabitants of Courland, he was at length obliged to abandon his enterterprize.

In the year 1728 a feveriſh diſorder with which Auguſtus was attacked prevented the diet from aſſembling at Grodno; but the following year, being aſſembled in the ſame town, at the beginning

of

of the diet, one of the members propoſed the following queſtion: "Whether this diet ought to be regarded as an ordinary or as an "extraordinary one?" and in ſupport of this queſtion he obſerved, that if it was to be called an ordinary diet, it was illegal, ſince it ought to have been holden at the end of the foregoing year; and that if it was to be regarded as an extraordinary diet, according to the laws it ought not to continue more than fifteen days. He was anſwered, that the king's illneſs was the only cauſe which retarded the diet; but that as his majeſty had propoſed that this diet ſhould be held at Grodno in the courſe of the ſame year and by the ſame Nonces, it ought to be regarded as an ordinary diet, and conformable in every reſpect to the conſtitution of the kingdom, except that there were any laws which were not known till now to exiſt which forbid the kings of Poland to fall ſick. This anſwer not ſatisfying the ill humour of the before-mentioned Nonce and his party, they immediately left the aſſembly, which was diſſolved by their retreat: this was the iſſue of all the diets for a great number of years.

The clergy and the turbulent part of the Poliſh nation being now delivered from their foreign enemies, employed their whole attention to perſecute their fellow-ſubjects who were not of their communion, in whoſe defence ſeveral of the neighbouring ſtates made ſtrong remonſtrances to the king and to the republic in the year 1731; whereupon Auguſtus gave particular orders to the primate of the kingdom and to the ſenators to terminate their perſecutions: but this ſuppoſed condeſcenſion of the prince excited the imprudent, or rather impudent, zeal of the Pope's Nuncio, who had the daring aſſurance to carry his complaints to the foot of the throne: but Auguſtus very properly anſwered him, that he was eſtabliſhed upon the throne to protect all his ſubjects without

without any exception, and that he was determined to do it conformably to the laws of the kingdom.

In the year 1733 Frederic Auguſtus died at Warſaw on the firſt of February. He had a great many excellent qualities and almoſt as many bad ones: he was free and eaſy in his manner of addreſs, and made himſelf agreeable to all who approached him: his talents were almoſt equal to the great ſtrength of his body: he was generous, and in ſome meaſure humane; but his boundleſs ambition eclipſed the greateſt part of his virtues. When he was only elector of Saxony he was eſteemed and beloved by all his ſubjects, but his joining with the czar to diſpoſſeſs the Swedes of all the provinces which they held on the eaſt ſide of the Baltic ſea, an enterprize to which thoſe ſovereigns at that time were not equal, was the cauſe of all the loſſes which his Saxon ſubjects ſuſtained, of making that electorate as well as the kingdom of Poland the theatre of war, of all the ſcenes of bloodſhed and miſery which the Poles ſuffered upon this occaſion, of the inglorious peace which he made with Charles the Twelfth at the expence of his friend and ally, and of his unworthy behaviour afterwards in breaking it; and if Providence had not otherwiſe diſpoſed of Charles the Twelfth, he would again have been obliged to renounce the crown of Poland in favour of Staniſlas. Auguſtus was certainly a good general, and active in war; but being obliged to yield to the impetuous vivacity of Charles the Twelfth, he thought the moſt prudent meaſure that he could take was to wait with patience for a favourable inſtant to recover himſelf, eſpecially as he found the Poles, jealous of their privileges and always fearful of their pretended liberties, hated him, and were conſtantly oppoſing his moſt ſalutary meaſures.

One of the greateſt evils that has happened to Poland ſince their government is become in a great meaſure ariſtocratical, has been the conſtant animoſity and diſunion which have always ſubſiſted between the great families of the kingdom. The family of Potocki and that of Czartoriſki appeared to be irreconcilable at the death of Auguſtus the Second, when the primate of the kingdom aſſembled all the ſenators, the miniſters, and the nonces in his palace, and recommended them to diveſt themſelves of all partiality, of animoſity, and particular hatred, and only to think of the happineſs and tranquillity of their country. Theſe few words were in all appearance productive of very good effects, at leaſt during the time of the election.

The candidates for the crown during this diet of election were king Staniſlas the Firſt; the elector of Saxony, ſon of the late king; the prince Ferdinand of Bavaria; don Emanuel of Portugal; the prince Wieſnowiſki; the princes Sapieha and Lubomirſki; the prince Poniatowſki; and the chevalier de St. George, the ſuppoſed ſon of James the Second king of England: but the two predominant factions were that of the king Staniſlas and that of the elector of Saxony.

Staniſlas was elected by a conſiderable part of the nation; and another part, ſupported by the Ruſſians and by the Imperialiſts, proclaimed the elector of Saxony as king of Poland, under the name of Frederic Auguſtus the Third.

Staniſlas, with about 2000 French troops, embarked for Dantzic, which he made a place of arms; but ſeeing himſelf beſieged with a powerful Ruſſian army, and receiving no ſuccours from his friends in Poland, he took the prudent part to retire; whereupon

whereupon Auguſtus the Third was ſoon after crowned king of Poland; but the party of Staniſlas was ſtill powerful, and reſolved to traverſe all his deſigns: however the tranquillity of the kingdom was to all appearance re-eſtabliſhed by the treaty of peace ſigned between the emperor and the king of France in the year 1735, wherein it is ſtipulated, "That king Staniſlas the Firſt "ſhall abdicate the throne, but that he ſhall ſtill be acknow-"ledged as king of Poland and duke of Lithuania, and ſhall "preſerve all the titles and honours annexed to thoſe dignities; "that they ſhall reſtore his property, as well as that of the "queen his wife, who ſhall have the free enjoyment and diſ-"poſition of it; that all his friends in Poland ſhall be re-"eſtabliſhed in all their reſpective titles, rights, properties, and "privileges; that the elector of Saxony ſhall be acknowledged "as king of Poland and as great duke of Lithuania by all "who ſhall accede to this treaty of peace; that king Staniſlas "ſhall be put in peaceable poſſeſſion of the duchy of Lorraine "and of Bar; but that immediately after the death of this prince "theſe duchies ſhall be united in full ſovereignty for ever to the "crown of France."

The following year the party of Staniſlas, who were ſtill powerful, and who had received ſome mortifications from Auguſtus, began again to murmur againſt the government, and were ready to enter upon a civil war, when they received the following letter from that king, which gives us a ſtrong proof of his moderation and humanity: "I am ſenſibly mortified that I am "not in a ſituation to teſtify ſufficiently to you my ſincere ac-"knowledgment of all that you have done and ſuffered for me, "nor to recompenſe properly your attachment to my perſon "and intereſts. It has not pleaſed the Supreme Director of

" human enterprizes to furniſh me with an opportunity for this " purpoſe which anſwered my vows and wiſhes; but I ſubmit " myſelf to the adorable judgments of Providence with humility " and reſignation, which have conſoled me and ſupported me in " my adverſity. If you will follow the advice of him who will " never ceaſe to love you, follow my example. In reſpect to " the higher powers, for the love of whom you have taken up " arms, lay down your arms, and by your peaceable conduct " ſhew them that you are not deſirous of perpetuating the diſ- " union of your fellow-citizens; on the contrary, unite " yourſelves with them, to the end that you may all enjoy " that peace which God has been pleaſed to grant to your dear " country."

In the year 1737 Ferdinand, reigning duke of Courland, and the laſt male heir of the family of Kettler, died at Mittau. This duchy, as I have already obſerved, was a fief of the crown of Poland, and was granted to Godhard Kettler and his male heirs in the year 1561 as a recompence for Livonia, which, as grand maſter of the Teutonic Order, he ceded to this crown. This death, in any other circumſtances, would in all probability have given riſe to a new war in the North; for it was enacted by the diet of Poland in the year 1726, that the duchy of Courland ſhould be re-united to the crown of Poland in default of male heirs in the family of Kettler: but by the 269th article of the conſtitution of the diet of 1736, all that was enacted in the year 1726 reſpecting this matter was repealed, and the nobility of this province, by virtue of their contracts of ſubjection and of the form of government then eſtabliſhed in the duchy, were permitted to elect a new duke, to whom the king engaged to give the inveſtiture

of

of the duchy for himſelf and for his ſucceſſors by the act of ſubjection of the year 1561.

In conſequence of this regulation the ſtates of Courland and of Semigall, through the intrigues of the empreſs of Ruſſia, elected John Erneſt Biron, a native of Courland and a perſon of mean birth, to be their duke, becauſe he was great chamberlain and favourite of the empreſs. There are few examples in hiſtory of a perſon's having been raiſed ſo rapidly from a mean and obſcure ſituation to be ſovereign of the country in which he was born, eſpecially when ſuch a perſon poſſeſſeth none of thoſe great qualities to recommend him which are ornamental to human nature. Nature, it is true, gave Biron a ſtrong conſtitution, and he had the good fortune to pleaſe the empreſs Ann of Ruſſia, by whoſe influence, and by the condeſcenſion of Poland, from a ſimple individual he was raiſed, not only to be the ſovereign of the country wherein he was born, but to be regent of the Ruſſian empire.

Such a ſudden and uncommon elevation was enough to turn the head of a perſon who had more philoſophy and fortitude than Biron, and therefore the faults which he afterwards committed in the adminiſtration of the affairs of this empire were in ſome meaſure pardonable: however he was ſeverely puniſhed for his indiſcretion, to give it no worſe a name, by a long and rigorous exile; from which he was afterwards recalled, and peaceably ſeated in his ſtates, as if nothing had paſſed: ſuch are the common viciſſitudes of fortune in the North.

The following year an accident happened at Warſaw which had nearly been the occaſion of a civil war, and which will con-

tribute to give us a perfect idea of the character of the Poliſh nobility. Count Bruhl, maſter of the horſe to the king, going out of the king's palace in his coach was ſtopt by the coach of the great treaſurer of the crown, and as the count was in one of the king's coaches he ſuppoſed that he ought not to give way to that of the treaſurer, who, on the other hand, ordered his coachman to keep his ſtation. A Poliſh gentleman who was in the treaſurer's train, wiſhing to finiſh the conteſt immediately, ran up to the count's poſtilion, and gave him a blow with his ſabre; whereupon the count put his head out of the coach-door, and aſked, "Whether the treaſurer had given orders for inſulting "him in this manner?" He had ſcarce time to draw his head again into the coach, after he had finiſhed theſe words, before the ſabre was ready to fall upon it; and as the Pole miſſed his blow by the count's activity, he cut off a large piece of the ornament of the coach-door. This affair made a great noiſe, and different parties were immediately formed in conſequence of it. In any civilized country ſuch an outrage would have been puniſhed with the greateſt ſeverity, and the treaſurer would have been diſplaced; but in Poland, where he immediately formed a party who were ready to embrue their hands in their country's blood, the king was obliged in good policy to hide his reſentment, to let this inſolent Pole go unpuniſhed, and to careſs the treaſurer as if nothing had happened.

In the year 1739 the ordinary diet of Poland, which had treated of the moſt intereſting affairs reſpecting the ſafety and welfare of the kingdom, was diſſolved by the animoſity and hatred which the parties of this country generally entertain the

one

one againſt the other, and for which they ſacrifice the general good and welfare of their country.

The emperor of Germany and the empreſs of Ruſſia were at this time at war with the Turks, and the ſituation of Poland was ſo critical during this war, that ſeveral of the Poliſh patriots, ſince the diet was diſſolved without coming to any deciſion upon the ſtate of the public affairs, entered into a confederacy to ſecure the repoſe of the republic and to guard themſelves againſt the horrors of the war which were approaching near to their frontiers; and in conſequence thereof ſent a deputation to Conſtantinople to make the following propoſition to the Sultan, and to treat with his miniſters upon each article reſpectively.—1ſt. "With the conſent of ſome ſenators and other nobles of Poland, "who are entered into a confederacy for the public good, and "with whoſe letters we are furniſhed, we are come to treat "with the ſublime Ottoman Porte." Anſwer. "The letters "of thoſe ſenators teſtify that we may give credit to their bearers; "and we will give credit to what you ſhall verbally propoſe."—2d. "The republic of Poland demands that the peace which "was concluded with the ſublime Porte by the treaty of Carlo-"witz, be faithfully and inviolably obſerved." Anſwer. "The "miniſters of the Porte have conſtantly employed all their "attention that this treaty ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved."—3d. "The republic deſires to be in friendſhip with the friends of "the Porte, and be the enemy of her enemies; and that the "Porte will obſerve the ſame meaſures with regard to the re-"public." Anſwer. "The Porte conſents to this demand; "and when ſhe ſhall be poſitively aſſured that the Poles are "entered into an aſſociation, the Sultan will give orders that "his army ſhall join the Poliſh army, and that they ſhall act

"in

" in concert upon all occaſions."—4th. " In conſequence of " this confederacy and alliance, we the confederated ſenators, " &c. deſire the Porte to lend us 3 or 400,000 ducats of Hun- " gary to augment the Poliſh army, which ſum the Porte ſhall " receive from the contributions which this army ſhall raiſe in " the Ruſſian territories." Anſwer. " As ſoon as the Porte " ſhall be poſitively aſſured that the Poles are confederated, they " ſhall be aſſiſted with the ſum demanded, and the time and " place ſhall be immediately regulated for the payment thereof." —5th. " The republic demands, that the ſublime Porte will " ſupport an army of 50,000 men, of Turks and of Tartars, " near to Choczin and near Soroka, to ſuccour the Poles in " caſe of an invaſion." Anſwer. " This army ſhall be on their " march in the beginning of the next ſpring, with orders to " aſſiſt the Poles wherever ſuch aſſiſtance may be wanting. The " Kan and the Seraſkier of the Budziac Tartars ſhall join their " troops to this army if it is neceſſary; and the artillery, which " the Poles demand, ſhall be furniſhed them upon their own " ſecurity."—6th. " The Porte is deſired to engage the crown " of Sweden to ſend into Poland, by Dantzic, 10,000 infantry " and 500 officers to diſcipline the Poliſh army." Anſwer. " The republic may addreſs the crown of Sweden herſelf for " that purpoſe."—7th. " The Porte is deſired to aid the Poles " to recover the provinces which have been diſmembered from " her, without pretending to any other recompence for this " ſervice than the booty which ſhall be taken from the enemy, " which ſhall be divided equally between the troops of the " Porte and the troops of the republic." Anſwer. " The Porte " will aſſiſt the republic to recover their loſſes, and will always " be ready to aſſiſt the Poles whenever ſuch aſſiſtance ſhall be " wanting."—8th. " The Porte is likewiſe deſired to give

" particular orders that their troops ſhall obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline " when they are upon the territories of Poland." Anſwer. " The Porte will give orders that this article ſhall be ſtrictly " obſerved."

This confederacy however did not produce any great effects: the ſcheme was ſoon after diſcovered, and Auguſtus, from the moment he was informed of it, violated all the meaſures already taken by the confederacy. It appears from the nature of the preceding articles, that the aſſociated ſenators and others meant well to their country, but it was a very ſerious affront to the king to carry on a treaty of this nature with a foreign power without his knowledge or approbation, and the conſequences might have been dreadful to Poland, and of no great utility to the Ottoman Porte.

Ever ſince the nobility and clergy came to have an independent power in this kingdom, their government has been a continued ſcene of confuſion, diſorder, oppreſſion, and civil wars, from which the ſtate has ſuffered more than from all their foreign wars. The loſſes which a nation ſuſtains from a foreign enemy may in time be recovered, but when her own ſubjects are ſeeking her deſtruction, there is no remedy.

In the year 1740 the king convoked a diet to aſſemble at Warſaw, wherein it was propoſed, among other things, to hear and to redreſs the grievances of the nation; and the king, as preliminaries, recommended the diſcuſſion of the three following articles, of peace, of ſecurity, and of abundance, as the only means to re-eſtabliſh the weakened forces of the republic: " There is no kingdom," ſaid the great chancellor, " can ſubſiſt

" and

" and flouriſh where good order and decency are not ſuppotted;
" and it is impoſſible to ſuccour our country by the eſtabliſhment
" of good order, if we do not endeavour, in the firſt place, to
" conform ourſelves exactly to that which is preſcribed for
" holding the diets by the conſtitutions of the years 1690, 1699,
" and 1736, ſo that his majeſty recommends the obſervation of
" theſe conſtitutions to all the Nonces: moreover, there cannot
" be a greater inſult offered to your liberties and to your free-
" dom of ſpeech, than when you are aſſembled in the places
" which are appointed for holding the diets and other public
" aſſemblies, your not giving each other the liberty to ſpeak and
" to explain your ſentiments freely; and ſometimes you carry
" your hatred againſt each other to ſuch a height, that it is
" dangerous even to appear in thoſe aſſemblies. We have a
" thouſand examples to prove that the dignity of a ſenator is
" no longer reſpected; and therefore that ancient and rigorous
" law, which obliges the ſenators to be preſent at theſe diets,
" cannot be obſerved: from hence it ariſes that theſe aſſemblies,
" being deſtitute of that air which inſpires veneration and
" reſpect, are little more than a continued ſcene of noiſe, tumult,
" and diſorder. Is it poſſible therefore that any ſalutary
" advice can proceed from ſuch a ſource of confuſion? En-
" deavour then, my brave Poles, to find out ſome remedy for
" theſe evils. To live in peace with foreign powers ought to be
" the firſt object of your deliberations; and that depends upon pre-
" ſerving tranquillity in your own neighbourhood; upon having
" good intelligence and a free communication with your neigh-
" bours; and particularly upon that ſpirit of juſtice and modera-
" tion that often diſſipates the greateſt difficulties, which are
" but too ſubject to ariſe upon the frontiers of many powerful
" ſtates. The ſecurity of the public requires that you anſwer

" the demands of the Palatines for the augmentation of the
" troops, and the exact payment of the ſoldiers, upon which
" depends the military diſcipline; that you provide for the re-
" pairs of the fortreſſes, and for filling the military magazines
" and arſenals; that you prepare a fund for diſengaging the
" territory and the town of Elbing from the family of Branden-
" bourg, one of the moſt important places we have upon our
" frontiers; and laſtly, that you will apply yourſelves to prevent
" the deſertion of the ſubjects of Poland into Walachia and into
" the Ukraine. To increaſe the riches and abundance of a
" ſtate, the beſt regulations touching foreign commerce, and
" the fixing a proper ſtandard for the money, ſhould be adopted.
" Good merchants are wanting in Poland, and ſome of theſe ſhould
" have been eſtabliſhed in the different cities of the kingdom;
" but as the greateſt part of our cities are likewiſe falling into
" ruin, it is neceſſary alſo that you ſhould provide for their
" ſecurity. I ſhould have obſerved, that the decay of your cities
" ariſes from the perſecutions which have lately been raiſed
" againſt the Diſſidents, which have driven great numbers of
" thoſe people out of the kingdom; from the diſunion and diſ-
" order which reign there; and from the citizens not being able
" to provide themſelves a ſubſiſtence, occaſioned by the malicious
" inventions of the Jews who are protected by the nobility, by
" enormous uſury, and by the little ſecurity which they have
" for tranſporting merchandizes from one place to another on
" account of cuſtom-houſes and new duties which have been
" lately introduced. It will be neceſſary that you ſhould more-
" over take into conſideration the fixing a proper ſtandard for the
" gold and ſilver coin, which have been of late years ſo much
" adulterated; the re-eſtabliſhing and working the mines of
" Olkhurſt, which have been neglected for a conſiderable time

" paſt; the providing for the ſecurity of the high roads, and for " the eſtabliſhing new manufactures in the kingdom, which will " prevent great ſums of money from paſſing daily into foreign " parts for theſe articles."

I have been the more particular in ſetting forth this ſpeech at length, becauſe it gives us a clear idea of the ſituation of the kingdom at this time, and corroborates what I have before obſerved, touching the horrid abuſes and acts of oppreſſion which were every day practiſed by the nobility and clergy.

The firſt part of this diet preſented a very favourable aſpect; it appeared as if unanimity had baniſhed all kinds of diſcord and confuſion, and as if the Nonces had ſacrificed their perſonal intereſts to the good of the public. But alas! this ſcene was ſoon changed; the Poles were ſo accuſtomed to diſorder and violence, that it was almoſt become a part of their conſtitution: little clouds gathered ſucceſſively, and formed a ſtorm that deſtroyed all the operations of this diet, which terminated, as moſt of the former had done, in the greateſt confuſion and diſorder, notwithſtanding all that the chancellor had obſerved to recommend unanimity and good order among them. The following year Poland was in ſuch an embaraſſment that the greateſt politicians were at a loſs to diſcover what part ſhe would take in the wars and conteſts which then began to trouble the different parts of Europe. Sileſia was now become the theatre of war, which made the government reſolve immediately to ſend ſome Poliſh regiments to the frontiers; but ſeeing the ſeverity of the Pruſſian diſcipline they ſoon perceived that this precaution was unneceſſary, and, confiding in the promiſes of the court of Berlin, from whom they were informed that their territories

ſhould be reſpected during the whole war, to grant ſome return to the good intentions of his Pruſſian majeſty, they permitted that his army in Sileſia ſhould draw ſuch part of their proviſions out of the Poliſh territories as they thought proper.

When the ſenate ſaw that there was no longer danger on that ſide, they turned their attention towards the differences which had ariſen between the court of Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte; but theſe were ſoon afterwards conciliated, and the republic was thought to be out of danger from foreign enemies, when the news was received that the Ruſſians and Swedes were preparing to declare war againſt each other; whereupon two parties were immediately formed in the kingdom, the one in favour of Sweden and the other in favour of Ruſſia, and this diviſion was likely to be attended with the moſt diſagreeable conſequences. Count Potocki, general of the crown, declared himſelf for the Swedes; and, to give the greater weight to the cauſe which he pretended to defend, he reſolved to form a general confederacy, and addreſſed letters to all the members of the diet, filled with the moſt plauſible reaſons, to engage them to vote for the augmentation of the army.

As ſoon as the king, who was now at Dreſden, heard of the meaſures that Potocki was taking, he immediately ſent deputies to him, to repreſent to him the new troubles that might be occaſioned thereby, and the neceſſity the kingdom was in to maintain an exact neutrality during this war. The deputies of the king, and particularly the cardinal Lipſki, repreſented this matter with ſuch force and clearneſs to the general and his friends, that the former conſented to ſend the troops into quarters, and to countermand thoſe who were upon their march to form a camp;

and the ſame example was followed by Romanowſki, who was elected marſhal of the confederacy, and by all the reſt of their party. Thus was the public tranquillity again reſtored, and in order to confirm it there was an aſſembly of all the ſenators held, where the primate of the kingdom preſided in the king's abſence, and where it was reſolved, 1ſt. "To deſire the general of the crown, "not only to give the neceſſary orders for all the regiments to "be completed, but alſo to ſend a certain number of troops "towards the frontiers on the ſide of Sileſia, of Courland, and "of Turkey." 2d. "To give orders to the commiſſioners of "Courland to inſtal the duke of Brunſwic in quality of duke "of Courland, and not to defer the execution of it, to the end "that the great ducheſs of Ruſſia may be thereby engaged to "withdraw her troops which are at preſent quartered in Cour-"land." 3d. "To give the inhabitants of Great Poland "permiſſion to furniſh the Auſtrian troops with proviſions as "well as thoſe of Pruſſia, but at their own riſk and peril." 4th. "To order the reſident of the republic at the Ottoman Porte "to renew his ſolicitations to obtain ſatisfaction for the loſſes "which the kingdom ſuffered by the paſſage of the Ottoman "troops during the laſt war."

As the ſecond article of the reſolution of this aſſembly demands ſome explanation, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that when the empreſs Ann, a few days before her death, called the young prince Iwan, the ſon of her niece and of the duke of Brunſwic, to the throne of Ruſſia, who was then but two months old, ſhe declared her favourite Biron, duke of Courland, guardian of the young emperor, and regent of the empire; but ſuch an exceſſive authority, with ſo weak a head, could not continue long in ſuch a turbulent country as that of Ruſſia, and this duke was ſoon after

after arreſted by the order of the duke and ducheſs of Brunſwic, the father and mother of the young emperor, and conducted to the fortreſs of Schluſſelbourg: he was afterwards, according to the Ruſſian laws, found guilty of the crime of high treaſon in the firſt inſtance, and condemned to loſe his life; but this part of his ſentence was changed into that of a perpetual baniſhment into Siberia. This prompt and aſtoniſhing revolution left Courland without a ſovereign; for it was not to be preſumed that a perſon who was baniſhed into Siberia could preſerve any rights to the ſovereignty of Courland, and therefore the ſtates of this duchy aſſembled themſelves, and after having eraſed the name of Biron from the liſt of their dukes, they unanimouſly elected the prince Lewis of Brunſwic Lunebourg, the uncle of the young emperor, to be their duke: and it was in conſequence of this election, ſupported by the credit of the court of Ruſſia, that the ſtates of Courland ſent a ſolemn deputation to the king of Poland, who was then at Dreſden, with ſuch inſtructions as merit ſo much the more to be preſerved, as they ſet forth very clearly the privileges of this ſtate, and its dependence upon the king and upon the republic of Poland: they are given in nearly the following terms: 1ſt. "After the deputy of the ſtates ſhall "have preſented to his Poliſh majeſty, our moſt gracious king "and lord, our ardent wiſhes for the happineſs and proſperity "of his moſt ſacred perſon and of all his royal family, he ſhall "thank his majeſty, in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, for ſupporting "the rights and privileges of the duchies, and alſo for the "aſſurances which it has pleaſed his majeſty heretofore to ſend "to the members of the ſtates to inform them that he would "ſupport them in all their reſpective immunities; afterwards he "ſhall aſſure his majeſty, in the moſt reſpectful manner, of "their inviolable fidelity, and alſo of the great confidence which

"they

" they place in his clemency and good will towards them."
2d. " He ſhall humbly deſire his majeſty to hear the reaſons
" which induced them to hold the preſent aſſembly, and that
" he will be pleaſed to conſent that their patriotic en-
" deavours may have the deſired effect, to the end that the
" ſtates, enjoying their rights and liberties, may remain in their
" antecedent form of regency under the high protection of his
" majeſty and the republic." 3d. " The deputy ſhall alſo re-
" preſent to his majeſty, that the moſt ſerene duke Lewis of
" Brunſwic Lunebourg, paſſing by Mittau during the time that
" the ſtates were aſſembled in his road to St. Peterſbourg, pro-
" poſed himſelf as a candidate for theſe duchies, to the end that
" this ſtate might be preſerved under the regency of a prince;
" but the ſtates, to give the moſt convincing proofs of their in-
" violable fidelity and of their duty towards the king and to-
" wards the republic of Poland, did not believe themſelves
" authorized to declare their ſentiments finally upon this pro-
" poſition before it was approved of by his majeſty as their
" ſovereign lord:—and, finally, the deputy ſhall humbly intreat
" his majeſty to inveſt the before-mentioned prince with this
" fief, as he has offered to ſupport the inhabitants of the country
" in all their liberties and privileges, and to deliver theſe duchies
" from all the burthens with which they are charged, as well
" as from all the pretenſions which ſtrangers may have to them,
" which will be much for the advantage of the crown and of the
" republic of Poland."

In the year 1742 the nobility of Poland wiſhed ardently to have an extraordinary diet convoked at Grodno, and made the moſt powerful efforts to induce his majeſty to conſent to their deſires; they founded their repreſentations upon the importance

of

of the affairs which they propoſed to regulate in it, and particularly upon thoſe of Courland, and upon the augmentation of the fortifications of Choczin, which had been ruined by the Ruſſians, and which the Turks were about to repair. This was the pretext which was publicly given, but the true reaſon of this demand was the ſtrong intereſt which a great part of the nation took to ſupport the empreſs-queen of Hungary, whom they regarded as the right hand of Poland, and as her ſhield when any difference aroſe between the republic and the Ottoman Porte: how well they judged of the favourable diſpoſition of this empreſs towards them and of her ſincerity and gratitude, we have had a very recent and extraordinary example. However, by means of the arrangements which they had ſecretly taken, they were in hopes to paſs the propoſition for giving ſome conſiderable ſuccours to this empreſs, or at leaſt to make the aſſembly conſent to permit a Ruſſian army to paſs through their territories, if the new empreſs Elizabeth ſhould determine to march ſuch an army into Germany to ſuccour the houſe of Auſtria.

With regard to the affairs of Courland the republic was not leſs divided: the ſtate of affairs was entirely changed in Ruſſia ſince the empreſs Elizabeth was come to the throne: duke Lewis of Brunſwic was no longer protected by that court: however, ſome of the Poles were for ſupporting that prince in Courland; others were of the opinion that the ſtates of Courland ſhould proceed to a new election, and that they ſhould favour the prince of Heſſe-Homberg, who was protected and openly recommended by the court of Ruſſia; whilſt a third party, with a great number of the Courland nobility, maintained that they ought to recal and maintain the ancient election made in favour of count Maurice of Saxony. Hearing of the diviſions and animoſities

which were likely to ariſe among the nobles on account of the matters which were to be decided in this extraordinary diet, the king poſtponed the calling a diet till the year 1744, when he ordered a general diet at Grodno, and in the mean time he ordered a Senatus Conſilium at Frawſtadt, where he appeared in perſon, and the following articles were the reſult of their deliberations, of which copies were delivered to all the members of the aſſembly:—" 1ſt. The indiſpenſible neceſſity of the preſent war in Germany, and the deſire which the king has to re-eſtabliſh as ſoon as poſſible the peace of Europe, will not permit him to be abſent from his hereditary dominions. His majeſty takes this opportunity particularly to inform the Palatines and the great officers of the ſtate, that although he is obliged to be abſent from the kingdom for ſome time, he ſhall nevertheleſs take every meaſure to preſerve the ſtate in tranquillity, and to provide for the ſecurity of his ſubjects; and that all the ſteps which he ſhall take for this purpoſe will be concerted with the principal members of the kingdom.—2d. As the preſent ſituation of the affairs of Europe demand more than ever that we ſhould ſend miniſters to the foreign courts, to the end that we may live in tranquillity and good neighbourhood with them, the king will name without any delay ſuch perſons as he ſhall judge capable for theſe important points. The republic ſhall give for the expences of the embaſſy into Turkey 6000 crowns, of which two thirds ſhall be paid by the treaſury of the kingdom and the other third by that of the great duchy of Lithuania: 2000 crowns ſhall likewiſe be added to this for the ordinary preſents, which ſhall be paid out of the treaſury of the kingdom; and the treaſurer ſhall alſo furniſh 4000 Poliſh florins for the ordinary preſents of the miniſter who ſhall go into the Crimmee. Six thouſand crowns ſhould alſo be given to the miniſter who ſhall be ſent to the court of Ruſſia;

the treaſurer of the great duchy of Lithuania ſhould pay two thirds of this ſum, and that of the kingdom the other third: this miniſter ſhall be charged with giving aſſurance to the court of Peterſbourg of the friendſhip of the Poliſh nation, and likewiſe ſhall endeavour to obtain full ſatisfaction for thoſe who have ſuffered any damages, of which the commiſſion of Satanow has already began to pay a part; he ſhall moreover be inſtructed to ſolicit the court of Ruſſia that the inſolence of the Coſacks may be reſtrained.—3d. To maintain the ſecurity of the kingdom from foreign forces, the king agrees with the generals that it will be neceſſary to march an army of obſervation to the frontiers, and to fortify ſuch places as ſhall be neceſſary to protect the kingdom from the inroads of foreign troops. His majeſty will not fail to ſolicit all the belligerent powers to protect the liberty of commerce in the Baltic ſea; and he will alſo enjoin all the generals and ſtaroſts to carry the orders of the Senatus Conſilium of the year 1739 into execution by virtue of the conſtitution of 1620.—4th. The king not being in a ſituation, on account of the preſent war, to provide for all the expences which will be neceſſary for the reparations of Kaminiec, his majeſty will give orders to the treaſurers of the kingdom to pay 16,000 florins of Poland to make ſuch reparations as are the moſt neceſſary to this fortreſs.—5th. The treaſurer of the kingdom ſhall be ordered to pay 8000 Poliſh florins to the town of Frawſtadt, as an indemnification for the ſums which were advanced by that town for the laſt Turkiſh embaſſy. After the ſums before ſpecified for the foreign miniſters are paid, his majeſty hereby orders the payment, out of the firſt revenues which ſhall enter into the treaſury of the kingdom, of 88,000 florins of Poland to the palatine of Kiovia, general of the crown, to in-

demnify him for an equal ſum which he has advanced for the uſe of the public."

In the year 1744 there was a general diet held at Grodno in Lithuania, which was opened with all the ordinary ceremonies and with all the appearances of the moſt happy ſucceſs: count Opinſki was unanimouſly elected marſhal of the diet, and for ſeveral days all the Nonces appeared deſirous to promote the good of their country, to ſupport the peace of the kingdom, to hear and to redreſs the complaints of particulars, and to regulate effectually the interior as well as the exterior affairs of the kingdom; but all theſe ſplendid appearances vaniſhed very ſoon, as the enemies of the repoſe of this kingdom had determined that this diet, as well as all thoſe which had been held ſince Charles the Twelfth was in Poland, ſhould be tumultuous, and that all their good intentions ſhould be fruſtrated. Wilczewſki, Nonce of Wiſna, accuſed the miniſters of the king of Pruſſia, reſiding at the court of Poland, with having corrupted eight or nine of the Nonces to proteſt againſt the proceedings of the reſt of the aſſembly, and to diſſolve the diet; and that they had offered him 3000 ducats and a colonel's commiſſion, with other advantages, if he would join thoſe Nonces for this purpoſe; all which he offered to verify upon oath. The whole aſſembly was thrown into an uproar and confuſion by this declaration; and the marſhal of the diet, ſeeing that it was afterwards impoſſible to reſtore good order and decorum therein, diſſolved it; after which the moſt urgent affairs of the kingdom were regulated by a Senatus Conſilium, wherein a gratification of 2000 crowns was aſſigned to the Nonce Wilczewſki for the good offices which he had rendered to his country.

The

The intelligent part of mankind will undoubtedly be amazed that a prince whoſe family has received their all, except the lakes and ſand-banks of Brandenbourg, from the crown of Poland, ſhould on every occaſion endeavour to deſtroy that power to which he and his anceſtors have been ſo much obliged; but by recurring to hiſtory it will be clearly ſeen, that this now illuſtrious family, from the time that they were firſt diſtinguiſhed among the common robbers who hid their plunder in the marſhes of Brandenbourg down to this day, have adhered ſo cloſely to the ſerpent's politics, that they have always ſtung the boſom which warmed and ſupported them; and therefore we ought not to wonder at any thing that ariſes from ſuch a ſource, except acts of humanity and of benevolence, which do not appear to enter at all into his creed.

No ſooner was this diet diſſolved, than the ſame ſpirit of party which had contributed much to its diſſolution diffuſed itſelf throughout the whole nation, and the friends of the different powers that were engaged in the war uſed their utmoſt endeavours clandeſtinely to draw their partizans into a confederation; and this was declared to be the reaſon that induced the empreſs of Ruſſia, in the year 1745, to preſent by her miniſters the following declaration to the king and to the republic of Poland; a declaration which is ſo much the more remarkable, as being the firſt of the kind that ever the government of Ruſſia preſented to this kingdom:——"As her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, "in the quality of a ſincere ally, will never ceaſe to take a "part, not only in the proſperity and repoſe of this kingdom, "but alſo in the preſervation of her rights and liberties; and "that, as well on account of maintaining a good neighbour-"hood, as in conſideration of the friendſhip which has happily

" ſubſiſted for a great number of years between her imperial
" majeſty and the king and the republic of Poland; it is there-
" fore with much diſpleaſure that her imperial majeſty has diſ-
" covered that ſome ill-diſpoſed perſons are endeavouring to
" draw the principal inhabitants of the republic into con-
" federacies, ſo that ſhe cannot avoid making known how
" much it will be diſagreeable to her if ſuch diſorders and
" troubles are excited ſo near to her frontiers. Her imperial
" majeſty, as ſhe has already obſerved, is too much intereſted
" in every thing that concerns the ſecurity of his Poliſh majeſty,
" as well as the repoſe, happineſs, and liberty of the republic,
" to regard any attack made upon either with indifference; and
" therefore, to give a new mark of her pacific ſentiments,
" and of her ſincere attachment to the king and to the republic
" of Poland, her imperial majeſty has ordered her miniſters
" reſiding at Warſaw to declare to the king and to the republic,
" by theſe preſents, that ſhe will never ſuffer the leaſt aſ-
" ſociation, trouble, or innovation againſt the perſon of his
" Poliſh majeſty, or againſt the republic, or even againſt the
" rights and liberties, of whom, by whom, or under what
" pretence ſoever they may be formed or excited; but on the
" contrary her imperial majeſty, to obviate theſe inconveniencies,
" will not fail to take all the convenient meaſures which Pro-
" vidence has put in her power."

In the year 1746 the king convoked a diet to Warſaw to endeavour if poſſible to remedy the growing evils of the ſtate; but no ſooner was this diet aſſembled, than by the under-hand dealings of the prince before-mentioned, whoſe miniſters had gained over ſome of the Nonces to their party, it became a ſcene of confuſion and diſorder, and was diſſolved by the Liberum Veto,

Veto, that ſupport, as it is called, of the Poliſh liberty, but which is conſtantly made uſe by evil-diſpoſed perſons to trouble the happineſs of the ſtate, and which has been one of the principal cauſes of bringing this kingdom to the diſtreſſed ſituation it is in at preſent.

In the year 1748 the army of the crown was reduced to a few regiments only, and theſe in the greateſt diſorder; the taxes were multiplied and very unjuſtly collected; the poor were oppreſſed, and the commerce of the kingdom reduced to the loweſt ebb and in the hands of the Jews; the public treaſure was exhauſted, and, in fact, the republic ſuffered on every ſide: but all theſe conſiderations, which were laid before the diet at Warſaw this year, were not ſufficient to engage them to concur in applying a proper remedy to theſe diſorders. This aſſembly, always tumultuous, ſpent the time which was preſcribed for the duration of the diet in vain declamations and invectives, ſo that the marſhal was obliged to diſſolve it.

This was the fifth diet which had been convoked and diſſolved without coming to any reſolution in the ſpace of ten years; nevertheleſs the republic never enjoyed a more proper criſis to enter upon uſeful deliberations, and to apply proper remedies to the diſorders of the ſtate; but ſo long as ſhe carries the ſeeds of her deſtruction in her own boſom, and ſo long as the Liberum Veto is regarded as the foundation of her happineſs, diſſention will always reign in her diets; and the gold drawn out of the ſand-banks of Brandenbourg, and given to one falſe brother, will always triumph over the zeal, activity, and generous ſentiments of a thouſand honeſt Poles, as long as there is one ambitious uſurper at Potzdam or near Vienna.

Afflicted

Afflicted and chagrined at the bad ſucceſs of the preceding diets, the king imagined that by convoking an extraordinary diet the following year he ſhould be able to remedy the greateſt part if not all of thoſe evils wherewith the country was threatened; and for this purpoſe he immediately publiſhed an order, wherein, after having ſet forth the diſtreſſed ſituation of the republic, he plainly informed them that he knew the hand which had directed the blow againſt the conſtitution, and conjured his faithful ſubjects to open their eyes upon the true intereſts of their country.

The friends of the prince before-mentioned, ſeeing themſelves and their patron ſo clearly diſtinguiſhed in this piece, which was publiſhed by the court, were highly offended againſt the ſtep which the king had taken, and from that moment reſolved to oppoſe even all the ſalutary meaſures which ſhould be propoſed in the next diet.

Towards the end of the laſt year an extraordinary court of juſtice was held at Petrikaw, compoſed of the deputies of the nobility of the province, who were to decide a conteſt which had ariſen about a fief to which two noble families claimed a title, at the opening of which ſuch a ſcene paſſed as was capable of bringing on a civil war in all parts of the kingdom. A great number of the nobility of the firſt rank, and as well of thoſe who had been elected Nonces for the approaching diet, being aſſembled at Petrikaw to elect the marſhal of this tribunal, they entered into the pariſh church, according to cuſtom, to take the oath which had always been taken on theſe occaſions. The deputies were the firſt who preſented themſelves to take this oath, but the nobility, who were there in a great number, proteſted

teſted againſt the validity of their elections; murmurings enſued, and afterwards ſome ſtrong debates, which finiſhed by brandiſhing and by a general claſh of ſabres in the air. The nobles immediately ſeparated themſelves, and arranged themſelves on the ſide of thoſe of the family of Potocki, and the others on the ſide of thoſe of Czartorinſki. The partizans of Potocki, who were the firſt who drew their ſabres, ſpread ſuch a panic among their adverſaries, that they immediately endeavoured to ſave themſelves wherever they thought they were ſecure. The clergy, who were ſhut up in the veſtry-room, were deliberating upon the means to appeaſe this tumult, when they ſaw it ceaſe of itſelf, becauſe there was only one party now in the church. An affair of this nature, of which the annals of Poland did not to that time furniſh an example, demanded the king's preſence to prevent the conſequences. An expreſs was immediately ſent to Dreſden to deſire he would return into his kingdom as ſoon as poſſible; but notwithſtanding the aſſurance which his majeſty gave of his intention to be at Warſaw with all convenient expedition, the chiefs of theſe two great families took the field, each at the head of a great number of vaſſals, and began to commit acts of hoſtility reciprocally upon the lands of each other. This will ſerve to ſhew us to what a height of inſolence, diſorder, and barbarity the nobility of Poland are arrived, and how dangerous it is to give ſuch an independent power to individuals in a ſtate: where the members of an ariſtocratical government have not ſome formidable controul over their actions, ſuch a government will exhibit a continued ſcene of diſorder, tyranny, and oppreſſion. All the ſenators and generals could do in this extremity was to aſſemble all the regular troops, and to give orders for raiſing recruits to make them complete. Things were carried to this terrible point of diſunion when the adverſe parties

were

were informed of the death of count Potocki, who was ſo diſtinguiſhed by his high birth, great property, and credit in the republic, that he often balanced the royal authority: this event ſuſpended the operations of the two armies of Potocki and of Czartorinſki, and haſtened the return of his majeſty into the kingdom. The ſucceſs of a diet will in ſome meaſure depend upon the abilities of the marſhal, and therefore the court were not ignorant how much it was for their intereſt to make choice of one who was really a friend to his country, and therefore they turned their attention towards the count Rzewſki, palatine of Podolia; but his high dignity as palatine excluded him from this office, as he could not be elected Nonce. This count, however, who was ready to ſecond the good intentions of the king, reſigned his office of palatine, or, what we may more properly call in Engliſh, lord lieutenant, and was elected Nonce of Chelm. This generous action it was ſuppoſed would have facilitated his election to the dignity of marſhal, eſpecially as the happy ſucceſs of the diet of pacification of the year 1736 was owing to his prudence: but all that could be ſaid in favour of Rzewſki ſerved only to animate the enemies of the public tranquillity the more againſt him, particularly the Pruſſian party, who were determined to prevent the diet from deciding any thing that tended to promote the intereſt and happineſs of the kingdom. This extraordinary aſſembly of the ſtates therefore was opened with the difficulties which the Pruſſian party made to acknowledge the Nonce of Chelm to be one of their legal members; and the debates which were occaſioned by it continued during the whole time that was preſcribed by the laws for holding an extraordinary diet, and it ſeparated, as all the ordinary diets had done for ſome time before, without coming to any reſolution, and the kingdom was in a greater diſorder than ever, as the

Coſacks

Coſacks had attacked the Poliſh part of the Ukraine, and laid waſte the whole country; they pillaged the villages, burnt the churches, and maſſacred all thoſe who fell into their hands indiſcriminately, women, children, old men, clergy, and even thoſe who were ſick and maimed. The troops which were placed to ſecure the frontiers did all they could to ſtop the torrent of theſe barbarians; but thoſe forces were not proper to oppoſe an enemy, which, like the Indians, attack you by ſurprize, and when they meet with any reſiſtance retire with great precipitation, and endeavour to draw their adverſaries into ambuſcades.

In the year 1751 the Menonites, whoſe number is very conſiderable in Dantzic, complained heavily to the magiſtrates of this town of being deprived of many of their privileges, and ſeeing that their repreſentations were diſregarded, addreſſed his Poliſh majeſty to obtain redreſs for their grievances; and at the ſame time the Anabaptiſts took the ſame ſtep towards the throne: the former were ſtrongly recommended by the regency of Dantzic, and had their complaints redreſſed; but the latter had the mortification to hear that they were no longer to be conſidered as citizens of the republic, but were to be regarded only upon the footing of ſtrangers.

A violent ſtorm likewiſe fell this year upon the Jews who were in this nation: a royal commiſſion was ſent to Kaminiec to examine ſeveral accuſations that were brought againſt the Jews, and finding them to be well founded, it was ordered by a decree that theſe Iſraelites ſhould quit this town and its ſuburbs within twenty-four hours; which order they were obliged ſtrictly to obey. A ſentence of the ſame nature was likewiſe pronounced

againſt theſe people by the regency of Warſaw, and in ſeveral other palatinates of the kingdom and of the great duchy of Lithuania. It is ſaid that the true cauſe of theſe rigorous ſentences was their having attempted ſomething againſt the intereſts of the ſuits; but however they afterwards made ſuch intereſt as to eſcape the blow which was aimed at them. Many of the moſt ſenſible men of the Poliſh nation have found much difficulty to reſolve, whether the Jews are uſeful to this kingdom, or the contrary; and whether their total expulſion would be advantageous or prejudicial to the nation in general. Many have been of the opinion that if the Jews were driven out of the lands of the republic, as they have the principal branches of the commerce of the country in their hands, this act of rigour would be the ruin of a great number of Poliſh families, whoſe fortune is in a great meaſure connected with that of theſe unhappy people; but if the Jews had been driven out of the kingdom, although many of the Poliſh families might be diſtreſſed by it for ſome time, the loſs would be very ſoon recovered by the neceſſity which the Poles would be under to carry on themſelves all the different branches of their commerce, of which the gains have heretofore come into the coffers of thoſe avaricious factors. No nation will ever be opulent which leaves her commerce in the hands of ſtrangers.

The greateſt part of this and of the following year was employed in ſettling the differences between the magiſtrates and the reſt of the citizens of Dantzic. This affair would have been attended with very ſerious conſequences if the king had not interpoſed and made uſe of great moderation to ſettle it. The magiſtrates were accuſed with having uſurped the privileges of the other tribunals, and the whole city was ready for a revolt; the

the principal citizens would give up nothing of their pretenſions, the workmen refuſed to work for their maſters, and this confuſion and anarchy was very near terminating by the blood of the citizens, when a commiſſion named by the king re-eſtabliſhed the laws in their former vigour and reſtored the public tranquillity: the magiſtrates were condemned to pay a conſiderable fine and all the expences of the ſuit; the council of fifty was diſſolved, and four members of the great council and ſix deputies of the inferior council were ordered to go and aſk pardon of the king for their diſobedience.

Before the holding of a diet in Poland it has always been cuſtomary to aſſemble a Kolo, as it is called, or a great military council, to chooſe Nonces to repreſent the army in this great aſſembly of the nation, and to lay before it ſuch matters as they ſhall judge to be convenient and neceſſary to the wants of the army: in conſequence of this regulation the count Branicki aſſembled this year all the principal officers of the army at Droycain for this purpoſe. The ſucceſs of this aſſembly, and the tranquillity which reigned in every part of the kingdom during the election of the Nonces, gave great hopes that the future diet, which was to be holden towards the end of this year, would terminate happily, and that the uſeful regulations which might be made by this aſſembly would tend to re-eſtabliſh good order and tranquillity in the kingdom; but all the honeſt Poles were diſappointed in their expectations; the ancient Pruſſian cabal was ſtill kept up, and took every opportunity to blow up the fire of diſcord between the different parties, and to inſtigate them to take vengeance for every ſuppoſed injury.

The following proteſt will verify what has been ſaid, and give my readers a clearer idea than perhaps they have hitherto had of the infamous abuſes which have been made of the pretended liberties of the Poles.——" I the underſigned Caſimir Morſki, " Nonce of the diſtrict of Sochaczew, preſent myſelf in my " proper perſon, and proteſt before God and all the univerſe, " that I am not ſeduced by any particular intereſt, but am " excited by the love of my country, of which all the regula- " tions of the diet of 1690 are violated. At the opening of " the diet we joined ourſelves with the ſenate to ſalute the king " our gracious maſter, but, as was the caſe in the preceding " diets, they have prevented us from ſpeaking againſt the viola- " tion of the Pacta Conventa, and only permitted one Nonce of " every province to ſpeak, though we have not been ſatisfied, " on the part of his majeſty, upon any of the propoſitions which " were made. When we returned into the houſe of the Nonces " we complained that the fundamental laws of the kingdom " were broken, even in the order of diets, as well as the prin- " cipal regulations which were made in the years 1607, 1641, " 1707, and 1736, concerning the reduction of the foreign " troops conformably to the laws: the principal officers of the " army are Diſſidents; the diſpoſition of the revenues of the " ſtate and of the produce of the ſalt-works are alſo in the " hands of the ſame Diſſidents, as well as that great poſt of the " crown to which are entruſted all the ſecrets of the ſtate, and " which, according to the deſire of our palatines and the in- " ſtructions which they have given us upon this ſubject, ſhould " have been given only to a noble Pole of the Catholic religion. " Having then demanded the obſervation of all theſe points by " the marſhal of the diet without any effect, I have, by the

" Liberum

" Liberum Veto, ſtopped the activity of all the deliberations,
" and do hereby deſire our miniſters and our chancellor not to
" put the ſeal of the kingdom to any acts which are contrary to
" our laws. Moreover, as the great marſhal of the kingdom
" has neglected to reduce the number of the Saxon guards to
" what is preſcribed by the laws, as the treaſurers of the two
" nations have taken no ſteps to prevent the adminiſtration of
" the public revenues and of the productions of the ſalt-works
" from falling into the hands of the Diſſidents and of ſtrangers,
" and, beſides all this, we ſee that we cannot even hope for any
" ſatisfaction, and that, in the place of endeavouring to cement
" the confidence of the ſtates, they irritate them ſtill more, by
" advancing ſtrangers, to the prejudice of the ſenators and of the
" nobles of merit and of an unqueſtionable fidelity, and who have
" well ſerved the republic; fearing moreover that the remedies
" which may be propoſed by this diet will be worſe than the
" diſorder, ſeeing that every thing that has been propoſed by the
" Nonce has been either ſuppreſſed or rejected, although ſuch
" propoſitions ought to be the baſis of every thing that paſſed
" in the deliberations of the diet, and the only means to maintain
" the neceſſary confidence between the ſtates, to preſerve us
" in the enjoyment of what we have obtained by the blood of
" our anceſtors, and at the ſame time to give ſtrength to the
" dignity of the crown and to the liberty of the people. See-
" ing then that theſe juſt and reaſonable deſires are not to be
" heard, but on the contrary are deſpiſed, I place myſelf under
" the ſecurity of the public to preſerve the laws and the pre-
" rogatives of all the orders of the ſtate which have been broken
" and violated; ad I do hereby ſtop the progreſs of the delibera-
" tions of the diet, and by this proteſt do declare it null to all
" intents and purpoſes."

From

From peruſing this proteſt one would be apt to imagine that its author ought to have been placed at the head of the Poliſh patriots; but it appears on the contrary, that he was of the Pruſſian party, who was placed there to blow up the flame of ſedition, and that there was no foundation for the charges which he brought againſt the government, which were only made uſe of as a pretence to introduce the Liberum Veto, and to embroil the affairs of the ſtate ſtill more; and thus did the abuſes multiply in the kingdom, the ſubjects ſuffered, the army diminiſhed and fell into all kinds of diſorders, the finances were badly adminiſtered, juſtice was exerciſed with great partiality, the poor were oppreſſed and tyrannized over, and all the frontier places were without any defence: however the ſenſible part of the nation thought themſelves in ſome meaſure happy at this time, becauſe they were at peace with all their neighbours.

The leaſt difference between the Poliſh nobility is generally attended with ſome fatal effects, as the leaſt ſpark often produces a great fire. In the year 1753 the count Zamoſcki, governor of Lublin, pretending to have ſome right to the property of the houſe of Zamoſck, attacked and took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of this name, and of the territories which depended upon it, with an armed force. The young ſtaroſt of Zamoſck, too weak of himſelf to regain the poſſeſſion of this part of his patrimony, immediately deſired the aſſiſtance of the prince of Radziwil, palatine of Wilna, who furniſhed him with 1500 men well armed: with theſe ſuccours the young ſtaroſt advanced towards the citadel of Zamoſck, but the count of Zamoſcki, ſeeing the ſtorm that was ready to fall on his head, engaged the counts of Potocki and of Poniatowſki in his intereſts; the former ſent him a reinforcement of 250 foot and 300 horſe, 100 Turks, and

ſeventeen

ſeventeen pieces of cannon; and he received from the latter 700 Coſacks from the Poliſh Ukraine. Theſe two little armies were already in preſence of each other, and about to commence hoſtilities, when the palatine of Cracow and the biſhop of this town, together with the archbiſhop of Gneſna, became mediators in this affair to prevent an effuſion of blood: their prudent exhortations produced a good effect, and the peremptory orders of the king, which enjoined them to lay down their arms immediately, or they ſhould be declared enemies to their country, convinced them of the neceſſity of coming to an accommodation. The count Branicki, general of the crown, immediately ſequeſtered the property in diſpute, and, in the king's name, put a garriſon in the fortreſs of Zamoſck; and the final deciſion of the affair was referred to the diet of the kingdom.

The following year a great diſpute aroſe between the king of Poland and the Pope, on account of the latter's having given, in a late promotion of cardinals, an unjuſt preference to his Nuncio reſiding at the court of Turin to the prejudice of him who reſided at the court of Warſaw; an explanation was demanded, and when the court of Rome pretended to found this preference upon one crown's being hereditary, and the other only elective, the breach was made ſtill wider.

Piqued at the unjuſt preference which the court of Rome ſhewed in this caſe for the Nuncio at Turin, the Poles gave the court of Rome to underſtand that they would not receive any more Nuncios into their kingdon, and that they believed themſelves authorized to pretend that the primates ſhould fill this place as legate of the holy ſee.

This

This conteſt between the king of Poland and the Pope renewed ſome very intereſting conteſts between the nobility and the clergy of the kingdom reſpecting the power with which the clergy were inveſted, and which the nobility pretended was uſurped, contrary to the prerogatives which they had always enjoyed and to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. I have already obſerved, in my accounts of Denmark and of Sweden, what enormous abuſes the Romiſh clergy made of the power which they unjuſtly extorted from many weak and irreſolute princes while thoſe kingdoms were elective; and it will be ſeen from the following remonſtrance of the great marſhal of Poland delivered to the king during this important conteſt, that they purſued nearly the ſame ſteps in this kingdom. "It is well "known," ſaid the marſhal, "that the ancient kings of Poland, "as well as the whole nation, deſirous of ſhewing ſome ſignal "marks of their piety and zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, "have incorporated the biſhops into one of the three orders of "the republic, which is the ſenate: this prerogative has given "them great influence in all the public deliberations, and they "have made uſe of it with ſo much ſucceſs for the advance-"ment of their intereſts, and have abuſed this pre-eminence to "ſuch a degree, that they would uſurp another ſtate in the "boſom of the republic, and would thereby undermine all the "fundamental laws of their country." The marſhal goes on further to obſerve, that the biſhops had unjuſtly appropriated to themſelves the judgment of all the conteſts which ſhould be judged before the tribunals of the crown; and that the primate, inſtead of lending a hand to the ſupport and execution of the laws, ſhews the road to others to break them, and even to ſhake their foundations: he then cited ſeveral examples of theſe infractions, particularly one which happened in the beginning of

year, whereby the primate had been condemned by the tribunal of the kingdom, and conformably to the laws; but he complained that all the eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions of the kingdom were independent of the civil laws, to which they were not obliged to pay any regard, and that he had no ſuperior judge but the Nuncio, to whoſe judgment they were obliged to conform themſelves, eſpecially the biſhops, whom he ſaid were dependent only upon the court of Rome and upon the canon law, and he pretended that they could not diveſt themſelves of the leaſt part of their eccleſiaſtical authority and juriſdiction without the conſent of the holy ſee. The marſhal finiſhed this remonſtrance with making ſome reflections upon the immenſe property of the clergy, upon the ſmall portion of it which they contributed towards the ſupport of the government, and upon the exorbitant ſums which paſſed every year to the court of Rome.

The infamous conduct of theſe ſons of rapine, who, under the cloak of religion, were keeping their country in poverty and miſery, and who had been the means of deſtroying all the ancient and equitable forms of government of this ſtate, and nearly provoked the Poles to treat them as the Swedes, the Danes, and ſeveral other European nations had done 200 years before; but a new Nuncio appearing at Warſaw towards the end of this year, who was a man of great cunning and apparent moderation, diſperſed thoſe clouds, and by his ſuperior addreſs finally ſettled all the differences between the nobility and the clergy.

Towards the middle of the year 1756 his Poliſh majeſty iſſued out his proclamation for holding a diet, in which piece this prince made ſome very bitter complaints of the fatal iſſue of the preceding aſſemblies of the nation, which deprived the

This conteſt between the king of Poland and the Pope renewed ſome very intereſting conteſts between the nobility and the clergy of the kingdom reſpecting the power with which the clergy were inveſted, and which the nobility pretended was uſurped, contrary to the prerogatives which they had always enjoyed and to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. I have already obſerved, in my accounts of Denmark and of Sweden, what enormous abuſes the Romiſh clergy made of the power which they unjuſtly extorted from many weak and irreſolute princes while thoſe kingdoms were elective; and it will be ſeen from the following remonſtrance of the great marſhal of Poland delivered to the king during this important conteſt, that they purſued nearly the ſame ſteps in this kingdom. "It is well "known," ſaid the marſhal, "that the ancient kings of Poland, "as well as the whole nation, deſirous of ſhewing ſome ſignal "marks of their piety and zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, "have incorporated the biſhops into one of the three orders of "the republic, which is the ſenate: this prerogative has given "them great influence in all the public deliberations, and they "have made uſe of it with ſo much ſucceſs for the advance-"ment of their intereſts, and have abuſed this pre-eminence to "ſuch a degree, that they would uſurp another ſtate in the "boſom of the republic, and would thereby undermine all the "fundamental laws of their country." The marſhal goes on further to obſerve, that the biſhops had unjuſtly appropriated to themſelves the judgment of all the conteſts which ſhould be judged before the tribunals of the crown; and that the primate, inſtead of lending a hand to the ſupport and execution of the laws, ſhews the road to others to break them, and even to ſhake their foundations: he then cited ſeveral examples of theſe infractions, particularly one which happened in the beginning of

year, whereby the primate had been condemned by the tribunal of the kingdom, and conformably to the laws; but he complained that all the eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions of the kingdom were independent of the civil laws, to which they were not obliged to pay any regard, and that he had no ſuperior judge but the Nuncio, to whoſe judgment they were obliged to conform themſelves, eſpecially the biſhops, whom he ſaid were dependent only upon the court of Rome and upon the canon law, and he pretended that they could not diveſt themſelves of the leaſt part of their eccleſiaſtical authority and juriſdiction without the conſent of the holy ſee. The marſhal finiſhed this remonſtrance with making ſome reflections upon the immenſe property of the clergy, upon the ſmall portion of it which they contributed towards the ſupport of the government, and upon the exorbitant ſums which paſſed every year to the court of Rome.

The infamous conduct of theſe ſons of rapine, who, under the cloak of religion, were keeping their country in poverty and miſery, and who had been the means of deſtroying all the ancient and equitable forms of government of this ſtate, and nearly provoked the Poles to treat them as the Swedes, the Danes, and ſeveral other European nations had done 200 years before; but a new Nuncio appearing at Warſaw towards the end of this year, who was a man of great cunning and apparent moderation, diſperſed thoſe clouds, and by his ſuperior addreſs finally ſettled all the differences between the nobility and the clergy.

Towards the middle of the year 1756 his Poliſh majeſty iſſued out his proclamation for holding a diet, in which piece this prince made ſome very bitter complaints of the fatal iſſue of the preceding aſſemblies of the nation, which deprived the

republic of the means of providing for her ſecurity, and of taking ſuch efficacious meaſures as were neceſſary to recover her ancient luſtre, which a neighbouring prince, who was ſeeking her ruin, was employing every clandeſtine meaſure to deſtroy: but in vain did Auguſtus invite the Poliſh nobility and clergy to reconcile themſelves to each other, and to endeavour to apply ſome remedies to the diſorders of the country. The Nonces aſſembled; but no ſooner was the diet opened than the fire of ſedition and diſcord broke out again with greater violence than ever; they even fired their piſtols at each other and brandiſhed their ſabres in the air; ſeveral of the nobles were killed, and a great number of them were wounded, ſo that this diet finiſhed in a more diſagreeable and barbarous manner than any of the preceding ones.

Whilſt theſe bloody ſcenes were acting in Poland, the king of Pruſſia ſeized upon the electorate of Saxony, and after having inveſted the Saxon troops in the camp at Pirna, he obliged them to ſurrender priſoners of war. Reduced to this cruel extremity, the king of Poland retired to Warſaw, where he ſoon made made known his unhappy ſituation to the emperor of Germany and to the empreſs of Ruſſia, and requeſted that theſe two powers, agreeably to the tenor of the treaties then exiſting, would employ the moſt expeditious and efficacious meaſures to ſuccour him, and to deliver Saxony from the oppreſſive yoke under which ſhe groaned, to which he received the moſt favourable anſwers; but while the army of the emperor attacked the king of Pruſſia, and while a formidable Ruſſian army advanced by Lithuania, the ſecretary of the Pruſſian miniſter informed the great general of the crown, by order of the king his maſter, "that by virtue of "the treaty of Wehlau four battalions and ſome ſquadrons of

"Pruſſian

" Pruſſian troops had received orders to leave the environs of " Stargand, and to advance towards the Poliſh territories; and " that, as the republic had engaged herſelf by the ſame treaty " to defend the ſtates of the houſe of Brandenbourg, and to " furniſh it with 4000 men, as auxiliary troops, in caſe of " neceſſity, his Pruſſian majeſty requeſted the general of the " crown to keep this corps ready to march and to act:" and this ſecretary added at the ſame time, " that in caſe the Ruſſian " troops ſhould direct their march towards the territories of his " Pruſſian majeſty, he hoped that the republic would not grant " them a paſſage through their dominions, as they might, by " that means, draw the war into the midſt of Poland." This declaration made ſo much the more impreſſion upon the minds of the principal inhabitants of the republic as they were at that time divided into two parties, of which the one ſided with the king and with the Ruſſians, and the other declared openly for the intereſts of his Pruſſian majeſty. The demand which the empreſs Elizabeth ſoon after made for the paſſage of the Ruſſian troops through the Poliſh territories increaſed the troubles of the kingdom ſtill more; eſpecially as the Ruſſians were deſirous of making the important city of Dantzic a place of arms.

Towards the end of the following year the ſtates of Courland aſſembled themſelves, and repreſented to the king and to the republic of Poland, that as they were convinced that the empreſs of Ruſſia would be much pleaſed to ſee prince Charles of Saxony elected duke of Courland, they ſhould eſteem themſelves happy to give their voices to this prince, if his majeſty would firſt declare the duchy vacant, and afterwards inveſt him with the ſovereign power. In conſequence of this repreſentation the ſenate of Poland concluded, that the laſt duke of Courland had

neither accompliſhed the conditions for which the duchy had been conferred upon him by the regulations of the year 1736, nor received the homage of the ſtates of the country, but had always been abſent and in the ſervice of a neighbouring power, who had lately declared in the moſt expreſs terms, that, for particular reaſons of ſtate, ſhe would never ſuffer the ſaid duke, nor any of his male iſſue, to leave her empire; a declaration which undoubtedly declared the throne vacant, and that for theſe conſiderations, and at the deſire of the nobility of Courland, who have requeſted his majeſty to have pity upon this province, which has for eighteen years paſt been deprived of a legal ſovereign, and to grant this ſovereignty to prince Charles of Saxony, the ſenate, with a view of preventing any other evils which a longer vacancy might occaſion, were of the opinion that his majeſty would declare the duchies of Courland and of Semigall vacant, and they counſelled his majeſty ſo to do, and immediately after to inveſt his royal highneſs prince Charles with the ſovereignty of thoſe duchies, agreeably to the regulations of the year 1736, and under the conditions preſcribed to the laſt duke: conformably therefore to this reſolution, the king ſigned the deploma of the inveſtiture, which was likewiſe immediately ſealed with the ſeal of the crown, as well as with that of the great duchy of Lithuania.

It was in the midſt of theſe exterior troubles that the king convoked a diet, which it was hoped would have been more ſucceſsful than the preceding; but notwithſtanding all the exhortations of the king, and the deplorable ſtate of the kingdom, the diſorder and confuſion which were created by the Pruſſian party were the cauſe of its almoſt immediate diſſolution: it was not for the intereſt of his Pruſſian majeſty that the affairs

of

of this kingdom ſhould be regulated. From the moment that they began to deliberate upon the affairs of the government in the chamber of the Nonces, all the Pruſſian party cried out immediately, that nothing could be done while there were any Ruſſian troops in Poland. In vain did they endeavour to quiet theſe people by propoſing to carry their complaints to the foot of the throne; the Nonce of Volhinia proteſted againſt this meaſure, and declared that he would never permit them to enter upon any kind of deliberation while there were any Ruſſian troops upon the territories of the republic: this Nonce continued obſtinately in his opinion, put a ſtop to all the operations of the diet by the Liberum Veto, and then retired precipitately from Warſaw; whereupon the marſhal diſſolved the aſſembly, and they afterwards convoked a Senatus Conſilium to adviſe upon ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary to be taken in this fatal conjuncture.

In the year 1760 the king of Pruſſia ſent a body of troops into Poland, which was preceded by a manifeſto, wherein he ſets forth, that he thought himſelf ſufficiently authorized to take the ſame advantages that the Ruſſians had taken to commit hoſtilities againſt him, and to make every effort to oblige them to deſiſt from their enterprizes. This body of troops directed their march towards Poſnania, and deſtroyed ſeveral Ruſſian magazines which were formed in thoſe parts: this detachment likewiſe carried off the prince Sulhowſki from his houſe at Rouſſen and conducted him to Glogau, declaring that they ſhould not have proceeded to this extremity, if this prince had not during the courſe of the war ſhewn an extraordinary partiality for the king's enemies. Theſe proceedings appeared to the republic to be of too dangerous a nature to be ſuffered to continue, and therefore the ſenate made ſome bitter complaints to the court of Berlin, demanded the immediate

mediate enlargement of the prince Sulkowſki, reparation for the damages which Monſ. de Dohna had occaſioned by his irruption into Great Poland, and that a ſtop ſhould be put to the inundation of bad money which the Pruſſians were pouring into the kingdom; and, in fact, that legal ſatisfaction which was due to a free kingdom which had always kept within the bounds of the moſt exact neutrality: but the king of Pruſſia was too much occupied at this time to give an anſwer to this ancient mode of making repreſentations of this kind: the ſatisfaction which the Poles afterwards obtained for theſe wrongs will appear in the following ſheets. The diet, which was convoked this year, was no ſooner aſſembled than a ſcene of confuſion and diſorder, which had been the cauſe of diſſolving many of the preceding diets, brought this in the ſame manner to a ſpeedy iſſue.

During the courſe of the following year the neceſſity of ſtopping the circulation of the bad money, which had made its way almoſt through the whole kingdom, obliged the republic to call an extraordinary diet; but it was no ſooner aſſembled than it was diſſolved: all the Pruſſian party oppoſed this meaſure; they were were intereſted in promoting this circulation; and the body of Ruſſian troops in the kingdom and upon the frontiers was a ſufficient motive for their proteſting againſt all the deliberations of the diet.

In the year 1762 the nobility of Great Poland, who were chiefly in the Pruſſian intereſt, formed a confederacy againſt the Ruſſian troops; whereupon the empreſs Elizabeth detached 12,000 men from her army under the command of the general Wolkonſki to take up their quarters in this province, and to extinguiſh this fire of ſedition before it aroſe to any height; but

before

before this meaſure was carried into execution, death put an end to the reign of this empreſs; Peter the Third, her ſucceſſor, immediately made peace with the king of Pruſſia, as I have already obſerved, notified it to all the belligerent powers, and ſent orders to his generals to evacuate their conqueſts and to return with their troops into the Ruſſian dominions. All the ſtates intereſted in this war were about to take their meaſures in conſequence, when they were informed that Peter the Third, who was ſcarcely ſeated upon the throne, was precipitated from it again, to give place to the empreſs Catherine the Second.

This extraordinary revolution made Charles duke of Courland loſe all hopes of ſupporting himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his new territories. The duke Biron, who had been recalled from his exile by the late emperor Peter the Third, and who was ſupported by the empreſs Catherine, informed the nobility and the ſtates of Courland by a manifeſto, that he could not diſcover that he had been guilty of any offence againſt the feodal rights of the king and of the republic of Poland, and therefore, very far from thinking of giving up the leaſt of his rights in quality of ſovereign of the duchies of Courland and Semigall, was determined, on the contrary, to ſupport them with all his power; and that he would not fail in due time to adviſe the ſenate and the ſtates of Poland, that in caſe they endeavoured to confer any new obligations upon his royal highneſs prince Charles, as they had heretofore done, to the prejudice of his rights of ſovereignty, they ſhould be regarded as null; and he proteſted in form againſt every thing which tended to the prejudice of his ſovereign houſe. Such a declaration, in the preſent ſituation of Courland, occaſioned the greateſt confuſion and diſorder: the regency and the nobility

divided

divided themſelves into three parties: the firſt, who had been conſtantly attached to the intereſts of prince Charles, ſupported them openly, as being founded upon the validity of his election, and upon the inveſtiture which he had received of the duchy of Courland: the ſecond party, compoſed of the partizans of the duke Biron, followed the direction of the court of Ruſſia: and the third, formed of thoſe who were indifferent about the matter, waited for the event to join the ſtrongeſt party.

If the Tartars had been diſpoſed this year to follow the martial ardour of their Kan, Poland would have been totally ruined: on account of ſome pretended grievances this Tartar prince had aſſembled an army of 80,000 men, with whom he intended to have ravaged Warſaw, and all the ſouthern and eaſtern parts of the kingdom; but when theſe troops arrived to the banks of the Dneiſter they refuſed to paſs this river, except they were ſhewn a formal order, ſigned by the Ottoman Porte, which authorized them to make this irruption; and as the Kan could not ſhew any ſuch order, all his army abandoned him except about 14,000 men, who, after receiving ſome preſents, likewiſe returned into their own country.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſeveral of the nobility, the government gained their point to open a general diet at Warſaw; and certainly, if the Nonces had conſulted the intereſts of their country and her diſtreſſed ſituation, this aſſembly would have been very peaceable; but the enemies of all order and of the public good had not yet diſcharged all their rage. The count Malachowſki, director of the chamber of Nonces, in quality of marſhal of the laſt diet, opened the ſeſſion by repreſenting that the republic, which for many years paſt had languiſhed under a

kind

kind of lethargy, was now beginning to be re-animated by the laws and by the care and aſſiduity of his majeſty; he added, that he had ſome reaſon to believe that this aſſembly would regulate the affairs of the ſtate which could not be regulated in the preceding diets; that the ſpirit of diſcord and animoſity had ſo plunged the kingdom into diſorder, confuſion, and miſery, that if the Divine Providence had not particularly watched over her preſervation, inevitable deſtruction muſt have been the conſequence; and therefore, as the ſtate was in this perilous ſituation, he hoped, from the patriotic zeal of all the Nonces, that they would take care that the laws, of which they are the guardians, ſhould be duly executed, and that they would endeavour to give ſome ſtability to the government, which was tottering, and ready to fall: in which confidence he would invite them to proceed to the election of a marſhal.

This firſt meeting was the moſt confuſed and diſorderly of the whole: ſeveral Nonces demanded to ſpeak; others pretended that before any buſineſs could be entered upon they ſhould proceed to the election of a marſhal; ſo that, without coming to any deciſion, the meeting was adjourned till the next day, when the count Poniatowſki declared that he knew very well the force of the laws, yet nevertheleſs he could not ſuffer that any buſineſs ſhould be entered upon while the count Bruhl was was preſent: as ſoon as he had pronounced theſe words ſabres were drawn by both parties: Małachowſki threw himſelf into the midſt of the combatants, and intreated them not to trouble the peace and ſecurity of the diet; his moderation and addreſs was attended with ſucceſs, and their ſabres were immediately ſheathed; whereupon the count Poniatowſki ſtood up again, and declared that violence had been offered to the aſſembly, and that

the attempt ſhould not be ſuffered to go unpuniſhed. Several other Nonces inſiſted that this affair ſhould be ſubmitted to the judgment of the great marſhal of the kingdom: others deſired that the authors of this riot ſhould be ordered to retire as diſturbers of the public peace; but the director of the chamber having now retaken his place, obſerved with great vivacity, that this chamber, which ought to be regarded as ſacred and as an aſylum for the perſon of every Nonce, had been made a place of tumult and violence, and that diligent ſearch ſhould be made to diſcover the authors of this attempt againſt the laws of the ſtate, which declare the perſon who draws his ſword in this aſſembly as guilty of ſuch a high crime as cannot be ſuffered to remain unpuniſhed.

This diſpute increaſed more and more, till at length it was propoſed to inform themſelves whether the count Bruhl, who ſeemed to be the object of their hatred, was not the cauſe of the tumult, which would undoubtedly ceaſe as ſoon as they knew the ſource of it. Hereupon ſeveral Nonces declared that count Bruhl was legally elected Nonce of Warſaw; but the count Poniatowſki replied, that he ought not to be admitted into that houſe; and notwithſtanding all the care of the count Malachowſki the confuſion and diſorder of the aſſembly continued to increaſe, and a proteſt which the Nonce Szumakooſki made in retiring deſtroyed all the force of the diet, which the director was obliged immediately to diſſolve. It was ſoon perceived that the admiſſion of count Bruhl into the chamber of Nonces was the cauſe, or at leaſt the pretence, for this conteſtation: this nobleman had rendered himſelf very obnoxious in Poland by his inſolent and inſufferable conduct, and, as it is ſaid, by his having broken through ſeveral of the laws of the kingdom to monopolize

lize all the principal places under the crown for himſelf and for his friends.

The Senatus Conſilium, which followed the rupture of this diet, ordered the great marſhal of the crown to ſearch after the author of theſe troubles, and to endeavour to prevent the like happening in future; how far this order was carried into execution will hereafter appear.

In the following year the empreſs of Ruſſia ſeemed to be determined to ſupport the duke of Biron in the duchy of Courland and that of Semigall, which from the year 1726 to this time had been in a continued ſcene of confuſion and diſorder. Prince Charles of Saxony, elected duke of Courland and of Semigall, as I have already obſerved, received the inveſtiture of theſe duchies, and afterwards appeared at Mittau, where his ſubjects took an oath of fidelity to him; but ſoon after the revolutions of Ruſſia made the old duke of Biron appear again upon the political theatre of the world after a long exile in Siberia, where he had always been regarded as civilly dead, and the court of Peterſbourg took the opportunity to redreſs, in ſome meaſure, the wrongs which they had done this man, for no other reaſon but becauſe he was ſo lucky as to pleaſe the empreſs Ann, and determined to employ all their forces to replace him upon the throne of Courland: the empreſs ſent a body of troops to Mittau, by the aſſiſtance of which her commiſſary ſequeſtered all the public revenues of the duchy. In vain did the king of Poland attempt to ſettle this matter by negociations, in vain did he order the nobility of Courland not deviate from the oath of fidelity which they had ſworn to prince Charles; Catherine was determined not to give up the point.

In this extremity the king of Poland, by the advice of the ſenators of the kingdom, ſent two Poliſh noblemen into Courland; but the Ruſſian miniſter declared, in the name of his ſovereign, that he would not permit them to exerciſe any juriſdiction in that province; that her imperial majeſty would never acknowledge any other duke but duke Biron, who had been legally inveſted with the government by the conſent of the republic, and for whoſe liberty the king and the republic had ſo often intereſted themſelves: it is true, they had often done ſo; but the late empreſs Elizabeth had as often poſitively refuſed to ſet him at liberty, and had moreover declared that neither duke Biron nor any of his iſſue male ſhould ever go out of her dominions; and in conſequence thereof the king and the republic of Poland, ſuppoſing him civilly dead, had declared the throne of Courland vacant. Her imperial majeſty, added this miniſter, is not ignorant that theſe duchies are a fief which depends upon the whole body of the republic, and not upon the throne of the kings of Poland; and therefore ſhe will never ſuffer that any infraction ſhall be made upon the rights and immunities of the republic by any perſon or power whatever. The ſenator Lipſki was extremely aſtoniſhed at this declaration; to which he anſwered, that Courland is a fief which depends upon the king, who is the ſovereign lord thereof according to the conſtitution of the kingdom, and that it only appertained to his majeſty, as king of Poland, to take cognizance of the affairs which regarded this fief.—"The king and the ſenate," added he, "have not "the legiſlative power, but they have the power of executiug "every thing which has been regulated by the diet, and there- "fore the laws of the diet of 1736 have given the king the "power of conferring the inveſtiture of this fief upon whom- "ſoever his majeſty ſhall judge worthy of it. Since this time

"all

" all the diets of Poland have been unhappily diſſolved without " coming to any legal reſolutions, and the king and the ſenate " have followed the ſpirit and the ſenſe of that of the year " 1736 with regard to the affairs of Biron as well as with regard " to his highneſs the reigning duke." This ſenator finiſhed his diſcourſe with obſerving to the Ruſſian commiſſary, that he could not, without breaking through all laws and all the treaties ſubſiſting between Ruſſia and Poland, hinder the king's deputies from executing their commiſſion, authorized by the laws of the kingdom and by ancient uſage; that, in fact, the fief of Courland is under the ſovereignty of the king; that his majeſty's titles with regard to this fief are inconteſtable; that even the republic, for more than 200 years paſt, had never diſputed the rights which they had granted their kings upon this fief, and in caſe that they changed their nature, it muſt be the republic that muſt take cognizance of it, as will be clearly ſeen from the conventions of 1569 and of 1727.

During the time that this ſcene was acting at Mittau, the king of Pruſſia ordered his miniſter at Warſaw to declare, that in conſequence of the engagements which he had entered into with the empreſs of Ruſſia, and as he had heretofore acknowledged the duke of Biron for duke of Courland, he never would acknowledge any other perſon for ſovereign of this province; and moreover that as, according to the laws of the ſtate, no Catholic prince can poſſeſs this duchy, he would never permit it to be occupied by any other than by a Proteſtant. In the midſt of theſe embarraſſments the king of Poland held a Senatus Conſilium at Warſaw, to whom he laid open the peace which he had made, and the neceſſity that he was under of retiring into his hereditary ſtates; he likewiſe recommended it to the ſenators

to deliberate maturely upon the means which were to be taken to guarantee his royal highneſs prince Charles in the free poſſeſſion of Courland, and to obtain redreſs for the damages which the Ruſſian and Pruſſian troops had occaſioned to the inhabitants of Poland.

After ſeveral debates upon theſe ſubjects, all the ſenators were of opinion that an extraordinary diet ſhould be immediately called. The reſult of the deliberations of the Senatus Conſilium was nearly as follows: "Foraſmuch as his royal highneſs prince "Charles, duke of Courland and of Semigall, to whom the "king, in conſequence of the regulations of the diet in the "year 1736, and not as an effect of paternal tenderneſs, has "conferred this fief of the republic, together with its ſolemn "inveſtiture in the year 1759, finds himſelf, after four years "quiet poſſeſſion thereof, troubled and inquieted by Erneſt John "count of Biron, who has not the leaſt legal pretenſions to it, "but who is ſupported by foreign troops; his majeſty, by the "advice of the ſenate, being deſirous of maintaining the rights "of the crown, thoſe of the republic, and as well the poſſeſſion "of his royal highneſs, hereby orders the tribunals of Poland and "of Lithuania to cite immediately the ſaid Erneſt John count "of Biron before them, as proprietor of a conſiderable landed "property in the duchies of Courland and of Semigall, for "having dared, with the aſſiſtance of foreign troops, to invade "thoſe duchies, to threaten the nobles who were not of his "party, and to make them break their oaths of fidelity; for "having been guilty of many other bold actions to the prejudice "of his majeſty, of the republic, and of his royal highneſs as "legal duke. His majeſty moreover orders the ſaid tribunals to "receive the accuſations which are herewith ſent againſt ſuch

" of the inhabitants of theſe two duchies as have joined the " party of the before-mentioned Biron, to the end that they " may be treated and puniſhed according to the laws as his ac- " complices, and perjured perſons: and to preſerve the rights " which belong to his majeſty, to the republic, and to his royal " highneſs the duke, the ſenate, actually aſſembled, proteſt " ſolemnly againſt all the attempts which have been made, and " which may hereafter be made, againſt their rights; and more- " over, although his majeſty cannot reflect without anxiety " upon the unhappy iſſue of ſo many diets, he is reſolved to " convoke in a proper time and place an extraordinary diet to " uſe his utmoſt endeavours to regulate the internal affairs of " the kingdom." In the ſame piece the king likewiſe approved of the conduct of his plenipotentiaries in Courland; to whom he ſent orders to continue at Mittau, to the end that they might be able to give their advice to prince Charles, to watch over the preſervation of the rights of his royal highneſs, as well as over thoſe of the crown and of the republic.

All theſe diſpoſitions were very proper undoubtedly, but prince Charles could not be ſupported in his capital without a conſiderable body of troops: he was obliged to retire at the approach of the Ruſſians, who immediately put a garriſon of 300 men in the caſtle of Mittau. About the ſame time likewiſe the miniſter of the king and of the republic of Poland at the court of Ruſſia was obliged to retire from Peterſbourg, and it was at length perceived that there was no poſſibility of adjuſting in a friendly manner the differences which were continually ariſing between the two courts, and which were clandeſtinely fomented by the king of Pruſſia, who, for ſome time paſt, had formed the project of ſeizing upon a great part of the Poliſh territories, and

who

who only wanted a favourable opportunity to carry his plan into execution. Although the court of Vienna had again by the late treaty of peace formally ceded Sileſia to him, he clearly perceived, that as the Auſtrian forces were now equal to his, his ſucceſſors would never be ſuffered to remain in quiet poſſeſſion of this province, and that the houſe of Auſtria would take every favourable opportunity to regain it; and therefore towards the end of this year he indirectly made the firſt propoſition to the emperor and to the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia to give up Sileſia, for which he had ſacrificed ſuch rivers of blood, on condition that he might be permitted to take poſſeſſion of all Poliſh Pruſſia and of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, and that the emperor ſhould guarantee the right of poſſeſſion to him and to his ſucceſſors: but this propoſition was then rejected, as all the towns and the greateſt part of the open country in Sileſia were almoſt deſtroyed by the late war, and their inhabitants and principal manufacturers reduced to poverty by the load of taxes which they were forced to pay after they fell under the Pruſſian dominion.

While the whole kingdom of Poland was in the greateſt tumult and confuſion on account of the elections of Nonces for the extraordinary diet, the ſenate was informed of the death of Frederic Auguſtus the Third, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, who died at Dreſden the fifth of October; and ſoon after of the death of count Bruhl, his prime miniſter and favourite, whoſe arrogance and inſatiable avarice made him hated in Poland, and deſpiſed by all thoſe who were well acquainted with his character.

As ſoon as the king's death was made public at Warſaw, the archbiſhop of Gneſna, in quality of primate, agreeably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, took the reins of government into his hands during the interregnum, when the operations of all the courts of juſtice in the kingdom were ſuſpended till a new king was crowned; and the following day he gave notice, by ſound of trumpet, that whoever ſhould attempt to diſturb the public peace during this interregnum ſhould be puniſhed with death in twenty-four hours.

The primate, after having given orders for holding a diet, which was to precede that of the election of a new king, gave audience to the miniſters of Ruſſia and Pruſſia, who informed him that their reſpective ſovereigns would be highly pleaſed to ſee the choice of the republic fall upon a Poliſh nobleman rather than upon a ſtranger, and that they would uſe every poſſible means to prevent the firſt and moſt precious of their liberties, the free election of their kings, from being infringed in any reſpect whatever.

Nevertheleſs the new elector of Saxony had ſtill the throne in view, which had been poſſeſſed for ſo many years by his anceſtors, and opened himſelf confidently to his brothers Xavier and Charles upon the meaſures which he intended to take in order to mount the throne; and the day after he had made his brothers his confidants he received a note from the duke Charles, in which this friendly brother aſſured him, that he was ready to give up all his rights and pretenſions to the duchy of Courland, if this renunciation would engage the empreſs of Ruſſia to act in favour of his electoral highneſs to obtain him the ſceptre of Poland. The elector took the firſt opportunity to make known his intentions to the re-

public by a circular letter which he wrote to all the ſenators.—The primate having aſſembled the ſenate, informed them of the death of Auguſtus the Third, and the ſenators immediately determined that the republic ſhould ſend embaſſadors to all the foreign powers with whom they were in friendſhip to inform them of this melancholy event; they likewiſe gave proper orders to prevent the public revenues in Poland as well as in the great duchy of Lithuania, accruing from the cuſtom-houſes, the ſalt-works, and the public taxes, from being diminiſhed during this interregnum. Many reaſons concurred likewiſe to engage this aſſembly to poſtpone the holding the diet on account of ſeveral important matters upon which the palatines ought abſolutely to deliberate before they proceeded to the elections of Nonces, on account of the miſintelligence which had manifeſted itſelf among the nobility for ſome years before, and which on this important occaſion ought to be adjuſted, and on account of the re-eſtabliſhment of that confidence and union among all the orders of the ſtate, ſo neceſſary to the public good: all theſe conſiderations the prince primate was deſired to have in view when he publiſhed his circular letters to fix the time for holding the diet of convocation; in conſideration of which they likewiſe afterwards determined that this prince ſhould receive a gratification of about 10,000l. ſterling, which was to be paid him out of the public revenues of Poland and of Lithuania.

Early in the following year (1764) the elections for the Nonces, to form the diet, began in the different parts of the kingdom, than which nothing could be more tumultuous and diſorderly.

The

The conduct of the empreſs of Ruſſia was on this occaſion beyond all deſcription partial; indeed ſhe had reſolved to leave no method unemployed to ſerve her friend Poniatowſki; however thus much muſt be ſaid in her favour, that ſhe is ſeldom wanting in gratitude, which will often cover a multitude of faults: but the behaviour of her ally the king of Pruſſia, who, notwithſtanding all her great talents, made her and the Ruſſian nation the inſtrument to promote his ambitious deſigns, was like that of a phlegmatic tyrant, whoſe whole ſtudy and attention was deliberately devoted to the contriving new arts and meaſures to oppreſs mankind: he had now reſolved to ſeize upon Poliſh Pruſſia, and therefore when he ſaw that the empreſs was inclined to favour Poniatowſki, he immediately joined her party in appearance, and at the ſame time propoſed the excluſion of all foreign princes, particularly of the elector of Saxony; as a foreign prince upon the throne of Poland might give ſuch ſuccours to that kingdom as to enable her to oppoſe his deſigns.

The ſenators and the nobles of Great Poland in one of their meetings debated the two following queſtions:—1ſt. "Whether it was proper to elect a king from among the Poliſh "nobility, to the excluſion of all foreign princes, and agreeably "to the intentions of the empreſs of Ruſſia and of the king of "Pruſſia?"—2d. "Whether every nobleman ought to give his "voice at the election of a king, or whether they ſhould chuſe "deputies among the nobility to repreſent them?"

All the members of the aſſembly, except four, were of the opinion that they ſhould leave the deciſion of the firſt propoſition to the diet of election; and with regard to the ſecond propoſition, they agreed that every nobleman ſhould give his voice at the

election. It was upon this occaſion that the judicious and prudent palatine of Kaliſh obſerved, that by excluding foreign princes from offering themſelves as candidates for the throne, they would not only leave themſelves without any foreign ſupport, and give themſelves up entirely to their ambitious neighbours, who had evidently ſome bad deſigns upon them, but that they would juſtly merit the ill-will of many of the principal houſes in Europe, which had given them princes who had governed Poland with reſolution, wiſdom, and magnanimity, and it was theſe princes who had civilized the Poliſh nation, and to whom the principal part of the great families of Poland owed their fortune; he added likewiſe reſpecting the ſecond queſtion, that to deprive the ſecond claſs of nobility of their right of election would be to rob them of one of the moſt precious liberties which they enjoyed, and that if the election of a king was entruſted to a certain number of deputies, they would be more eaſily corrupted than the whole body of the nobility aſſembled. While the empreſs of Ruſſia and the king of Pruſſia were taking every meaſure to corrupt the Nonces, and to favour the election of Poniatowſki, the former ſent an act to the prince primate, written with her own hand and ſealed with her own ſeal, whereby ſhe engaged for herſelf and for her ſucceſſors never to form, under pretence of her bearing the title of empreſs of all the Ruſſias which the republic had granted her, any claim upon the province of that name, which is now a part of the kingdom of Poland.

The king of Pruſſia likewiſe ſent an act of the ſame nature, but expreſſed in ſtill ſtronger terms, containing a parallel renunciation of all pretenſions of what nature ſoever upon that part of Pruſſia which was under the dominion of the crown of Poland: how far this king, whoſe flatterers have given him the

title of Great, has kept his word, all Europe are at preſent in a ſtate of judging.

On the other hand, the emperor, the king of France, and the ſultan of the Turks declared to the prince primate how much they intereſted themſelves in the happineſs and tranquillity of the republic, and gave him new aſſurances of their friendſhip and of the deſire which they had to promote the intereſt and proſperity of the Poliſh nation, which was undoubtedly ſincere on the part of the ſultan, as his future conduct has evidently convinced the world: each of theſe three powers likewiſe expreſſed their deſire that the Poliſh nation ſhould be free in their choice of the candidates who aſpired to the throne, and offered to protect and ſupport whoever ſhould be elected by the unanimous and free choice of the nation, and conformably to the fundamental laws and conſtitutions of the country.

The letter which the grand vizier wrote to the prince primate on this occaſion deſerves to be recorded, as it is the foundation of the quarrel which afterwards happened between the Ruſſian and the Ottoman empires, and gives us a clear idea of the honeſty and conſiſtency of the councils of the Porte, notwithſtanding what ſeveral Ruſſian ſcribblers have ſaid to the contrary:—"The king-"dom of Poland," ſaid this vizier, "has always been acknow-"ledged in all the courts of Europe as a free and independent "republic, which has the right of electing a chief without the "intervention of any foreign power whatever. Founded upon "this principle, his majeſty, the moſt powerful and moſt illuſtrious "emperor of the Ottomans, &c. as an effect of his natural "magnanimity and of his high ſentiments, deſires that the election "of a king of Poland ſhould be made conformably to the ancient

"conſtitutions

" conſtitutions and laws of the country, with the exerciſe of " this precious liberty which belongs to the republic, and without " the intervention of the Sublime Porte or of any other foreign " power in any manner whatever. Such are the intentions of " his highneſs, which I now declare and make manifeſt to you " and to our ancient friends the principal members of the re- " public: and as we would that the ambaſſador of France, the " envoy of Pruſſia, and the reſident of Ruſſia, who are now re- " ſiding at the Sublime Porte, ſhould be informed thereof, we " have made known to them his highneſs's intentions, not " doubting but they will immediately communicate to their re- " ſpective courts the eſteem which his highneſs has for the " republic, and the intereſt which he takes in maintaining the " liberties of the nation. The ſupreme chief of the Ottoman " empire moreover deſires that the great marſhal of the crown " ſhould be informed of the contents of this letter, and that he " would make it public to all the nobility of Poland, to the end " that they may not be influenced in this election by any power " whatever; and in theſe points conſiſt the true deſires and ſen- " ments of his highneſs, &c. &c."

From the diſpoſitions of the neighbouring powers at this time it was imagined that the diet of election would be conducted with order and decency; but ſoon after the court of Warſaw was extremely alarmed at receiving the news of the unhappy ſucceſs of the election for Nonces in the town of Graudeutz, one of the moſt important places in all Poliſh Pruſſia, by the right which this town had to ſend an unlimited number of deputies to the diet of convocation. The Ruſſians pretended to have a magazine in this place, and ſent a body of troops hither, as they ſaid, to guard this magazine, but which was certainly a

breach of the Poliſh laws: a quarrel enſued, which ended in a ſcene of bloodſhed. Indeed it might be reaſonably aſked, what motives could the Ruſſians have for forming a magazine upon the Poliſh territories at this time, when all the North was in a ſtate of peace? When the Poliſh lords come to Warſaw to open the diet of convocation they are generally attended by a certain number of troops, which they maintain in their ſervice reſpectively; and this mixture of troops, cloathed in perhaps two or three hundred different uniforms, gives us a clear idea of the ſad defects of this government, where every lord erects an independent government in his own eſtate, refuſes to ſupport the republic, and would rather ſee his country deſtroyed by fire and ſword, than join with his neighbours to repel the common enemy. The day fixed for the opening of the diet the Nonces came and would have taken their places in the large hall which was appointed for this purpoſe; but a great part of the benches was found occupied by the troops of thoſe who were in the intereſt of Poniatowſki, and all the galleries which were above the benches were filled with Ruſſian troops. All the honeſt Poles immediately foreſaw how this affair was to be conducted: this arrangement gave great offence to the principal part of the Nonces, and a conſiderable tumult was occaſioned by it, which did not ceaſe before the propoſition was made to proceed immediately to the election of a marſhal: ſeveral Nonces oppoſed this meaſure, and obſerved that it had always been uſual to order, in the firſt place, this important charge to be exerciſed by the marſhal of the laſt diet: all the aſſembly conſented to this advice, and they forthwith ſent for the old count Malakowſki, who, after making them wait a conſiderable time, arrived at laſt and took poſſeſſion of the marſhal's ſtaff; but inſtead of riſing up to give notice to the Nonces who were to enter upon the debates, he declared

that

that he could not act before all the foreign troops were ordered to depart out of the hall, and before the diet was entirely free. Scarce had this marſhal pronounced theſe words before all the Ruſſian party drew their ſwords and their ſabres; whereupon the prince Adam Czartorinſki and ſeveral other nobles of his party threw themſelves into the midſt of the aſſembly and parried the blows which were aimed at the marſhal, who, unconcerned in the midſt of this danger, preſented his ſtomach open to thoſe who threatened him, and declared, "If you muſt have a "victim, ſtrike me; but at leaſt I will die free, as I have "always lived ſo." Afterwards this old man declared, that ſince they had now neither laws nor liberty exiſting, he would retire, which he ſoon after did, and carried off the marſhal's ſtaff with him. In vain did they oppoſe his retreat, in vain did they deſire him to forget what was paſt; he left the aſſembly, and thus the diet was ſtrictly and legally diſſolved before it had entered upon any buſineſs. The principal part of the Nonces left the hall with the count Malakowſki; but thoſe who remained, being all in the Ruſſian intereſt, although they were but few in number in compariſon to the number of thoſe who were retired, proceeded to the election of a marſhal, and their choice fell upon prince Adam Czartorinſki, who was openly ſupported by the empreſs of Ruſſia and by her troops in defiance of all the fundamental laws and regulations of Poland: this princeſs had at leaſt adopted her late huſband's plan, in many reſpects, touching the affairs of this unhappy kingdom. Thus was the nation divided into two parties; that of the general of the crown, count Branicki, which was followed by the army of the crown, together with prince Radzivil, palatine of Wilna, and of ſeveral other nobles with their troops, retired three leagues from Warſaw. As ſoon as the new marſhal, to whom the

the diet had at the ſame time entruſted the army of the crown, had taken the oaths uſual on this occaſion, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring over the count Branicki to his party, and when he found that he could not ſucceed, he expedited his orders to the army of the crown, whereby all the officers of the different corps were ordered to abandon their general, and to come and ſerve under him: at the ſame time thoſe Nonces and ſenators who compoſed the aſſembly, which they called a diet, approved of the aſſociation of Wilna, formed and ſupported by the empreſs of Ruſſia againſt prince Radzivil and his adherents, and joined this confederacy in making new ſolicitations to the empreſs of Ruſſia to obtain more ſuccours to reſtore the tranquillity of the ſtate, by the election of a king who was agreeable to her. Thus did this politic princeſs by her intrigues and by violence, in defiance of all laws and juſtice, force a part of the Poliſh nation to intercede with her to ſend a freſh ſupply of troops into this kingdom to cruſh all oppoſition to her meaſures.

This aſſembly likewiſe gave full power to their marſhal to call any number of foreign troops into the kingdom that he ſhould judge proper, ſeeing that the republic could not furniſh him with ſuch troops as were neceſſary, nor ſupply him with the means to make new levies. Afterwards they proceeded to fix the qualities which the future king ought to have; and it was decided that he ought to be a Roman Catholic, young, born of Poliſh parents, and bred up in the kingdom; and they moreover declared all thoſe to be enemies to their country, and their goods to be confiſcated for the uſe of the republic, who ſhould endeavour to make intereſt in the kingdom to procure the crown for any foreign prince. The affairs of the duchies of Courland and

of Semigall were likewiſe taken into conſideration, and theſe Nonces formally acknowledged the duke of Biron to be ſovereign of theſe provinces, agreeably to the dictates of the empreſs of Ruſſia, whoſe will was the only law now ſubſiſting in Poland. Nevertheleſs the troubles and diſorders increaſed in all parts of the kingdom, and the miniſters of the emperor, of France, and of Spain retired from Warſaw; and the confederates, who were clandeſtinely ſupported and encouraged by the empreſs of Ruſſia and by the king of Pruſſia, and, joined by a conſiderable body of Ruſſian troops, frequently entered into little combats with the army of the crown commanded by count Branicki, and with the troops of prince Radzivil. It was in the midſt of this civil war that they proceeded to the diet of election, when the greateſt part of the nobility of the kingdom were driven from their habitations by the Ruſſians and by the Confederates who were in their intereſt, and when all thoſe who attempted to make any oppoſition to the empreſs's meaſures were threatened to be carried off and ſent into Siberia: the choice of a marſhal, for this diet was unanimous, fell upon Mr. Sonowſki, a Lithuanian, becauſe none of thoſe who would oppoſe their illegal meaſures were ſuffered to appear at this aſſembly.

The count Poniatowſki was likewiſe unanimouſly elected king for the ſame reaſon, and in obedience to her imperial majeſty's commands. Some days after the new king ſwore ſolemnly to obſerve the Pacta Conventa, and received the deploma of his election from the hands of the marſhal of the diet.

Soon after this the new king convoked a new diet for his coronation, which he opened with a very pathetic ſpeech from the throne, in which was great unanimity and harmony, becauſe

no perſon dared oppoſe the meaſures of the empreſs of Ruſſia. Towards the end of this year the ceremony of the inveſtiture of the duchies of Courland and of Semigall was performed by his Poliſh majeſty in favour of the eldeſt ſon of the duke of Biron, agreeably to the deſire of the empreſs of Ruſſia and of the king of Pruſſia; but this inveſtiture was the cauſe of much confuſion and diſorder among the nobility of Courland, who not only proteſted againſt the meaſure, but actually accuſed Biron of many crimes before the tribunal of Warſaw. If Staniſlas Auguſtus Poniatowſki had come legally to the crown, and with the general conſent of the kingdom, as being a man of good addreſs and of talents, he would undoubtedly have reſtored peace and good order in the kingdom; but the greateſt part of the proud Poliſh nobility could never forget the wounds which were given to the fundamental laws of the kingdom by the election of this prince; and no ſooner was the coronation performed than a ſtorm appeared in the horizon which threatened total ruin to the republic. It is true, the king took every prudent meaſure to reconcile the different parties and to re-eſtabliſh good order, not only in the tribunals of the crown, but in every branch of the public adminiſtration. Being informed that the commiſſaries appointed by the treaſury were preparing a tarif for the cuſtom-houſes in the different parts of the kingdom, which the diet of convocation had agreed to eſtabliſh, he wrote them a long and obliging letter to engage them to proportion the duties, which were to be paid according to the rank and abilities of each individual: "We ſhould likewiſe adviſe you," adds his majeſty in this letter, "that if our treaſury, to the commiſſioners of "which, by virtue of ſeveral ancient laws, to whom the regu-"lation of this tarif belongs as much as to the republic, ſhould "ſuffer a diminution in its revenues by the modification of theſe

" duties, this diminution cannot be agreeable to us in every " reſpect, but we have not the leaſt doubt but that the ſtates, " conſidering the expences which we have ſaved in our table, " notwithſtanding there are ſo many laws which forbid any " ſaving to be made in this article, will find ſome means " to ſupply this loſs in the public treaſure without any perſon's " ſuffering by it."

The commiſſaries, in anſwer, promiſed to find a balance proper to reconcile the public intereſts with the due execution of the laws, and engaged themſelves, by the good order which they intended to eſtabliſh even in the collection of the cuſtoms, to diminiſh the duties in favour of the lower claſs of people, agreeably to his majeſty's deſire. Before the holding of the laſt diet for the coronation, the weights and meaſures had been arbitrarily regulated in the different parts of the kingdom; but the king cauſed a regulation to be made in this diet, that in future they ſhould be determined and reduced to the ſame ſtandard in every part of the kingdom, and that all thoſe who refuſed to conform to this regulation ſhould be condemned to pay a fine of 1000 marks; that the magiſtrates ſhould loſe their employments, and that the common people ſhould be impriſoned for three months. The ſame diet likewiſe, conformably to the king's deſire, made another regulation to prevent the merchants and Jews from receiving exorbitant gains from the ſale of their merchandizes.

For ſome time before the meeting of this diet there had been frequently great conteſts between the different orders of the clergy reſpecting tithes and citations before incompetent tribunals: this honeſt brotherhood, who by illegal meaſures had thrown the greateſt part of the riches of the ſtate into their own hands, now

began

began to quarrel amongſt themſelves: to conform to the regulations of the laſt diet the different orders of the clergy, both regular and ſecular, aſſembled themſelves, and propoſed the deliberation of the eight following articles.—" 1ſt. To regulate the appeals to the proper tribunals. 2d. To aboliſh the practice of ſending to Rome the firſt fruits, or the revenues of the firſt year of the enjoyment of the biſhoprics. 3d. To examine the titles whereby the abbeys held their great property and the rents of their foundation. 4th. To engage the clergy to give a free gift for the ſupport of the dignity of the crown and of the government. 5th. To exclude eccleſiaſtics from holding farms and from the adminiſtration of the royal and hereditary property. 6th. To pay the produce of the tithes in money. 7th. To forbid all eccleſiaſtics, and eſpecially the regulars, from interfering in temporal affairs. 8th. To fix the competency of the juriſdictions before which contentious affairs ariſing between the clergy and others ought to be debated and judged."

Though all theſe articles were of the greateſt importance, they diſputed for a long time on the ſubject of them, and at laſt retired without coming to any deciſion. My readers will from hence judge of the inſufferable oppreſſion and avarice of the Romiſh clergy in this kingdom at preſent, and of the infamous behaviour of the court of Rome in countenancing and protecting ſuch a ſet of harpies, who under the cloak of religion are ſucking the blood of their fellow creatures.

Towards the end of the year 1766 the prince Czartorinſki, who had been at Rome to notify the event of the new king's coming to the throne, brought a brief of this court with him from thence, which gave great pleaſure to all the clergy: by this

this brief the pope permitted all the eccleſiaſtics of the kingdom to exchange their property againſt other property which was nearer to their places of reſidence. The pope likewiſe confirmed the decree of the ſtates, which prevented thoſe who had committed willful murder from taking ſanctuary in the churches or convents, and ordered all the ſuperiors of convents and the principals of the churches to deliver up immediately to juſtice all thoſe miſcreants who ſhould take refuge in thoſe holy places: this was undoubtedly an act laudable in itſelf and conformable to ſtrict juſtice, and it were much to be wiſhed that the ſame regulation was made in Italy and in all the other Roman Catholic countries.

During the time that the government was taking every meaſure to adjuſt the differences which were continually ariſing between the clergy and the different tribunals of the kingdom, as this order was now become ſo turbulent and powerful, that they would not ſubmit to any civil juriſdiction though they were continually guilty of the greateſt exceſſes, the Greeks and the other Diſſidents began to think of drawing themſelves out of that oppreſſed ſtate into which they were plunged by their being deprived of having any ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs. Excited by the biſhop of Mohilow, the only prelate of the Greek church in Poland, and in the name of all the Proteſtant nobility, two gentlemen preſented a petition to the king, wherein they demanded to be re-inſtated in their ancient rights and privileges, and to be placed upon the ſame footing in every reſpect with the Roman Catholic ſubjects of the kingdom. "The "difference of ſentiments upon ſome points of religion among "Chriſtians," ſaid they in their petition, "ought not to enter "into any conſideration with regard to the employments of the "ſtate.

" ſtate. The different ſects of Chriſtians, although they differ " in opinion among themſelves with reſpect to ſome points of " doctrine, agree all in one point, that of being faithful to their " ſovereign and obedient to his orders: all the Chriſtian courts " are convinced of this truth, and therefore, having always this " principle in view, and without having any regard to the " religion they profeſs, Chriſtian princes ought only to ſeek " after thoſe whoſe merit and talents make them capable of " ſerving their country properly." The king gave no anſwer at this time to the petition of the Diſſidents, but the matter was referred to the diet which was held the following year, when the miniſters of the courts of Ruſſia, of London, of Berlin, and of Copenhagen ſupported their pretenſions. The prince Repnin, as miniſter from the empreſs of Ruſſia, preſented the following memorial to the court of Warſaw upon this head, which was ſupported by the miniſters of the before-mentioned courts.

" The community of religion, and the glory of having contributed to the happineſs of the human ſpecies, are not the only reaſons which induced her imperial majeſty to continue her interceſſion in the moſt preſſing manner in favour of the Greek and Diſſident ſubjects of this kingdom, to the end that ſhe may if poſſible remove the oppreſſive load under which they are groaning, and re-eſtabliſh them in their ancient rights and privileges as citizens and members of a free ſtate. The fundamental laws of the nation, conſented to by the whole community, eſtabliſhed a public right which could not be annulled by any poſterior law made only by a part of the community. By the treaty of 1686, and by that of Oliva, the Ruſſians, as well as almoſt all the neighbouring powers, engaged themſelves to watch over the ſecurity of every part of the ſtate, to procure them exact juſtice,

and

and to guarantee their reſpective and common rights: the ſupport of the republic and of its tranquillity is therefore no longer the object of the attention of her citizens only, but is likewiſe become an obligation to all the neighbouring powers, who, by contracting with the republic, have equally contracted with all its members; and by adding to theſe reaſons the ſtill ſtronger motives which ariſe from the ſituation of the Ruſſian empire with regard to the republic, it will be clearly ſeen that the empreſs cannot limit the protection which ſhe has granted to the Greeks and to the Diſſidents without acting contrary to her glory, to the dignity of her crown, and without betraying the confidence of her friends; and therefore the empreſs demands that it may be regulated in the preſent diet;—1ſt. That the churches which appertained by right to the Diſſidents, and which have been illegally taken from them be reſtored to them; that they may have the liberty to rebuild or to repair thoſe which have been damaged by time or by any accident, &c. &c." The reſt of this memorial has been already deſcribed, together with the conſequences which it immediately produced in the diet; in fact, the affair became ſo ſerious that it had very nearly occaſioned the diſſolution of the diet; but the king, to prevent things from being carried to this extremity, declared to this aſſemby that he was ready to ſhed his blood for the Romiſh religion, but that he believed it would be prudent to wait a little, and deliberate before they entered upon any violent meaſures. The king's advice was adhered to, and the diet terminated happily; but the day before it was diſſolved, the biſhops and the principal clergy agreed to the following articles in favour of the Greeks and Diſſidents,

" 1ſt. Agreeably

" 1ſt. Agreeably to the toleration preſcribed by the laws of the kingdom, the Diſſidents ſhall be ſupported in the exerciſe and practice of their ceremonies in thoſe places where they had formerly legal churches, and ſhall not be troubled in the exerciſe of their form of worſhip. 2d. They ſhall have liberty to rebuild and repair ſuch churches as they have not abandoned or given up to the public by embracing the Roman Catholic religion, or which have not been taken away from them by judicial decrees; they ſhall poſſeſs them, with the conſent of the proprietors of the land upon which they reſpectively ſtand, agreeably to the laws of 1632, 1660, and 1717, but they ſhall not be permitted to enlarge their ancient churches. 3d. In thoſe places where they have their temples, the lord of the territory ſhall grant them a convenient place, with an incloſure, to bury their dead; but their burials ſhall be performed without any ſolemnities and ceremonies, if theſe are not legally authorized. 4th. They ſhall be permitted to build, with the conſent of the lords of the reſpective territories, upon their own lands and near to their churches, proper houſes for the reſidence of their reſpective miniſters and clergy agreeably to what the law has granted them; they may likewiſe, in thoſe places where they have no churches, celebrate divine ſervice in their houſes, with modeſty and without any pompous ceremonies, agreeably to the regulations of the year 1717. 5th. The law-ſuits of the Greek prieſts and of their families ſhall be judged according to the expreſs laws of the kingdom; and the miniſters of the Diſſidents ſhall be judged by the tribunal which was aſſigned them by the regulation of the year 1632. 6th. Thoſe caſes which concern the landed property, as well of the Greek as of the Diſſident churches, ſhall be decided by the tribunal preſcribed by the laws of the kingdom. 7th. The Greek and Diſſident miniſters and clergy

contribute to all the taxes of the republic, agreeably to what has been ordered by the ancient laws and regulations of the ſtate. 8th. Thoſe who enjoy the right of preſentation to the churches of the Diſſidents ſhall not inſiſt upon any payment from the prieſts for ſuch preſentation, nor diſpoſſeſs any of thoſe who are eſtabliſhed in their churches without taking the advice of their ſuperiors. 9th. It ſhall be lawful for the Greek prieſts, conformably to the practice that is tolerated in that religion, to adminiſter freely and without any obſtacle the ſacrament of baptiſm, to give the nuptial benediction, and to bury the dead, on paying what is due to the curates for tolling the bell: and to prevent any kind of vexation reſpecting this matter, and to aboliſh all the abuſes which the curates and parochial clergy have introduced as new-year's gifts and payment for the pretended confeſſion at Eaſter, the college of biſhops will order and regulate, by their paſtoral letters, that under pretence of rights and prerogatives the ſaid parochial clergy ſhall not demand more of the Diſſidents than what has always been demanded of the Roman Catholics in the ſame places; without nevertheleſs aboliſhing thereby the ancient conventions which have been legally made, or thoſe which may be made in future, by virtue of which a certain ſum may be ordered to be paid in general. The college of biſhops promiſes that theſe articles granted to the Greeks and to the Diſſidents ſhall be punctually obſerved in all their extent, and that by their letters paſtoral they will recommend and enjoin all the inferior clergy to conform thereto with the greateſt exactitude.

When we conſider that theſe articles were formed by a college of Romiſh biſhops, we ought to admire their great condeſcenſion, and in all probability, if they had only the empreſs of Ruſſia

to

to contend with, matters might have been pacified and their country ſaved; but the king of Pruſſia, who was taking every clandeſtine meaſure to embroil their affairs, as he had now fully reſolved to ſeize upon Poliſh Pruſſia at all events, perſuaded the empreſs of Ruſſia that thoſe regulations which the biſhops had made were not equal to thoſe which her imperial majeſty had propoſed in her memorial; and in conſequence of this, this princeſs ordered a great body of her troops to enter Poland, and another detachment to enter Lithuania. Such an act of violence, in the then critical ſituation of Poland, produced all the effects that the king of Pruſſia could wiſh it to produce; clamours, diſcontent, and tumults were heard in every part of the kindgdom: the biſhop of Wilna carried his complaints to the foot of the throne, and his Poliſh majeſty could not avoid demanding the court of St. Peterſbourg to give orders to their troops to quit the territories of the republic as ſoon as poſſible.

The ambaſſador of Ruſſia and the miniſter of the king of Pruſſia reſiding at Warſaw demanded, by a memorial in the name of their reſpective ſovereigns, that the laws of the year 1764, whereby it was regulated that all the internal affairs of the kingdom which regarded the civil and military eſtabliſhments ſhould be decided in the diet by a majority of voices, ſhould be repealed as far as they had any concern directly or indirectly with any matters of ſtate, namely, with levying contributions and with increaſing the number of their troops.

I have already frequently obſerved that all the reſolutions of the Poliſh diets, which had the force of laws, were to be formed unanimouſly, and that one Nonce, by means of the Liberum

Veto, could defeat the good intentions of all the reſt of the aſſembly. This privilege, which was formerly looked upon as the baſis of the Poliſh liberty, has been of late years been employed by the partizans of the king of Pruſſia and others to defeat all the good intentions of thoſe who were diſpoſed to ſave their country from ruin, and to diſſolve the diets without coming to any reſolution. Thoſe regulations of the year 1764 were calculated to prevent thoſe abuſes in future, and to put the Poliſh diet in this reſpect upon the ſame footing with the parliament of Great Britain; but this plan was by no means agreeable to the views of the king of Pruſſia, who had determined the deſtruction of this ſtate, or at leaſt to bring it under his dominion, and therefore under the cloak of religion, which he laughs at in ſecret, he preſſed the empreſs of Ruſſia to join him in the before-mentioned demand: to ſatisfy theſe two powers it was therefore regulated, by a law made to interpret thoſe of the year 1764, that the eſtabliſhing of new taxes, the augmentation of the army of the republic, treaties of peace, war, &c. and all other matters of ſtate, ſhould be decided in the diets *nem. con.*

The great ſcene, which had been preparing for a long time, opened in the beginning of the year 1767 by a new declaration of the empreſs of Ruſſia, whereby this princeſs made known to the Poles, that her firm reſolution was not to give up any of the points which ſhe had propoſed to the preceding diet relative to the Diſſidents; and moreover demanded that the court of Warſaw would convoke an extraordinary diet to regulate this matter with all convenient ſpeed. The king of Pruſſia, who had by his emiſſaries ſown the ſeeds of ſedition through all the Poliſh dominions, and perſuaded the Diſſidents every where to enter into a confederacy, ſupported the demands of the empreſs

of

of Ruſſia; and moreover added on his part, that he regarded the re-eſtabliſhment of the Diſſidents in the leaſt of their former privileges as an act which his anceſtors had promiſed to guarantee by the treaty of Oliva, and which he was therefore obliged to comply with, as well as by the treaty of alliance which actually ſubſiſted between Pruſſia and Ruſſia. The kings of England, Denmark, and Sweden, as guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, made the ſame demand for the holding an extraordinary diet, the object of which was to ſatisfy the complaints of the confederacies of the Diſſidents, which the king of Pruſſia had privately formed in the kingdom: the foreign princes beforementioned were made to believe that all thoſe complaints were real, and therefore they were as it were inſenſibly drawn in to give countenance to one of the moſt daring acts of oppreſſion that ever any tyrant projected and carried on under the cloak of religion. Beſides the confederacy of the Diſſidents, or thoſe Poles who profeſſed the Greek and Proteſtant religions, and who demanded the free exerciſe of their reſpective religions without being ſubjected in any reſpect to the Roman Catholic clergy, though the latter were eſtabliſhed by the fundamental laws of the kingdom and the enjoyment of all the rights granted to other citizens, there was another aſſociation formed and likewiſe privately ſupported by the king of Pruſſia, of all thoſe who were diſcontented with the deciſions of the laſt diet, and with the meaſures which the empreſs of Ruſſia had taken, not only in forcing a king upon them, contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic, but by afterwards inſiſting upon ſuch deciſions being made in the diet as tended to deſtroy thoſe laws entirely.

Aſſured

Assured of such a powerful protection, 260 gentlemen of Polish Prussia, with some Prussian agents at their head, assembled themselves at Thorn, and formed another confederacy, conformably to the wishes of his Prussian majesty, and demanded to be restored to their ancient rights and privileges, of which, as they pretended, they had been divested. The towns of Thorn, of Elbing, and of Dantzic were invited to join them, but the latter would not enter into this measure but under the express condition of not being submitted to a marshal who was not of their own naming, and of not being obliged to undertake any thing against what they owed to the king and to the republic of Poland. The duke and the states of Courland acceded likewise to this confederacy, but at the same time declared, that this accession should not at all affect the attachment which the duchy of Courland and that of Semigall owed to the republic of Poland, nor to the rights of the Roman Catholic religion; that the marshal of the confederacy should not exercise any jurisdiction over these duchies; that he should not be hereby authorized to impose any contributions upon them; and, in fact, that this step ought not to be regarded as an example for the other confederacies. To justify their association, the confederates published a manifesto, containing the principal motive which had determined them to take this extraordinary step; and as this important piece will throw some new lights upon the intrigues of many of the confederates, I will state it at large.

" Sensibly touched at seeing our country become such a scene of confusion and oppression, and daily falling more and more into decay by the violent changes which have been made in our fundamental laws, and by the diminution of the prerogatives which held the balance between the different orders of the state,

and oppreſſed by thoſe who would deſtroy our moſt precious liberties, we have borne thoſe wrongs in ſilence for ſome time paſt in hopes of an agreeable change, which we waited for with impatience after a cruel experience of what is paſſed; but ſeeing that, after one confederacy was diſſolved, the laſt diet, to the prejudice of the fundamental laws of the ſtate, has confirmed ſuch eſtabliſhments as are dangerous and tend to the ruin and deſtruction of the citizens, without paying any regard to the voices of the ſenators and Nonces who oppoſed them; in this perilous ſituation we were forced to take ſome violent meaſures to ſecure ourſelves againſt the ſtorm which was ready to break upon our head, and to endeavour to ſave ourſelves by the ſame means that our anceſtors made uſe of in a parallel caſe, namely, by uniting not only their perſons, but alſo their thoughts and their hearts to ſave their country; and, following their example, have united and confederated ourſelves, preceiving no other means to obviate the evils which threaten our country, and to relieve our oppreſſed friends We were not led into this meaſure by any other motive but the public good, and by the laudable deſire of preſerving the laws of our country in their ancient purity, and to relieve from the weight of oppreſſion under which they have long groaned thoſe of our fellow-citizens who are unhappy for no other reaſon but becauſe they took the rights and privileges of the nation too much to heart, and preferred the happineſs of their fellow-citizens to their own welfare, honours, and riches. We proteſt that we are ſenſible of and know all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion which our duty impoſes upon us for the majeſty of the throne, and that we are too much perſuaded of the patriotic ſentiments of his majeſty the king, our gracious maſter, for to doubt one moment that they do not tend to the ſame end, namely, that of re-eſtabliſhing us in thoſe rights which have

always

always formed the baſis of the throne, the ſecurity of the country, and the happineſs of every citizen: who can then be inſenſible of the trouble which ſeveral of our fellow-citizens have ſuffered, even in the midſt of our country, of which we ſee a ſtriking example in the perſon of prince Charles Radzivil, cruſhed down by all ſorts of oppreſſion, which indeed threaten every one of us with the ſame fate? and which of us, inſtead of extinguiſhing the firſt ſparks, would rather wait to ſee a great fire which might reduce every thing to aſhes? We ſhould endeavour to oppoſe the pernicious ambition of our fellow-ſubjects in time, before we feel the dangerous conſequences: we will endeavour therefore to ſhake off that oppreſſive load which is hanging over our country by our own forces, being ſenſible likewiſe of the friendſhip of our invincible neighbour; a friendſhip of which we know too well the price, not to blame thoſe who, far from regarding it as they ought, have employed every means to make us unworthy of it as well as themſelves, and have found a pretence, under the cloak of religion, to make no reply to the good intentions of her imperial majeſty, which the prince her ambaſſador has declared to the ſenate, and thereby have been wanting in friendſhip towards a power which has always been attentive to our well doing, without examining the engagements of the treaties which connect us with the neighbouring powers. The ambitious views of our oppreſſors are founded upon this principle, that the future diets being free may be diſſolved, and that they ſhall never be called to an account for their bad conduct. Enlightened by thoſe authentic declarations which have been lately publiſhed, in the name of her imperial majeſty, by prince Repnin her ambaſſador, which we take for our guide, our intention is to re-inſtate the laws in their former force, to relieve our oppreſſed fellow-citizens, and above all things to preſerve the

the friendſhip of this great princeſs, which is as neceſſary to the republic as precious to all our fellow-citizens; reſolved at length to put ourſelves in a ſituation to diſperſe that confuſion which is introduced into the government, and to relieve the oppreſſed, among whom we may count the Greeks and the Proteſtants in this kingdom of every ſtate and condition, we deſire, for the preſervation of our laws and liberties and of our ancient form of government, an extraordinary diet, under the guarantee of her imperial majeſty, which we demand and re-claim from this moment, as well as her protection and aſſiſtance; but before this diet be convoked, for the love of our country we invite all our fellow-citizens to join us, and to ſecond the purity of our intention; and we do hope that there is not any ſon of Poland who is ſo unnatural as to refuſe to oppoſe himſelf at this moment to thoſe evils which are prepared for us, and who doth not wiſh to ſee the peace and happineſs of the republic reſtored; and moreover who would thereby expoſe himſelf to become the enemy of his country and of this neighbouring power, who every day gives us evident proofs of the care which ſhe takes of our rights and privileges and of the preſervation of every citizen: we proteſt, at the ſame time, that in all this enterprize we have not forgotten our firſt duty, which is to preſerve, without any alteration, the holy Catholic religion which is eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, the preſervation of which is guaranteed by the before-mentioned declaration of her imperial majeſty, and for which we will live and die."

It will be difficult from the firſt reading of this piece to diſcover what party thoſe deluded confederates, who undoubtedly meant well, would join, and what were the ſecret motives which induced them to take this ſtep. The prince Radzivil, who

oppoſed the illegal meaſures which the empreſs of Ruſſia had taken to force a king upon the Poles, was condemned by the confederacy of Wilna, which was ſupported by this empreſs, to be ſhut up in the town of Sluck, and to have his goods confiſcated and placed in the hands of five truſtees: theſe confederates in their manifeſto lament the unhappy fate of Radzivil, whom they repreſent as ſuffering for his country's good; and at the ſame time they extol the conduct of the empreſs of Ruſſia, and would endeavour to make their fellow-citizens believe that ſhe was their only friend, and the ſource from whence they were to hope for protection and aſſiſtance. The fact is, theſe confederates were deceived; they were ſecretly promiſed powerful aſſiſtance by the king of Pruſſia, but were deſired at the ſame time to let every thing paſs in the name of the empreſs of Ruſſia, whom he meant to flatter; although, as ſoon as their aſſociation was diſcovered, the king, the biſhops, and the violent Roman Catholics, who are the perſons complained of in the manifeſto, were as ſecretly aſſured that his Pruſſian majeſty would take no active part in their affairs, and that all which he did was in compliment to the empreſs of Ruſſia, and moreover that they would act the part of patriots in ſupporting firmly the form of government then eſtabliſhed; whence we may diſcover the ſource of that torrent of confuſion and diſorder which afterwards tore this unhappy kingdom to pieces. The Romiſh clergy, thoſe peſts of every well-regulated ſociety, who had alſo received a promiſe of ſupport from the court of Vienna, were determined rather to ſee their country totally deſtroyed than to render juſtice to their fellow-citizens. The king of Pruſſia had already entered into a negociation with the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia upon the diviſion of Poland; and the king of Poland, like a vain fop, who

has

has no will of his own, was ready to come into any meaſure for the ſake of having a new ſuit and a ſplendid table.

The great duchy of Lithuania ſoon after followed the example of Great Poland and of Poliſh Pruſſia: the ſentence which was pronounced during the interregnum againſt prince Radzivil was reverſed, and this prince on his arrival at Wilna was unanimouſly elected marſhal-general of the confederacy. As the great and extraordinary authority which had been granted to the commiſſioners of the treaſury and thoſe of war had greatly irritated the people, and forced the principal part of the inhabitants of Great Poland into this aſſociation, the firſt act of authority of the new marſhal was to depute the palatine of Podlachia to the members of theſe two commiſſions, to inform them that they were required to take an oath of fidelity to the king and to the republic in the following terms:—1ſt. That they will be faithful to the king and to the confederates. 2d. That they will ſupport and protect the Roman Catholic religion, as well as the liberties and privileges of the other communities. 3d. That they will not carry on any correſpondence by private or ſuſpected letters. 4th. That they will not diveſt themſelves of their employments.——Several commiſſioners took the oath in this form, and others retired. Seeing a dreadful ſtorm gathering in the horizon, to prevent its ill effects, the king at length conſented to convoke an extraordinary diet, which was opened in the beginning of October 1767 by the king himſelf, who now declared that he would join the general confederacy, and that the direction of this diet appertained to prince Radzivil in quality of marſhal; whereupon this prince opened the ſeſſion by a propoſition to elect deputies, who, being provided with unlimited powers from the ſtates, ſhould treat with prince

Repnin, ambaſſador from the court of Ruſſia, of every thing which might concern the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws, liberties, rights, and prerogatives which regarded the Diſſidents, as well as of all the other citizens by virtue of treaties, and that the whole ſhould be afterwards confirmed by the ſtates, even though ſome of the counſellors or Nonces ſhould not happen to be preſent; that this confirmation ſhould be effectual in every reſpect, though only nine counſellors and eighteen Nonces ſhould have agreed to it, and that Ruſſia and the other neighbouring powers ſhould have guaranteed them.

This extraordinary propoſition, which attacked the fundamental laws of the kingdom more eſſentially than any meaſure that the oppoſite party had yet undertaken, threw the whole aſſembly into the greateſt confuſion and diſorder; the biſhops of Cracovia and Kiovia attacked it with great vehemence: "Theſe pretenſions of "the Diſſidents," ſaid they, "tend to deſtroy the rights of the "Roman Catholic religion, and we will never conſent to the "eſtabliſhment of this commiſſion in the manner it has been "propoſed." The boldneſs with which theſe biſhops explained themſelves left prince Repnin without any hopes of his being able to gain them, and therefore he reſolved to go the ſhorteſt way to work, and arreſted theſe prelates, together with the palatine of Cracovia and his ſon the ſtaroſt of Dolinſki, and ſent them into Ruſſia under a ſtrong guard: afterwards he publiſhed a declaration to juſtify this extraordinary meaſure, in which he obſerved that the troops of his ſovereign, as friends and allies of the republic confederated, had arreſted thoſe members of the diet for having been wanting in reſpect to the dignity of her imperial majeſty, by attacking the purity of her ſalutary intentions, which were ſo diſintereſted and friendly for the republic: he

he moreover added, that Ruſſia pretended not only to guarantee the ſupport of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, but alſo the legal form of the interior government of the ſtate, which they were about to eſtabliſh; that in conſequence thereof it would be neceſſary that the plenipotentiaries of the republic ſhould have a power ſo extenſive as that with which the ambaſſador was furniſhed; that no ſenator or Nonce ſhould be permitted to leave Warſaw before all theſe projects had been ſigned by the unanimous conſent of the ſtates who were aſſembled; and that, for the ratification of the treaty, the Nonces ſhould return to Warſaw in the month of February following. Such a violent attack had never been made upon the government of Poland from its firſt inſtitution to this time, and notwithſtanding the ſenators and Nonces were undoubtedly frightened into the meaſure, all this did not paſs without many violent debates; and when the marſhal demanded whether they all gave their conſent that theſe projects ſhould be ſigned, ſome of the voices anſwered in the affirmative, but the greateſt part of the aſſembly were ſilent, which was interpreted as a tacit conſent; whereupon the king and the two marſhals of the general confederation of Poland and of Lithuania ſigned the acts, and the plenipotentiaries were immediately choſen from among the ſenators and Nonces, who aſſembled at the houſe of prince Repnin with the miniſters of Pruſſia, England, Sweden, and Denmark, and deliberated upon the ſix following articles, which were preſented to them by the ambaſſador of Ruſſia.—1ſt. The Diſſidents, namely, the Greeks and the Proteſtants, ſhall have the free exercife of their religion. 2d. There ſhall be a perfect equality among them. 3d. They ſhall have a tribunal, of which the one half of the members ſhall be Greeks and the other Proteſtants. 4th. They ſhall not be ſubject to any juriſdiction of the Roman Catholic clergy.

5th.

5th. Their clergy ſhall be upon the ſame footing with the Roman Catholic clergy. 6th. They ſhall be permitted, as well as the Catholics, to acquire and to hold fiefs, and to poſſeſs ſecular dignities.

New conteſts aroſe immediately on account of theſe articles; and, to arrive at the end that was propoſed, it was agreed that they ſhould name a committee of eight perſons, who ſhould treat in particular with prince Repnin. This ſecret council having determined all the operations, the deputies, as well of the republic as of the Diſſidents, aſſembled themſelves at the houſe of prince Repnin, where, in the preſence of the four miniſters before-mentioned, the following articles were finally agreed upon to ſettle the differences of the two parties.—1ſt. That the Greeks and Diſſidents ſhall have a church at Warſaw, and temples and ſchools in all the diſtricts of the provinces of the kingdom and of the great duchy of Lithuania; but they ſhall not build any churches in the towns without having firſt obtained the king's privilege for this purpoſe, and that the nobility ſhall be permitted to grant them this privilege in their reſpective eſtates. 2d. That the Greeks and Diſſidents ſhall be permitted to uſe bells, to place organs in their churches, to baptize their children publickly, to marry, and to bury their dead, and all theſe agreeably to the ceremonies of their reſpective religions, and without the leaſt obſtacle. 3d. That the Greeks and Proteſtants, who are noble, ſhall be admitted into the ſenate, into the diet, and into all the charges, honours, and prerogatives of the republic upon the ſame footing and in common with the other nobles who are Roman Catholics, as well in Poland as in the duchy of Lithuania. 4th. That they ſhall no longer be called Schiſmatics and Diſſidents, and that their miniſters

ſhall be called paſtors and curates, and not preachers. 5th. That all the property which was confiſcated from them before the year 1717 ſhall be reſtored to the proprietors; but that with regard to the property which had been taken from them ſince that year, they ſhould be at liberty to re-claim it judicially. 6th. That a mixed commiſſion ſhall be eſtabliſhed to judge their law-ſuits and diſputes, and that they ſhall be permitted to convoke ſynods, without having any regard to the permiſſion of the Catholic biſhops, and without depending in any reſpect upon their conſiſtory or juriſdiction.

They moreover agreed that the ancient law, *Rex Catholicus eſto*, ſhould be invariable; that in conſequence thereof the Roman Catholic religion ſhould always be the eſtabliſhed religion, and that no queen of Poland ſhould be crowned, except ſhe was a Roman Catholic; that the ſucceſſion to the crown ſhould continue for ever to be elective; that the king ſhould never be permitted to alienate the property of the crown or of the republic; that a toleration in matters of religion ſhould be maintained in every point; that no attempt ſhould be made againſt any of the privileges of the cities and towns; that an affair of ſtate, which has been once rejected, ſhould never more be brought on the tapis; that a ſtranger, who has been ten years eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, ſhall be acknowledged as a natural inhabitant; that the nobility alone ſhould poſſeſs all the offices of the crown, and that the confederations ſhould be ſigned during the time that they elected the Nonces for the diet, and not at any other time.

All theſe points, agreed upon by the ſecret committee, were laid before the diet aſſembled at Warſaw in the beginning of the year

year 1768; and as many of the Nonces inſiſted upon their being debated, they were refuſed the liberty of ſpeaking, which occaſioned a great tumult and a general diſcontent; however, notwithſtanding this refuſal, the Nonce of Volhynia attempted to ſpeak, on which the prince of Lubomirſki aſked him if he was greater than the king, that he would abſolutely ſpeak upon this occaſion? to which the Pole anſwered, "Every one is perſuaded that the king is greater than I, but I repreſent the republic, which is more ancient than the king." Nevertheleſs this famous diet, which has ſince been regarded as the cauſe of, or rather was made the pretence for, all the evils which have fallen upon this unhappy kingdom, was terminated with great tranquillity and with good order. The diet ratified all the regulations that had been agreed upon by the commiſſioners and by their committees; they agreed that the peace which had been concluded between Ruſſia and Poland ſhould be renewed in all its points; that all the reſpective territories poſſeſſed by the two powers in Europe ſhould be guaranteed; and that the rights and privileges of the Greeks and Diſſidents ſhould be for ever ſacred and inviolable, as well as all the new regulations made by this diet, and guaranteed by Ruſſia and by the other powers before-mentioned.

They afterwards determined what affairs of ſtate ſhould be unanimouſly concluded in the ſucceeding free diets, which were, —1ſt. The eſtabliſhment, the ſuppreſſion, the increaſing, or diminiſhing of the public taxes. 2d. The augmentation of the troops of the crown. 3d. Treaties and conventions made with foreign powers. 4th. Peace and war. 5th. The naturalization of foreigners and the titles of nobility; and thoſe who wiſh to obtain the latter ſhall be obliged to prove that he is deſcended

from a family who have been diſtinguiſhed for at leaſt three generations paſt. 6th. The ſtate of the coinage. 7th. Every thing that concerns the employments to which the nobility aſpire. 8th. Every thing that concerns the other employments of the republic. 9th. Every thing that regards the arrangement of the diets and their deliberations. 10th. The diſcuſſion of the queſtion, Whether the republic ſhould increaſe or change the authority of the ſenate, ſeeing at preſent it ſubſiſts by the regulations of the year 1717? 11th. Whether a king of Poland ſhould be permitted to acquire any landed property in the kingdom by purchaſe? 12th. In what caſes it will be neceſſary to convoke a Poſpolite Ruſzenia, or general aſſembly of the nobility? 13th. The regulations that are neceſſary for the taking poſſeſſion of property. 14th. And any change or alteration that is to be made in the before-mentioned particulars. —Theſe were the laſt deliberations of this famous diet to reſtore peace and tranquillity in Poland, ſo long wiſhed-for by every good citizen: many of the Nonces were of the opinion that they had finiſhed this great undertaking, and even the empreſs of Ruſſia imagined that by the means of her troops, which were diſperſed in the different provinces of Poland to keep the diſcontented party in awe, ſhe ſhould have all the glory of re-eſtabliſhing the Diſſidents in their rights and privileges and of giving peace to the kingdom: but alas! this princeſs, as well as the greateſt part of the Poliſh nation, was impoſed upon; they had not yet diſcovered the intentions of the king of Pruſſia, who at this time had advanced in his negociations with the court of Vienna for the diviſion of this kingdom. With the empreſs of Ruſſia, and with the other powers before-mentioned, he was apparently a ſupporter of the Diſſidents; he had ſent ſecret advice to the Romiſh biſhops and to their friends, that even by the

laws of Poland they were obliged to ſupport the rights and privileges of their order, which were now evidently attacked, and that they would meet with no oppoſition from him; and now the court of Vienna, aſſured of his Pruſſian majeſty's intentions, gave the Poliſh biſhops and their party to underſtand that the conduct of the empreſs of Ruſſia was by no means agreeable to them, and that they were determined to ſupport the Roman Catholic religion at all events: this aſſurance gave great ſpirits to the biſhops and to their party, and immediately, in conſequence of it, a new confederation was formed at Bar in Podolio, of which the ſtaroſt of Kraſinſki, the brother of the biſhop of Kaminiec, was elected marſhal. Countenanced and ſecretly ſupported by the court of Vienna and by his Pruſſian majeſty, this confederacy became formidable in a very ſhort time, and were likewiſe promiſed powerful ſupport by the Kan of the Tartars. Scarcely was the news of the aſſociation of Bar received at Warſaw, when they were informed that a great number of other confederacies were formed in different parts of the kingdom. The nobility of the palatinate of Cracovia ſeized this inſtant likewiſe to form another junto: one of them, after hearing maſs, gave the ſignal at one of their meetings, and immediately all the nobles drew their ſabres, and began to cry out, Confederacy! Confederacy! upon which one of the members of the regency aſked them, whether they meant to rebel againſt the king? to which they anſwered, No; if the king will join us, we will join him; and we do hope that all the nobles here preſent will immediately be of our party and ſign the aſſociation, which was accordingly done. The nobility of Samogitia, as well as thoſe of Siradia, of Maſuria, and of Sandomir, took immediately the ſame ſteps; and almoſt at the ſame time the court received certain advices of the revolt

of

of the inhabitants of the Ukraine, and of new confederacies being formed in Lithuania and in the other provinces.

From this time the whole kingdom became a ſcene of confuſion, of maſſacres, robberies, diſorders, and devaſtations. In vain did the Ruſſians endeavour to check theſe horrible diſorders in their ſource; in vain did they run from one part of the kingdom to the other to diſperſe or to cruſh theſe confederates; their little victories only ſerved to exaſperate the Poles the more againſt them, whom they regarded as the cauſe of all the evils which had befallen their unhappy country, and to increaſe the love of liberty and independence in the ulcerated ſouls of theſe republicans. Irritated at this conduct of the Poliſh nobility and clergy, the empreſs of Ruſſia was making formidable preparations to cruſh theſe confederations, when ſhe was informed that the Turks had declared war againſt her, and had arreſted her miniſter at Conſtantinople: ſhe was now obliged to withdraw the greateſt part of her troops from Poland, which was in the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation, and exhibited all the horrors of a civil war; and they were ſoon after replaced by thoſe of the king of Pruſſia and of the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia. A body of Pruſſian troops took poſſeſſion of Poliſh Pruſſia and of all the ſouth-weſtern parts of the kingdom, while the Auſtrians took poſſeſſion of Cracow and of all the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Great Poland. The two German powers were far advanced in the treaty for the diviſion of Poland before it was even propoſed to the empreſs of Ruſſia, who, by the bye, was to ſupport a long and expenſive war againſt the Turks, Tartars, and the confederates of Poland, while the empreſs-queen and the king of Pruſſia were to reap quietly all the advantages thereof. Undoubtedly the conduct of the empreſs of Ruſſia was by no

means juſtifiable in the firſt place, becauſe the Poles gave her no cauſe to ſend a body of troops into their kingdom to trample under foot their liberties and privileges, and to deſtroy their fundamental laws and conſtitution; but it is generally believed that ſhe had no other motives for taking this ſtep than thoſe of ſerving her friend Poniatowſki, and a deſire of correcting ſome of the abuſes which the Poles had made of their liberties: the obſtinacy and bad conduct of the Poliſh clergy and of their friends forced her afterwards to take thoſe violent ſteps which made her ſo hateful to the greateſt part of the inhabitants of this nation. But if we examine the conduct of the two German powers by the rules of juſtice, it muſt appear very black indeed; and as there is a Supreme Being, who for ſome time ſuffers, but at length puniſhes, ſuch acts of baſe ingratitude and oppreſſion, undoubtedly their ſuppoſed wiſdom and policy will one day be regarded as fooliſhneſs, and the chains which they had prepared for others will be fixed about their own necks; this has been the caſe of tyrants and oppreſſors from the beginning of the world, and certainly will ſo continue till its diſſolution. In whatever light we may regard the Turks with reſpect to religion, the conduct of the Sultan and of the Ottoman Porte towards the Poles in ſuch a diſtreſſed ſituation was ſtrictly juſt, honourable, and the very reverſe of that of their Chriſtian, Catholic, and Apoſtolic neighbours.

The confuſion, devaſtation, and civil war continued in Poland during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771, whereby the whole face of the country was almoſt deſtroyed, many of the principal Poliſh families retired into foreign ſtates with their effects, and had it not been for a body of Ruſſian troops which acted as guards to the king at Warſaw, that city had likewiſe exhibited

a ſcene

a ſcene of plunder and maſſacre. The confederates of Bar, conſidering that all the troubles, maſſacres, and pillagings, which had now almoſt deſolated the whole country, were occaſioned by the preſent king's being illegally advanced to the throne, and by the ambition and tyrannical proceedings of the empreſs of Ruſſia, as they had not yet diſcovered the intentions of the king of Pruſſia and of the empreſs-queen of Hungary, proteſted againſt the election of Poniatowſki, declared the throne vacant, and interceded with the Turks to aſſiſt them againſt their powerful oppreſſors; the conſequences of which are ſo well known to all my readers, that it would be needleſs for me to recite them. The conduct of theſe confederates, conſidering the ideas of liberty and independence which they had imbibed from their childhood, and conſidering the ſuppoſed inſults which they had received, was at firſt not ſo blameable; but their attempt afterwards to carry off and to murder the king whom they had ſworn to obey, was ſuch an atrocious act as tarniſhed all their praiſe-worthy deeds, and will for ever make them be regarded with horror, eſpecially as he had from his advancement to the throne to this time conſtantly employed the little power with which he was inveſted in acting as a mediator, and in endeavouring to reconcile the jarring intereſts of the different parties. From the time that the Pruſſian and Auſtrian troops took poſſeſſion of Poland, Pruſſian diſcipline prevailed throughout all Poliſh Pruſſia and the adjacent provinces, which were laid under heavy contributions, and Auſtrian diſcipline prevailed in all the ſouthern and eaſtern parts of the kingdom. The imperial ſoldiery receive very little pay during the ſummer months, and are very often obliged to ſhift for themſelves even when they are in their own country, and therefore it is natural to conclude that they were not very ſcrupulous about plundering thoſe Poles with whom

the

the confederates had left any little ſubſiſtence: it is true, the king of Pruſſia raiſed very heavy contributions upon the clergy and upon thoſe who had wherewith to pay them, but he conſtantly kept up a ſtrict diſcipline among the ſoldiery; on the contrary, wherever the Auſtrians came nothing was heard of but ſcenes of robbery and plunder. When a ſtate keeps up an army of 300,000 men, and has not a revenue to ſupport 100,000 men properly, what can its ſubjects and neighbours think of receiving otherwiſe? As the Roman Catholic biſhops and their friends had repeatedly received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of friendſhip and ſupport from her Catholic and Apoſtolic majeſty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, they in the firſt place received her troops as friends, and thoſe of his Pruſſian majeſty were received upon the ſame footing and for the ſame reaſons; but nothing could equal their ſurprize when it was diſcovered that theſe powers, together with the empreſs of Ruſſia, were entered into an alliance to divide and diſmember their kingdom: they ſaw that it would be to no purpoſe to make any reſiſtance, and that the torrent of oppreſſion which was ready to be poured down upon their heads was only to be ſupported with patience: they now, when it was too late, ſaw their errors, and the evils which their obſtinacy and ill conduct had brought upon their country and upon themſelves, and deſpair took place of their turbulent and revengeful diſpoſition. The three allied powers, acting in concert, ſet up their formal pretenſions to the reſpective diſtricts which they had allotted for and guaranteed to each other: Poliſh Pruſſia, and ſome diſtricts bordering upon Brandenbourg, for the king of Pruſſia; almoſt all the ſouth-eaſtern parts of the kingdom bordering upon Hungary, together with the rich ſalt-works of the crown, for the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia; and a large diſtrict of country about Mohilow, upon the banks

of the Dnieper, for the empreſs of Ruſſia. But although each of thoſe powers pretended to have a legal title to the territories which were allotted them reſpectively, and publiſhed manifeſtoes in juſtification of the meaſures which they had taken, yet, as they were conſcious that mankind were too well informed to be impoſed upon by ſuch fallacies in this enlightened age, they forced the Poles to call a new diet, and threatened them, that if they did not conſent unanimouſly to ſign a treaty for the ceding of thoſe provinces to them reſpectively, the whole kingdom ſhould be laid under a military execution, and treated as a conquered ſtate. Such an act of tyranny filled the minds of all the impartial and ſenſible people of Europe with horror; it was undoubtedly contrary to all civil laws and juſtice: the Kan of the Tartars would have been maſſacred by his own people for having propoſed ſuch an act to a country where they went as friends to defend. However, in this extremity of diſtreſs, ſeveral of the Poliſh nobility proteſted againſt the meaſure, and retired into foreign ſtates, chuſing rather to live in exile, and to have all their landed property confiſcated, than be the inſtruments of bringing their country to utter ruin; but the king, whoſe ambition had been the firſt great cauſe of bringing all thoſe evils upon his country, was the firſt alſo who ſigned this act; and his laudable example was followed by the clergy and by their friends. Future ages will regard this meaſure with the greateſt indignation, thoſe who projected it with horror, and thoſe who acquieſced in it with contempt.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Form of GOVERNMENT *at preſent eſtabliſhed in* POLAND.

SINCE this diviſion has taken place there is not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, any regular form of government in Poland: thoſe three great powers, acting in concert, direct every thing as they think proper; and the king, the ſenate, and the diet are at preſent only the executors of their laws. However, as there is now ſome appearance, from the great age and infirmities of the king of Pruſſia, and from his ſucceſſor's being the very contraſt to him in character, from the amiable diſpoſition of the emperor of Germany, and from his not being altogether ſo violent as his mother, that theſe oppreſſed people will be able at leaſt to re-aſſume ſome part of their former government, I will proceed to ſet forth the preſent form of government which ſhould be eſtabliſhed in Poland, according to the fundamental laws exiſting in this kingdom. If ever Poland regains her ancient power, and thoſe great powers are divided or otherwiſe attacked, ſhe will be legally authorized to retake thoſe provinces which ſhe has now been forced to cede to theſe oppreſſors, and even to demand ſatisfaction for all the revenues which they have drawn from them; the act which they paſſed in the diet for this purpoſe can never be regarded by thoſe great confederates as a legal title; if it is null in itſelf, not only as being proteſted againſt by the greateſt part of the kingdom, and conſequently contrary to their fundamental laws, but from their being forced to ſign it

by

the preſence of three great armies, which were deſtroying the face of the country and threatening them with military execution, though there was no declaration of war, neither was there any juſtifiable reaſon aſſigned for ſuch a meaſure; hence therefore, as they loſt thoſe provinces by the ſuperior force of their adverſaries, whenever that cauſe is removed they will be legally juſtified in regaining and re-aſſuming their former authority over them.

The government of Poland is in many reſpects like the ancient Celtic or Gothic forms of government, which have been corrected or altered in almoſt every other ſtate of Europe, this being the only ſtate that has preſerved the name of a republic with the royal dignity. This government, which was originally one of the moſt free and regular governments in the world, is now become one of the moſt tyrannical and oppreſſive: it has always been obſerved, that where the Roman Catholic clergy bear ſway in a ſtate, and the politics of the court of Rome have prevailed, tyranny, ſlavery, and oppreſſion were the conſequences. I have already ſtated the meaſures which theſe troublers of every well-regulated government took to oppreſs and tyrannize over the inhabitants of this kingdom; ſo that from being a free people, nine tenths of all the Poliſh nation are in a ſtate of the groſſeſt ignorance and of the moſt abject ſlavery, and though they are called Chriſtians are treated with more cruelty than many of the Negro ſlaves in the Weſt-India iſlands. Every gentleman has a right to give his voice at the election of a king, and even to be elected himſelf; but this is one of the ſources of all their evils and of the vitiated ſtate of their preſent government; the throne, ſince the extinction of the family of the Jagellons, has been always put up to the beſt bidder, and as

there have been few of the Poles rich enough to buy it, it has often been ſold to ſtrangers: the nobility and clergy generally defend their liberties againſt the king and keep the reſt of the nation in ſlavery. The farmers do not cultivate and ſow the lands for themſelves, but for their lords, to whom they and their families appertain, and by whom they are bought and ſold like ſo many ſheep and cattle, and are denied even the common rights of humanity; the conſcientious clergy, who are ſo extremely zealous on account of their religion, make no ſcruple to keep their fellow-creatures in this miſerable ſtate, and are conſtantly taking every advantage to make them more ſo: the number of theſe farmers conſtitute the riches of the nobility; every farmer is obliged to work four days in the week for his lord, and one day for himſelf and for his family; his labour produces to his proprietor about four guineas and a half yearly. The lord may ſell his farmer to whom he pleaſes; if he kills him the law condemns him to pay a fine, which is about one pound ſterling: but as a gentleman is not dependent upon any other perſon, he cannot be judged in any criminal affairs but by an aſſembly of the ſtates, neither can he be arreſted till after he has been judged and condemned, ſo that the guilty perſon is generally left unpuniſhed. If the farmer killed by a nobleman appertained to another lord, the former is obliged to replace him by another ſlave. Great numbers of the nobility are very poor, and rather endeavour to enrich themſelves by commerce; they put themſelves into the ſervice of others who are rich and powerful, condeſcend to do the moſt menial offices in the houſes of their equals, and give themſelves the titles of electors of kings and of deſtroyers of tyrants. To ſee the king of Poland in all his pomp of royal majeſty, one would imagine him to be

the

the moſt abſolute prince in Europe, though he is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the leaſt ſo.

I have already obſerved, that the Poles really make with their king that contract which is only tacitly made in other nations between the king and his ſubjects: when the king of Poland ſwears to obſerve the Pacta Conventa, he abſolves his ſubjects from their oath of obedience if he violates any of the laws of the republic. The king nominates to almoſt all the public offices, and with the conſent of the ſtates confers all the honours: nothing is hereditary in Poland but the lands and titles of the nobility: the ſon of a palatine and that of a king have no right to the dignities of their reſpective fathers; but there is a great difference between the king and the republic; the king cannot diſplace any perſon whom he has once nominated to any public office, but the republic has a right to dethrone the king if he tranſgreſſes the laws of the ſtate.

The nobility in Poland are free in all the extent of the word, as they depend only on themſelves: they are divided into two orders, the order of ſenators and the equeſtrian order; theſe conſtitute the republic; and though there is a king elected in Poland, the government is ſtrictly ſpeaking ariſtocratical. Theſe two orders, who before the diviſion of Poland were at leaſt 300,000, divide the ſovereign power with the king, who is likewiſe choſen by them; with this diſtinction however, that the nobles make the laws, and the prince is obliged to ſubmit himſelf to them.

The nobles, who are jealous of their liberties, often ſell their voices, but rarely their affections; for no ſooner have they elected

a king than they begin to fear his ambition and to cabal againſt him: the great officers whom he has made, and which he cannot diſplace, far from continuing to be his friends, very often become his enemies: thoſe who are attached to the court are hated by all the reſt of the nobility, ſo that there are always two parties formed in the nation, a diviſion which is inevitable and even neceſſary in a country where there is a king, and where the ſubjects would at the ſame time preſerve their liberty.

The legiſlative authority, and in fact every thing which regards regulation of the ſtate, is veſted in the general aſſemblies of the nation, which are called diets: theſe aſſemblies are compoſed of the ſenators and of a great number of gentlemen of the ſecond order; the ſenators are the palatines and the biſhops; the ſecond order is compoſed of the Nonces or deputies of the nobility of each palatinate: at theſe great aſſemblies the archbiſhop of Gneſna preſides as primate of the kingdom, and as being the firſt perſon in the ſtate after the king.

Theſe diets by the laws of the kingdom are to be held alternately in Poland and in Lithuania; and, as I have before obſerved, the moſt important affairs are often decided in them by the deputies with their ſabres drawn. Every gentleman who is deputed to theſe general aſſemblies has all the privileges of a Roman tribune to oppoſe the laws of the ſenate; for if he only ſays, I proteſt againſt the proceedings, he ſtops the unanimous reſolutions of all the reſt, and if he leaves the place where the diet is held, the whole aſſembly muſt ſeparate: this is a noble privilege without doubt, but, as hath been already often obſerved, it has been horribly abuſed, ſeeing that the welfare, proſperity, and tranquillity of the republic have frequently been thereby

ſacrificed

ſacrificed to the hatred, perſonal intereſt, and ignorance of an individual: whether this privilege, which was very impolitically granted to every individual who has a ſeat in the diets, was the act of a king or of the ſenate, it muſt be obſerved, that at the ſame time that it furniſhes a means to ſtop the enterprizes of thoſe who would attempt any thing againſt the laws of the ſtate, it has opened a door to all kinds of diſorders and diſſentions, which have been one of the cauſes of all the evils that theſe people have ſuffered: but to ſtop the diſorders which are the conſequence of this regulation, they have applied a remedy which is ſtill worſe.

Poland, as I have already obſerved, is ſeldom without two factions, and conſequently, as unanimity in their diets is almoſt impoſſible, each party forms a confederacy, in which they decide by a plurality of voices without paying any regard to the proteſts of the minority. Theſe aſſemblies, which are contrary to the laws of the country, are in ſome meaſure authorized by cuſtom and holden in the name of the king, although generally againſt his conſent and againſt his intereſts. When the troubles are finiſhed, the general diets then confirm or diſſolve the acts of theſe confederations: one diet may even change every thing which has been done in the preceding, as one king, in an abſolute monarchy, may aboliſh all the laws of his predeceſſor.

As ſoon as the deputies or Nonces are aſſembled, they proceed immediately to elect a marſhal, whoſe principal function is to preſide and to prevent any quarrel or diſpute which may ariſe, and to regulate the debates: this marſhal, who is always one of the

Nonces, is choſen alternately from among thoſe of Great Poland, of Little Poland, and of Lithuania.

The ſenate is compoſed of the biſhops, of the palatines, of the caſtellans, who are their deputies, and of the great officers of the crown: the biſhops hold the firſt rank in this aſſembly, not as the pious and humble chiefs of the Chriſtian church, but as proud and inſolent Romiſh prelates, who would put all things under their feet: the archbiſhop of Gneſna is the firſt ſenator, and during the interregnum ſends circular letters for convoking the provincial aſſemblies for the election of the Nonces: he likewiſe fixes the time for holding the diet of election; and after having collected the voices of the electors, proclaims the new king.

The other diets, which are either ordinary or extraordinary, are convoked by the king; the ordinary diets are regulated by law to aſſemble once every two years, and the extraordinary ones are to be held in the interval of this ſpace, whenever any unforeſeen accident ſhall make it neceſſary: the duration of the diets is now fixed to three weeks, and that of the ordinary diets to ſix weeks; but all the orders aſſembled may unanimouſly conſent to a prolongation.

Generally ſpeaking, all theſe diets are very tumultuous; during their ſeſſion the republic is like a troubled ſea, where the waves are driven againſt and break upon each other, but as ſoon as the ſeſſion is finiſhed the ſtorm ceaſes, and the republic regains at leaſt an appearance of tranquillity. It ſhould be obſerved, that in Poland a king is never unanimouſly elected; and from this

diviſion,

diviſion, which the Poliſh politicians regard as the ſupport of their liberties and the ſure barrier againſt deſpotiſm, are formed two parties, who are always intereſted to watch over each other, and which often degenerate into confederacies, of which there are four different ſorts in Poland. The firſt are called general confederacies, and formed by the conſent of the ſenate and of the nobility for the good of the public: exceſs of zeal, or rebellion, is the motive for the ſecond ſort, and then the kingdom is generally in a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion: the third ſort are thoſe of the army, when it riſes againſt the ſtate or mutinies againſt its principal officers; theſe are more dangerous than either of the foregoing, and againſt which the laws are the moſt ſevere: the laſt ſort, and thoſe which are the moſt terrible of the whole, are thoſe which the Poles call Rokoſz, wherein all the nobles are obliged to take up arms; theſe confederacies are generally either againſt the king or againſt the ſenate. Each confederacy names a marſhal, and this ſupreme chief has an authority without bounds; he receives ambaſſadors, commands the tribunals, and diſpoſes of the property and revenues of both eccleſiaſtics and ſeculars, and even thoſe of the king himſelf, if he thinks proper: the army which he levies is entirely under his orders, and he has the right of life and death. All that the Poles could do to diminiſh the immenſe power which they granted to this dictator, has only been to oblige him to act in concert with his lieutenants, who were ordered to watch conſtantly over his conduct.

The ſyſtem of civil laws at preſent eſtabliſhed in Poland is very imperfect, and in many reſpects unjuſt and oppreſſive: the common people may as well apply to the Kan of the Tartars to do them juſtice, when he enters into their country at the head of

of a powerful army, as to their courts of law, if their adverſaries are noblemen or gentlemen, or if they have money to corrupt the judges or the lawyers; and with reſpect to the clergy, they pretend to be their own judges in all controverſies or diſputes of what nature ſoever, and as well to be the arbitrators and judges in appeal of almoſt all the civil caſes in the republic. The ſtaroſts have the juriſdiction over particular diſtricts, and the provincial courts over the whole province: when any of the common people are accuſed of a crime the ſentence of the former is final; but when one of the nobility is ſo accuſed, he muſt be tried before a general aſſembly of the nation. The common courts of law are ſo vitiated and corrupt, that when any matter of conſequence comes into diſpute between two or more of the better ſort of people, the affair is generally decided by an extraordinary commiſſion of the ſtate; if it is a diſpute concerning landed property, and one of the parties is more powerful than the other, or has a greater number of vaſſals, he that is the moſt powerful generally gets poſſeſſion of the property in diſpute by an armed force, and employs the revenues of it to corrupt thoſe who are to be the judges in the caſe. The police of this republic is much upon the ſame footing with their other civil regulations: if a compariſon was made between the Poles and the Turks in this reſpect, I think the preference ſhould be given to the latter, becauſe we find many among the Turks who have been taught morality and common honeſty from the laws of Mahomet, but the generality of the people of Poland have no idea of any ſuch thing. The nobility in this republic live, with reſpect to each other, almoſt in the independency of the ſtate of nature; they are under no controul, and they regard the common people as an inferior order of beings, whom Providence has appointed to be their ſlaves; and the clergy, ſo far from

from endeavouring to correct the pride and insolence of these haughty nobles, by teaching them the rules of morality and virtue, and by convincing them that the common people are their fellow-creatures, take every opportunity to join the nobles to oppress and to tyrannize over their fellow-subjects.

In all the Roman Catholic countries the common people go to the clergy to confess their sins and to receive absolution before they receive the sacrament: in Poland, when any of the farmers or of the inferior classes of people complain to the clergy of the ill usage which they have suffered from their tyrannical masters, and express that resentment for the same which oppressed human nature is apt to do, they are informed that eternal damnation will be the consequence if they make any resistance to the will of their masters, and they are refused absolution, except they promise faithfully to follow the directions of the clergy respecting this matter.

The power which the nobility, who only can be the proprietors of fiefs in this state, have usurped over their slaves is beyond all description: they pretend that the kings of Poland have at different times granted them certain rights and prerogatives over their slaves, as they call them, which are not only contrary to the laws of God and nature, but also to the ancient fundamental laws of this republic, and therefore are null in themselves, although upon these grants they have, in conjunction with the clergy, founded a species of tyranny and oppression which is not to be described.

When the ancient fœdal laws were introduced into Poland, all those who held lands under the proprietor of the fief were

obliged to follow him as their captain to the war whenever their country was attacked, in the ſame manner as he was obliged to follow the king as ſovereign lord of the ſtate for the ſame purpoſe: this is the only legal authority which the Poliſh nobility have over their vaſſals, and there is not at preſent any Pole who will lead his ſuppoſed ſlaves into the field againſt a common enemy, and conſequently, as he has broken the original contract and title whereby he held his fief, I will call upon their moſt able advocates to ſhew cauſe why the farmers and inferior claſſes of people in Poland are not as free and as juſtly and legally entitled to the property which they poſſeſs as the proprietors of the fiefs are to their reſpective fiefs, ſeeing that no preſcription can be pleaded for any cuſtom or practice which is contrary to the laws of God and nature, as well as to the fundamental laws of the ſtate.

On the contrary, the Poliſh nobility and clergy pretend that theſe unhappy people have been in a ſtate of ſlavery for time immemorial, that they have been annexed to and bought and ſold with the lands upon which they ſubſiſt, and that conſequently they are to be regarded as the abſolute property of the proprietors of ſuch lands; they moreover add, that their authority over theſe people has been eſtabliſhed and even explained by the laws of Poland for more than 200 years paſt; that they have thereby been authorized to buy and to ſell them with the land, like ſo many ſheep or horſes; and if they offend in any reſpect their lords may put them to death without ſubjecting themſelves to any puniſhment more than paying a ſmall fine.

I am

I am perſuaded that ſuch of my readers as feel for the unhappineſs and miſery of their fellow-creatures will be ſhocked at hearing this extraordinary but juſt account of the Poliſh government, eſpecially when they reflect that ſuch acts of tyranny and oppreſſion are not only countenanced but even recommended by thoſe who call themſelves the paſtors of the Chriſtian church. By the ancient conſtitution of Poland no ſubject was obliged to obey any law to which he had not conſented by himſelf or by his repreſentative; and by peruſing the hiſtory of this republic with the greateſt attention, I could not diſcover one inſtance wherein thoſe people directly or indirectly conſented to be treated in the barbarous manner that they are at preſent; on the contrary, there are many legal proteſts entered againſt the nobility and clergy reſpecting their treatment of thoſe people, but they were no more regarded than thoſe which were entered againſt their proceedings reſpecting the Diſſidents; and therefore I muſt again obſerve, that for the reaſons before-mentioned all the laws which have been made by the nobles and clergy to enſlave the reſt of nation are null in themſelves, tyrannical, and infamous, and that thoſe poor unhappy wretches, who have ſo long groaned under the oppreſſive loads which have been laid upon their ſhoulders, would be juſtified before God and men by taking up arms and demanding ſatisfaction of thoſe oppreſſors for all the injuries which they and their fathers have received.

By peruſing the foregoing chapter it will be manifeſt that the Roman Catholic religion is the national religion in this ſtate; the Poliſh church is governed by the primate and the reſt of the archbiſhops and biſhops, together with the parochial clergy: the convents and other religious houſes are regulated much in the ſame manner as they are in other Roman Catholic countries.

In all matters of diſpute reſpecting religious affairs, from the primate's court there is an appeal to the Pope's Nuncio, and from the Nuncio to Rome.

The power of executing judicial ſentences is inveſted in the palatines, and is through them communicated to the inferior officers.

The ordinary charges of law-ſuits in this country are very moderate; but as both the lawyers and the judges are corrupt beyond all deſcription, it would be a piece of abſurdity for a poor man to go to law with another who is rich, or with one of the nobility; if his caſe is ever ſo juſt and clear, he will be will be ſure to loſe it.

Titles to landed property, when they come into diſpute, are generally decided by a deputation from all the nobility of the province where ſuch landed property is ſituated; and when one of the parties is not too rich and powerful, and the matter is very clear, this tribunal ſometimes decides according to the rules of juſtice.

In all criminal caſes, where the fact is not very clearly proved, the Poliſh judges are not very ſevere, and the accuſed perſon is permitted to purge himſelf by oath, to which is often added the oaths of ſome other perſons, who are to vouch for his innocence and integrity. Capital puniſhments are not very common in Poland; if the criminal is a ſlave his maſter endeavours to ſave him, as his death will be a conſiderable loſs to him; if the accuſed perſon is noble he generally eſcapes, be the crime ever ſo flagrant, as he cannot be arreſted before he is tried and

condemned, and therefore he has time ſufficient to make his eſcape. All capital crimes againſt the king or againſt the ſtate are by the ancient laws of the republic to be puniſhed with death; but the rigour of theſe laws is generally ſoftened, and the criminal is ſentenced to be baniſhed for ever from the kingdom. There are no crimes ſo ſeverely puniſhed in Poland as thoſe which are committed againſt the clergy, and which are generally judged in their courts of law, as a perſon might much ſooner expect to receive mercy and forgiveneſs from an enraged Tartar or a Calmouck than from one of this ſacred order.

The ſentences of the marſhal of a confederation, like thoſe of the inquiſitors of Venice, are ſevere and terrible, and are immediately carried into execution: there is no appeal from them, neither is there any poſſibility of eſcaping: they are not authorized by law, and are only given on extraordinary occaſions, when they pretend that the republic is in danger, and therefore cannot be pardoned by the king, like thoſe crimes which are committed againſt the laws of the ſtate.

CHAP. III.

Of the MANNERS *and* CUSTOMS *of the* POLISH *Nation.*

AS the air in the greateſt part of the Poliſh territories is for the moſt part very cold and ſharp, the common people in general are of a ſtrong and hardy conſtitution, which is likewiſe aſſiſted by their coarſe fare and by hard exerciſe; they are taller and

and better made men in general than the Ruſſians, and are capable of undergoing great fatigues: they are extremely ignorant and brutal, and great bigots to what they call their religion: they give themſelves up entirely to the direction of their prieſts, ſo that if the latter were to order them to live upon hay and ſtraw like horſes, they would think themſelves obliged to obey them: very few of them can either write or read, and a few prayers, which they offer up to the Virgin Mary and to their patron ſaints, are the whole of their religion, except we add thereto their keeping Lent and the faſt-days, and going now and then to church to hear maſs ſaid in a language of which they do not underſtand one word: they have no idea of morality and the ſocial virtues; and if we may judge from their manners, the ſcenes of tyranny and oppreſſion in which they are born, and through which they are daily ſtruggling, have in ſome meaſure changed the faculties of their minds, as they appear in many reſpects like a race of beings of an inferior nature. They have no kind of learning or education among them, neither do they appear to have any deſire or inclination for it; and except learning a few prayers by rote, as I have before obſerved, of the true uſe and meaning of which they have a very imperfect idea, four or five millions of people in this ſtate have no other knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, although there is as much money ſent yearly to Rome for pontifical trumpery as would eſtabliſh free ſchools for giving a moderate education to the whole nation.

The general character of the better ſort of people in Poland, like thoſe of Ruſſia, is rather to be contented with a ſuperficial knowledge of things than to purſue their ſtudies to any conſiderable degree; indeed the effects of this diſpoſition are more

or

or leſs viſible in all orders of men in this ſtate, which may be divided into four different claſſes. 1ſt. The nobility and gentry. 2d. The clergy. 3d. The merchants and citizens. 4th. The farmers, labourers, and ſoldiers. I have already obſerved that the Poliſh nobility and gentry are equally free and independent, and except thoſe who are in office under the republic, and thoſe who have large eſtates, their privileges are the ſame. From the connections which they have had for above 100 years paſt with France, they appear at firſt view to be very polite and well bred; but there is no nation in Europe where this claſs of people is ſo much debauched and corrupted as they are at preſent in Poland: having no controul upon their actions, and as the Monks and inferior clergy, who are their confeſſors, depend in ſome meaſure upon them, ſo that they have always abſolution, they give a looſe to their paſſions, and to tyranny and oppreſſion add luxury and brutality.

It is true, their independency and the arbitrary power which they have over their ſlaves, together with their want of a moral education, contribute greatly to that ſtate of degeneracy in which they are at preſent: they regard themſelves as ſo many little ſovereigns in their reſpective fiefs, and look upon their fellow-creatures as their perſonal property; for, as I have already obſerved, the riches of a nobleman or gentleman in this kingdom ariſe from the number of their ſlaves. Every ſlave or farmer has a certain portion of land aſſigned him, with a houſe for the uſe of his family, and from which neither he nor any of his family dare remove: he is obliged to work five days in the week for his lord, and on the ſixth day he is allowed to cultivate this piece of land to raiſe grain and other neceſſaries for the uſe of himſelf and family; and beſides this he is obliged to obey his lord's will in

in every thing for which he is called upon. If the more civilized part of mankind were inveſted with ſuch an abſolute power over their fellow-creatures, from which there was no appeal, I am afraid, like many of our Weſt-India planters and modern Nabob-makers, they would not be much leſs tyrannical and oppreſſive, and conſequently we muſt attribute the want of humanity and of the ſocial virtues in the principal part of the Poliſh nobility to the extreme viciouſneſs of their government and to the infamous conduct of their clergy, who countenanced and even promoted the uſurped power and authority which the nobility have at preſent over their fellow-creatures, ſubjects, and Chriſtians.

The clergy in Poland, as I have already obſerved, are not very learned, but they are extremely bigoted, and have a great aſcendancy over the common people, not only in ſpiritual, but in temporal matters; in the former they are regarded as the repreſentatives of Jeſus Chriſt, and all their dictates are implicitly obeyed; in the latter they have at preſent uſurped the greateſt part of the judicial authority of the ſtate, and from the great power which they have in the ſenate and in the diets, a conſiderable part of the legiſlative authority likewiſe, eſpecially as when the diets were diſſolved without coming to any reſolution, the preſſing affairs of the republic were regulated in the ſenate, where the clergy have always a majority of voices: but there is no part of Europe perhaps where they have made a greater abuſe of their power, conſidering the obſtinacy and independency of the nobles, than in this kingdom; they have uſurped the greateſt part of the property as well as of the authority of the ſtate; they have been the principal cauſe of reducing ſeveral millions of people, though they were their fellow-creatures and Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, to ſuch a ſtate of ſlavery and oppreſſion as is a diſgrace to every civilized and well-regulated ſociety; they have been the cauſe of all the injuſtice and perſecution which have been practiſed againſt the Diſſidents, and of all the troubles which have been brought upon the kingdom in conſequence of them; in what light therefore are we to regard theſe diſturbers of ſociety, and theſe oppreſſors of mankind?

The citizens and merchants of this ſtate, except thoſe of Dantzic, are not at all intelligent in trade and commerce; almoſt all the internal trade of the kingdom, and ſome of the foreign trade, is carried on by the Jews, who, together with the merchants of Dantzic, buy up their grain and ſalt at a very cheap rate, and ſend them down the Viſtula for exportation. The citizens are very bad mechanics and artizans, being almoſt totally unacquainted with all the modern, ingenious, and uſeful improvements in the mechanical arts: they have no idea of invention; ſo that in all ſuch things as require ingenuity or neatneſs, they are obliged to have recourſe to ſtrangers, or at leaſt to be ſerved by thoſe who have ſtudied their reſpective trades in foreign countries.

There are undoubtedly men of good natural talents among the citizens and trading part of the Poliſh nation; but, in the firſt place, they are kept very poor by the Jews, who being protected by the nobility carry on almoſt all the inland trade of the kingdom; ſecondly, they are not properly inſtructed in their reſpective trades; and thirdly, they are kept in a ſtate of oppreſſion, and are in many reſpects denied the common rights of mankind.

The farmers and labourers, who form the bulk of the people, are in ſuch a deplorable and wretched ſituation as would draw tears of compaſſion from every humane and well-diſpoſed perſon: the ſituation of the negroes in many of our Weſt-India plantations is ſuperior to theirs; they have no other ideas but thoſe of tyranny and ſlavery; the wretchedneſs of their ſituation makes them indolent and careleſs about life, as they have reflection enough to perceive that coarſe food and raiment are all they can expect in this life: but thoſe among them, to whom nature has given any talents, have ſenſibility enough at times to feel the weight of their oppreſſion, which deſtroys all kind of emulation, and, through reſentment, prevents them from doing any thing more for their oppreſſors than they are forced to do by acts of violence.

The poor, and thoſe who are paſt their labour, are beyond all deſcription miſerable, as there are very few public foundations for their ſupport: the clergy, who live in ſuperfluity and elegance, like the prieſt and the Levite in the goſpel, will do nothing for theſe poor unhappy wretches; and certainly nothing but their great inſenſibility and ignorance could keep them in ſuch an unhappy ſtate: in many parts of the kingdom their poverty is ſo great, that they are obliged to live in holes of the earth, to feed upon the fleſh of wild beaſts which they catch in hunting, and upon the fruit and roots which grow wild, and to cover themſelves with the ſkins of thoſe beaſts.

Undoubtedly this kind of life is very common among the Tartars, Indians, and other barbarous nations, where all the inhabitants are equally free and live in a ſtate of nature; but I believe there is no civilized and Chriſtian country in the known world,

world, where human beings are reduced to ſuch a ſtate of miſery and diſtreſs as they are in Poland; and when we conſider that theſe people have been brought into this humiliating and barbarous ſituation by the pride, covetouſneſs, and unfeeling diſpoſition of thoſe who pretend to be the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, it muſt fill every thinking perſon with amazement, and make him look with horror and deteſtation upon this degenerate prieſthood.

All the nobility and the better ſort of citizens in Poland follow the cuſtoms of the other ſtates of Europe reſpecting their dreſs; indeed in ſome articles of dreſs they retain their original modes and faſhions, and other nations copy from them. The Poliſh ladies in general are handſome and well made, but they have not all that delicacy which could be deſired in their ſex; for, like the Amazons of old, they choſe rather to conquer at the head of armed battalions of their vaſſals than by their own peculiar charms. As liberty and independency ſeem to be one of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the Poliſh nobles, their ladies are no leſs diſtinguiſhed for their heroiſm, reſolution, and activity: it is not very common in this country to ſee a lady who is troubled with the vapours, or with any kind of what is commonly called nervous diſorders. Notwithſtanding the great connections which they have had for more than a century paſt with the French, they have not yet adopted that diſagreeable practice of painting themſelves to that degree as is uſed in many other ſtates of Europe; indeed, as nature has been very liberal in giving them fine complexions, it would be unnatural and cruel to the laſt degree to hide her inimitable favours by the rude covering of Indian barbarity.

By the laws of Poland all the infantry of the crown are to be recruited out of the farmers and day-labourers, and this is the reaſon why this corps of troops is in ſuch a wretched ſituation: the nobility and clergy will not part with any of thoſe people whoſe daily labour is to ſupport their luxury and extravagance; when any of thoſe poor creatures offend or preſume to diſobey their taſk-maſters in any reſpect, if the latter are not barbarous enough to kill them immediately, they are ſent into the army to receive a puniſhment.

The Diſſidents, who are not under the direction of the Romiſh clergy, by oppoſing the uſurped power and authority of the nobles have regained ſome of their ancient privileges, and are not at preſent in that diſtreſſed and deplorable ſituation that the Roman Catholics are in, although they are not yet to be envied; and how far that noble work which the empreſs of Ruſſia has lately planned of giving freedom to all the farmers and labourers will extend to this kingdom, time alone will determine: certainly if this plan is effectually carried into execution, it will be of great national utility both in Ruſſia and in Poland. The Danes have already found the advantage, and no perſon has ſuffered by it, and conſequently, to ſay nothing of juſtice and humanity, but to view it only in a political light, we muſt regard it as an undertaking worthy of the great talents of this empreſs, and thoſe who oppoſe it as tyrants and oppreſſors of the human ſpecies, who have neither judgment nor penetration enough to foreſee the events of things.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Policy of POLAND *reſpecting* AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, *aud* COMMERCE.

THERE is no civilized ſtate perhaps in the known world, except the territories of the Pope, where commerce is ſo badly regulated, and where manufactures are ſo little attended to and improved as they are at preſent in Poland: not only the laws of this ſtate, but the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of the people are contrary to thoſe of a commercial nation. By the fundamental laws of the ſtate no merchant or manufacturer is at liberty to purchaſe any landed eſtate, or to acquire any real property in the kingdom; and the pride and arrogance of the nobility and clergy are ſuch that they régard thoſe uſeful members of ſociety with the greateſt contempt, and will in many reſpects ſcarcely give them the preference to their ſlaves: hence it is that their manufactures are in ſuch an unimproved ſtate, and that all their inland commerce is carried on by Jews and foreigners, who take every opportunity to cheat and defraud thoſe who are ſupporting them. When Peter the Firſt would enrich and civilize his Ruſſian ſubjects he gave the greateſt encouragement to ſtrangers to come and ſettle in his dominions, eſpecially to men of genius, merchants, and traders, whom he loaded with civilities and honours, which contributed not a little to produce the great end he propoſed; but by purſuing a contrary courſe, Poland, which for ſeveral hundred years paſt has been regarded as a civilized nation, is now in a more un-

cultivated and more unimproved ſtate than any part of the Ruſſian dominions.

The territories of the republic of Poland before the late diviſion took place were of as great an extent as are thoſe of France, and contained near eight millions of people, of whom near ſix millions were in the ſtate of ſlavery and oppreſſion before deſcribed: the nobility and gentry were about 400,000, many of whom likewiſe were ſo poor that they were obliged to ſerve their equals, with reſpect to rank, in the meaneſt offices; and the reſt were the clergy, merchants, traders, and citizens; the latter, together with the farmers and labourers, have been for ſeveral centuries paſt, by the wickedneſs of the nobility and clergy, kept in a ſtate of ignorance and oppreſſion, and are denied the rights of human nature.

The Poliſh nobility were ſo extremely ignorant of their own real intereſts, that it was the general opinion the introduction of arts and commerce would tend to enlighten the people, and to ſtir up ſuch an emulation among them as would make them turbulent and be highly injurious to their property, without conſidering how much the cultivation and improvement of the kingdom by manufactures and commerce would increaſe the value of their landed eſtates, and at the ſame time procure them all the neceſſaries and even the luxuries of life from among their fellow-ſubjects at a much cheaper rate than they can procure them from foreign ſtates.

Dantzic is the only conſiderable ſea-port which belongs to the territories of Poland; it is ſituated at the mouth of the Viſtula, which runs through the kingdom from eaſt to weſt, and is joined

joined by ſeveral conſiderable rivers, all which might be eaſily made navigable, if the trade and commerce of the kingdom were improved. Formerly all the natural productions of the kingdom, ſuch as grain of all kinds, which they have in great abundance, ſalt, honey, wax, wool, ſkins, ſalt-meats, pot-aſh, hemp, flax, and wood were bought up by the Jews at a very cheap rate, and ſent down the Viſtula to the merchants of Dantzic, by whom they were exported: a conſiderable part of the natural productions of the great duchy of Lithuania was exported at Riga, and at Memel in Pruſſia, and their returns were chiefly made in foreign manufactures and with ſome money. The quantity of the different kinds of grain which have heretofore been exported yearly from this kingdom was immenſe: many of the principal nobility entered into contracts with the Jews and with the merchants of Dantzic to take off all their grain at a certain fixed price; a meaſure extremely prejudicial to commerce, and which will always be the means of keeping a ſtate in a poor and diſtreſſed ſituation.

I am entirely of the opinion of Monſieur de Monteſquieu, who obſerves, that if Poland did not carry on any kind of commerce, the common people would be much happier than they are at preſent. Many of the nobility, who poſſeſs great tracts of lands, have nothing but their grain to procure themſelves the articles of luxury, and preſs their labourers to have a great quantity of this commodity to ſend to foreign markets to procure thoſe articles: if therefore they could not find a market for this great neceſſary of life, they would be obliged to give it to their people to live, and their great eſtates would become ſuch a burden to them, that they would be obliged to divide them with their tenants. Neceſſity would oblige the common people to manufacture

facture their wool into cloth; and the rich, who always love luxury, and who would not be able to procure it from any foreign ſtate, would encourage the poor to work; and therefore this nation would ſoon become flouriſhing, unleſs ſhe became barbarous, which the laws might very eaſily prevent. The meaſures which the king of Pruſſia has lately taken to diſtreſs Dantzic, and to interrupt the exportation of the natural productions of Poland, will not at all anſwer the end which he has propoſed: this prince may be a great general as well as a tyrant, but he is not a great politician: acts of violence will never make his ſubjects enter into commerce, nor force the Poles and the inhabitants of Dantzic to commit all their property to his direction. If the other ſtates of Europe will ſuffer him to conquer this city, he may then obtain the end which he propoſed, namely, the being maſter of all the exports of Great Poland, and of regulating the price of the grain of this kingdom as he thinks proper; but as long as this port continues free he never will be able to carry his point. In the treaty of commerce which he has lately concluded with the republic of Poland, it is ſtipulated that all the merchandize imported from the ports and towns of Pruſſia into Poland are only to pay two *per cent.* duty; but ſuch merchandize as are landed at Dantzic, and from thence brought into Poland, are to pay twelve *per cent.* It will appear at firſt ſight that the Poles were forced into this treaty, otherwiſe they would never give the preference to ſtrangers who were taking every meaſure to oppreſs them; but ſtill it will not anſwer the king of Pruſſia's deſign. Dantzic is an excellent port, and there is a navigation by the Viſtula from thence to the interior parts of the kingdom, whereby all kinds of merchandize may be imported and exported with great facility: it is true, that as the Viſtula paſſes through Pruſſia, the king

may

may lay a heavy duty upon ſuch merchandize, and thereby diſtreſs both the Poles, the Dantzickers, the Hollanders, and all who are concerned in this trade; but as he has no good ſea-port which has a communication with the Viſtula, his ſubjects will never be able to import and export heavy merchandize to and from Poland without the greateſt inconveniencies, except they paſs by the port of Dantzic.

The ſoil is rich and good in moſt of the provinces of Poland, and produces all kinds of grain, excellent paſture, and all the natural productions that can be raiſed in ſuch a northern climate: there are mines of ſalt in different parts of the kingdom, and yet, notwithſtanding the country is well watered with fine rivers, as I have already obſerved, abounding with grain and cattle, all the common people and a great part of the nobility are in a ſtate of poverty not to be deſcribed. The nobles ſell their natural productions to Jews and foreigners at a very low price, and pay thoſe foreigners exorbitantly for thoſe articles of luxury of which they are in want: moreover the Poles in general are very idle and lazy; the better ſort of people through pride, and the common people through reſentment: they feel the weight of their oppreſſion and will not exert themſelves in favour of their oppreſſors. I am perſuaded that two millions of people, who would work moderately on the cultivation of the ground, and were to enjoy the fruits of their labour, would do as much as ſix millions of the Poles in their preſent ſituation. Nothing makes the common people more idle and careleſs than oppreſſion, as they have reflection enough to perceive, that if they toil and labour ever ſo much, common coarſe food and raiment are all that they can expect, they therefore think of little elſe than to ſleep away their time, except they are

rouſed to action by violence or new acts of oppreſſion. Beſides the exportation of grain and of all the other articles before-mentioned by Dantzic, Riga, and Memel, Poland ſends vaſt quantities of grain and ſalt into Germany, together with cattle and horſes in abundance; a great part of the Pruſſian cavalry troops are mounted upon Poliſh horſes. Though foreign merchants and traders gain conſiderably by buying and ſelling in Poland, yet there are very few foreigners, except Jews, who chuſe to eſtabliſh themſelves in this country if they can have an eſtabliſhment in any other neighbouring ſtate: if they give any credit they are ſure to be duped by eight perſons in ten; and a merchant might as well attempt to remove a mountain as attempt to recover money from a Poliſh nobleman by law: moreover merchants and traders are ſo univerſally deſpiſed in this republic, that no perſon of this claſs who is not extremely mean, low, and illiterate, would ever think of eſtabliſhing himſelf in ſuch a country.

It is a general obſervation, that no kingdom can be brought into a flouriſhing ſituation, in proportion to her powers, by agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, while the bulk of her ſubjects are in a ſtate of ſlavery. Many of the kings and of the great nobles of Poland have taken much pains to introduce the arts and manufactures into this country, but without any effect; ſo that they are at preſent in the ſame ſituation in the greateſt part of the Poliſh dominions that they were in 200 years ſince: a ſlave will never make a good manufacturer or artizan; he will never apply himſelf to works of this kind. Upon the whole therefore I muſt make the ſame obſervation upon Poland reſpecting this matter, that I have already done upon Ruſſia, which is, that this kingdom will ſtill continue in a ſtate of

poverty and ignorance of the fine arts and manufactures till the whole ſyſtem of their government is changed, and till the bulk of the people are ſuffered to enjoy the natural rights of mankind, and to think and act like human beings.

CHAP. V.

Of the REVENUES *and* RESOURCES *of this Kingdom, and of her* MILITARY FORCES.

POLAND has no fixed revenue for the ſupport of her military and civil government, but this has been augmented and diminiſhed according as the different diets have thought it neceſſary. The revenues appointed for the ſupport of the king and of the dignity of the crown aroſe heretofore from certain lands which were veſted in the crown, from the produce of the ſalt-works, and from the different cuſtom-houſes of the kingdom, which all together made but a very moderate revenue, never exceeding 200,000l. ſterling a year, and ſometimes not amounting to 100,000l. yearly. Since the kingdom has been divided the ſalt-works and ſome of the crown lands have been ſeized upon by the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the the produce of the cuſtom-houſes in Pruſſia by the king of Pruſſia, and another part of the crown lands and part of the cuſtoms of Mohilow by the empreſs of Ruſſia. How the crown revenue is to be eſtabliſhed at preſent ſome future diet muſt determine, as well as upon the means of raiſing a proper revenue to ſupport the civil and military government of the kingdom,

which is in the greateſt diſorder and confuſion. The nobility, who are the law-givers of the republic, are alſo the principal ſupport of it: by the ancient laws of this ſtate the nobility upon all great occaſions are obliged to take the field on horſeback, and if theſe laws were properly carried into execution they would form a body of above 100,000 men. This great army, which is called the Poſpolite, as there are always diviſions in Poland, is very ill governed and moves with great difficulty: they have no diſcipline, ſubordination, or experience, but as they are always animated by the love of liberty they will always be formidable when they act in concert: they may be vanquiſhed, diſperſed, or even kept in ſlavery, but they will ſoon throw off the yoke when the great power that cruſhed them down is removed; and this is the reaſon why they never would ſuffer any conſiderable fortifications to be built in the heart of their country, they would themſelves be the ramparts of the republic, and would never ſuffer any of their kings to build fortreſſes, fearing that, inſtead of keeping them to defend the republic, they would make uſe of them to deſtroy their liberties. The Poſpolite never takes the field but by the order of the diet, except the danger is very great, and in that caſe they are to obey the ſimple order of the king. When Charles the Twelfth invaded Poland, Auguſtus ordered the Poſpolite to take the field and to join his Saxon army: but as the Poles at this time feared the Saxons more than they did the Swedes, and as the primate and ſeveral of the principal nobility of the kingdom and all the Sobieſki party were in the king of Sweden's intereſt, they refuſed to obey him.

Before the territories of the republic were divided, their ordinary army was 36,000 men, which compoſed two corps independent of

of each other; this of Poland was fixed at 24,000 men, and the corps of Lithuania was 12,000, of which two thirds were cavalry: theſe two bodies of troops are commanded by two generals, who are independent of each other, and though they are named by the king, they are not obliged to give an account of their operations but to the republic, and have an abſolute authority over the troops; the colonels are likewiſe abſolute maſters of their regiments, and it is their buſineſs to find ſubſiſtence for them, and to pay them as well as they can; but, being rarely paid themſelves, they deſtroy the country and ruin the farmers to ſatisfy their avarice and that of their troops.

The Poliſh nobility appear with more magnificence in the field than in the towns; their tents are more elegantly ornamented than their houſes: the cavalry, which is the greateſt part of the army, is chiefly compoſed of gentlemen; they have fine horſes, and their ſaddles, bridles, &c. are richly ornamented: the Huſſars and the Pancernes particularly are fond of imitating the Turks in magnificence, and never take the field but when they are accompanied with their ſervants, who are to make a parade with their fine horſes. The very contraſt to their cavalry is their infantry; as much as the former is magnificently ornamented, the latter is badly cloathed, badly armed, and often without any uniforms: this corps is recruited from among the meaneſt of the people, and they reſemble an army of vagabond Tartars. The Poliſh troops have very little diſcipline among them; they attack with great fury, but if they are repulſed they immediately retire with great precipitation, and there is no poſſibility of rallying them. It is ſaid, that the laſt diet has agreed to raiſe an army of 30,000 men for the ſupport of the republic,

republic, who are to be regularly diſciplined and paid; and for this purpoſe, as well as for the ſupport of the civil government, they have agreed to lay a tax on all kinds of ſtrong liquors, on all kinds of foreign merchandize which are imported into the kingdom, and on every article of luxury; upon ſalt, ſtamped paper, playing-cards, and chimnies: they have likewiſe doubled the poll-tax on the Jews; and their ſtaroſties, which heretofore paid one quarter of their yearly revenue, will for the future pay three eighths; and as by the death of the preſent ſtaroſts they become the property of the republic, they are to be leaſed out for fifty years, ſubject to the ſame tax. The clergy, who had heretofore found means to exempt themſelves from almoſt every kind of tax, are now taxed almoſt equally to the other claſſes of people: the biſhops are to pay 360,000 florins, which is about one thirtieth part of their revenue; and the inferior clergy are to pay ſome one quarter and ſome one half of the annual produce of their livings.

If the Poles had agreed to a plan of this kind ſome years before, they might in all probability have ſaved their country, and made a reſpectable figure among the ſtates of Europe; but now it is too late; their beſt provinces are ſeized upon by ſtrangers, and all their operations are dictated by thoſe powers which united to annihilate their ancient form of government; and as theſe great powers have guaranteed to each other reſpectively the ſeveral diſtricts which they have ſeized in Poland, I ſee no poſſibility that the Poles will ever be able to recover themſelves in the preſent ſituation of things; how far ſome future arrangement of the political affairs of Europe may change their unhappy ſtate, time alone will determine.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the principal Cauſes of the various REVOLUTIONS *and* TROUBLES *which have brought this Government to its preſent degenerated and diſtreſſed Situation.*

WHEN we reflect upon the hiſtory which has been given of the riſe and progreſs of this government, it will clearly appear that it was originally founded upon the moſt juſt and equitable principles, like all the reſt of the ancient Gothic governments, and was well calculated for thoſe days when mankind dealt honeſtly at leaſt with their fellow-ſubjects, and united to ſupport each other againſt their enemies; that wicked and ambitious clergy, who under pretence of propagating and ſupporting the juſt, benevolent, merciful, and humane doctrines of Jeſus Chriſt, endeavoured to enſlave, oppreſs, and impoveriſh their fellow-creatures, did not then diſquiet this country; joint-tenants of the ſame ſoil, the Poles knew no maſter but him whom they had elected to be their prince and their general, and ſubmitted to no laws but thoſe which they made themſelves; animated by the love of liberty and of his country, every member of the community was ready to ſacrifice his life in the ſervice of the ſtate, and his moſt ardent wiſhes were to fight for and fall in her defence. But when the Roman Catholic clergy gained a footing in this kingdom, the face of things was immediately changed; inſtead of preaching the religion of Jeſus Chriſt, founded upon the principles of charity, humanity, and brotherly love, they joined with thoſe who called themſelves nobles, to

oppreſs

oppreſs and gain an aſcendancy over the bulk of the people, not only by depriving them of their property by intrigues and artifices, and afterwards excluding them from their right of voting in all public affairs, but, as ſoon as theſe poor people were denied the enjoyment of their juſt and legal rights, they concurred with the nobles in paſſing laws to reduce them to a ſtate of ſlavery, as they have done to the Diſſidents in our days; however, fearing that theſe martial people, thus humbled and oppreſſed, ſhould reſiſt their meaſures, they not only threatened public excommunication and all the thunders of the Vatican to thoſe who diſobeyed them, and took every meaſure to keep the bulk of the people in a ſtate of ignorance, but they refuſed abſolution to thoſe who came to confeſs their faults, and ſhewed the leaſt inclination or deſire to regain their liberties or privileges. Finding themſelves oppreſſed on every ſide, and ſeeing no means whereby they could redreſs themſelves, the common people, from being bold, active, and enterprizing, fell into a ſtate of idleneſs and deſpair; their country was no longer dear to them; they regarded their fellow-ſubjects as tyrants, and themſelves as the moſt wretched of all the human race. But although the nobility and clergy had ſo far gained their point, and reduced their fellow-ſubjects to a ſtate of poverty and diſtreſs, they were fearful leſt ſome future king, dictated by the principles of juſtice and humanity, ſhould attempt to redreſs the wrongs of theſe poor people, and reſtore them to their legal rights and privileges, and therefore they now directed their attacks againſt the authority of the crown, and before they would permit any future king to be crowned, they forced him to ſwear to ſupport and to defend them in all their uſurped rights and privileges, and to obſerve faithfully all the laws which they had unjuſtly made, and which they called the fundamental laws of the ſtate. Thus

did

did theſe wicked and abandoned clergy, and theſe tyrannical nobles, inſenſibly reduce their fellow-ſubjects to that ſtate of poverty and abject ſlavery in which they are a preſent, limit the power of the crown, pave the way to independency, and change the form of government from an elective monarchy to an ariſtocracy without controul, the moſt defective and tyrannical of all governments. We muſt look back to this ſource for the great cauſe of all the troubles, civil wars, and revolutions which for two or three centuries paſt have almoſt deſolated this kingdom, and reduced her to the mean and wretched ſituation in which ſhe is at preſent. Diſmembering the provinces of the kingdom, and veſting the ſovereign authority of different diſtricts in different perſons, which was heretofore practiſed by ſeveral kings of Poland, likewiſe contributed greatly to weaken the power of the crown and to increaſe the authority and independency of the nobles and clergy. Whenever there is a number of little independent governments, which are bordering upon ſovereignties, in a ſtate, the government of that ſtate will be always weak and enervated, and as thoſe little governors are generally ſo many tyrants, who are jealous of each other, the ſtate will always be agitated like a troubled ſea, and exhibit a ſcene of confuſion and oppreſſion. This has always been the caſe in Poland, and will continue ſo to be as long as the preſent form of government exiſts in this kingdom; for ſo long as confederacies are tolerated, and there are great numbers of ſlaves ready to obey the confederates, there will always be ambitious and ill-deſigning people enough to keep the government in a conſtant ſcene of confuſion and diſcord. A ſtate in ſuch a ſituation will always be like a general whoſe army is ready to mutiny; he never will be in a condition to defend himſelf againſt an enemy, whilſt his army is in this diſpoſition, neither can a kingdom ſubſiſt whoſe govern-

ment is undermining itſelf. Poland has experienced this great truth; her own diviſions and a vicioufneſs of a part of her inhabitants, who would trample under foot the juſt rights and privileges of the others, have rendered her the prey of her ambitious enemies. In the year 1648, when this ſtate appeared to be very formidable in Europe, her government would have been totally deſtroyed by the Coſacks and Tartars, if thoſe robbers had not quarrelled about their plunder. Charles Guſtavus and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden conquered this kingdom with great facility with a handful of troops, and if they had taken prudent meaſures might have eſtabliſhed what government they thought proper, notwithſtanding the boaſted forces of the nobility; and we have lately ſeen a ſmall body of Ruſſian troops diſperſe all the idle parade of their aſſociations. Though they have always been ſurrounded with enemies, the nobility and clergy would never ſuffer any regular military forces to be maintained and properly diſciplined in the kingdom, fearing that they ſhould be a check upon their illegal meaſures and tyranny: theſe ſons of infamy and rapine would rather ſee their country deſtroyed by the Tartars, Turks, or by any other foreign ſtate, than do juſtice to their injured fellow-creatures and ſubjects: notwithſtanding the brave Sobieſki ſo often ſaved them when they were at the brink of deſtruction, and again placed them upon a reſpectable footing among the other European ſtates, to ſuch a degree of degeneracy and corruption were they then arrived, and ſo great were their diviſions and animoſities againſt each other, that they refuſed the crown to his ſon in order to give it to a ſtranger with whom they were almoſt totally unacquainted; and when Auguſtus, from a principle of generoſity, attempted to reſtore the ſtate to its ancient ſplendor, they joined his enemies to dethrone him, after he had ſhewn his benevolent diſpoſition towards

towards them in the government of the ſtate, and ſpent ſeveral millions to ſave both them and their country from plunder and devaſtation.

This is an exact portrait of the Poliſh nobility and clergy, to whom we may juſtly apply the words of the holy Evangeliſt, "that a kingdom divided againſt itſelf can never ſtand."

FINIS.

I N D E X.

N.B. The Roman Numerals diſtinguiſh the VOLUMES, and the Figures refer to the PAGES.

A.

ABO, peace of, between Ruſſia and Sweden, ii. 223.

Abokam, a Ruſſian archdeacon, becomes the leader of a turbulent ſectary there, ii. 88. Excites the Strelitz guards to ſedition, *ibid.*

Accuſers, falſe, how puniſhed in Poland, ii. 436.

Aland, the iſland of, reduced by the czar Peter, ii. 160.

Alberoni, cardinal, miniſter of Spain; his intrigues with baron de Goertz, the Swediſh miniſter, ii. 164, 169.

Albert, archduke, ſent by Philip II. of Spain, with a large army into the Netherlands, as governor, i. 42. Is defeated by prince Maurice, 44. Takes Oſtend, 45. Offers them peace as free ſtates, 46. Concludes a twelve years truce with the States, 49. Takes Weſel in retaliation for the ſeizure of Juliers, 50. Concludes a peace with the States, 51.

Albert, of Brandenbourg, choſen grand maſter of the Teutonic order, ii. 458. His treaty with Sigiſmund king of Poland, *ibid.*

Albert, of Mecklenbourg, elected king of Sweden, on the expulſion of Magnus Smeck, i. 448. Purſues the like arbitrary ſchemes, 449. Is defeated and taken priſoner by Margaret of Norway, 452. Renounces his claim to obtain his liberty, *ibid.*

Albert Tredenti, of Brandenbourg, receives inveſtiture of the duchy of Pruſſia, from Sigiſmund Auguſtus king of Poland, ii. 465.

Alençon, duke de, invited from France to be governor of the Netherlands, i. 36. Is expelled Antwerp for his haughty violence, *ibid.*

Alexander, duke of Lithuania, elected king of Poland, ii. 454. Unites his two dominions, *ibid.* His death and character, 457.

Alexander Newſki, is made grand duke of Ruſſia, by the Tartar conquerors, ii. 24. Is canonized, and a monaſtery dedicated to him, *ibid.*

Alexis, the ſon of the czar Peter I. marries the daughter of the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, ii. 158. Birth of his ſon Peter, and death of his wife, 163. His education and character, 171. His father's letters to him, 172. Retires to Naples, 174. Returns, and is obliged to renounce the right of ſucceſſion, 175. Is tried and condemned to die, 176. His death, *ibid.* Reflections on his fate, 178. His ſon Peter declared ſucceſſor by the empreſs Catharine, 307.

Alexis Michaelowitz, his acceſſion to the throne of Ruſſia, ii. 77. His marriage, 78. Tyranny of his miniſter Moroſow, *ibid.* He appeaſes a popular tumult againſt Moroſow, 79. His edict againſt the oppreſſions of the nobles, 80. Engages in a war with Poland, *ibid.* Abuſive letters between him and the ſultan Mahomet IV. 81. His prudent government, death, and character, 82.

Alfred the Great, the firſt prince who checked the piracies of the Danes, i. 186.

Altona, account of the Daniſh ſtate lottery there, i. 412.

Alva, duke de, deputed by Philip II. of Spain to attend the conference at Bayonne, i. 16. Is ſent with an army to awe the Netherlands, 20. Succeeds the ducheſs of Parma as governor, 21. Exerts his authority with rigor, *ibid.* Repulſes the prince of Orange, and impoſes freſh taxes, 23. His inhuman victories at Naerden and Haarlem, 26. Is recalled, 27.

Amſterdam, the ſovereign authority in the city of, explained, i. 53. Its revenues,

57. The Jews driven from Antwerp by the duke d'Alva, ſettle there and at Rotterdam, 104. Credit of its bank, how raiſed, 109. Some account of this bank, 110. Natural ſecurity of the city, 117. Great exchange and banking buſineſs carried on there, 125.

Anderſon, chancellor of Sweden, his character, i. 514. His advice to Guſtavus Ericſon reſpecting the clergy, 515. His ſpeech to the aſſembly of the States at Weſteras, 524.

Ann, ducheſs dowager of Courland, ſucceeds to the crown of Ruſſia, ii. 216. Her death and character of her adminiſtration, 218.

Ann Petrowna, daughter of the czar Peter I. is married to the duke of Holſtein, ii. 200. Her death, 215.

Antwerp, the Jews driven from, by the duke d'Alva, ſettle in Amſterdam and Rotterdam, i. 104.

Apraxin, field-marſhal of the Ruſſian army, his miſconduct in Pruſſia, ii. 226.

Arcemboldi, John, the pope's legate, ſent to diſpoſe of indulgences in the north, i. 467. Diſcovers the deſigns of Chriſtian king of Denmark, to the adminiſtrator of Sweden, 468.

Archangel, in Ruſſia, deſcription of that province, ii. 4. Is fortified by the czar Peter, 120. State of exports and imports there, 324.

Arnold, his account of the improvements in Denmark at the beginning of the thirteenth century, i. 198.

Aſoph, is beſieged by the czar Peter, ii. 96. Is a ſecond time beſieged by him and taken, 100. Is ceded to the Pruſſians, 115. Is reſtored to the Turks, 155.

Aſtracan, ſome account of that kingdom, ii. 8. Is conquered from the Tartars by the czar Iwan, 38.

Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, is choſen king of Poland, ii. 518. His alliance with Ruſſia and Denmark againſt Sweden, 519. Is defeated by Charles XII. of Sweden, 521. The cardinal primate pronounces his depoſition, 522. Renews the order of the white eagle, 524. Charles makes himſelf maſter of great part of Saxony, 525. His mean ſubmiſſion, *ibid.* Is reſtored by the battle of Pultawa, 527. Perſecutes the Diſſidents, 528. Stops all proceedings againſt them, 534. His death and character, 535.

Auguſtus, ſon of the preceding, elected king of Poland, ii. 536. Convokes a diet to redreſs grievances, 543. Checks the intended confederacy of count Potocki, 547. Orders a ſenatus conſilium at Frawſtadt, 552. His difference with the pope, 567. His electorate of Saxony ſeized by the king of Pruſſia, 570. Inveſts prince Charles of Saxony with the duchy of Courland, 579. His death, 584.

Auſtria, Don John of, appointed governor of the Netherlands, i. 27. Accedes to the pacification of Ghent, 29. Seizes the caſtle of Namur, *ibid.* Dies, 30.

B.

Bank of Amſterdam, how it acquired its credit, i. 109. Some account of this bank, 110.

Bar, a Poliſh confederacy formed there, under the ſtaroſt of Kraſinſki, ii. 618. Their violent attempts againſt king Staniſlaus Auguſtus, 621.

Barnevelt, his oppoſition to Maurice prince of Orange, i. 136.

Barter, in commerce, not ſufficient to promote circulation and encourage induſtry, without the introduction of ſpecie, i. 96.

Baſil, czar of Ruſſia, intimidates the Crim Tartars into a treaty of peace, ii. 29. Enters into a commercial treaty with England, *ibid.* Engliſh deſcription of his court and power, 30. His treaty of alliance with the emperor Maximilian of Germany, 31. How freed from a diſadvantageous treaty with the kan of the Crim Tartars, 34.

Baſil Suiſki is pardoned for conſpiring againſt Griſcza, the pretended Demetrius, czar of Ruſſia, ii. 61. Forms a new attempt againſt him, *ibid.* Deſtroys him, 62. Is proclamed czar, and takes an oath to obſerve juſtice, 64. A rebellion raiſed againſt him by Andrew Nogoy, 65. Is depoſed, 67. Is made a monk, 68. Is poiſoned in Poland, with all his family, 69.

Batavia. See *Holland.*

Bathow Kan, ravages the Ruſſian empire with an army of Mogul Tartars, ii. 23.

Bayonne, motive of the conference held there, i. 16.

Beſtucheff, chancellor of Ruſſia, diſgraced, ii. 227. Is reſtored, 254.
Bills of Exchange, how introduced into commerce, i. 105.
Birkerett, the code of laws ſo termed, formed in Denmark to check the oppreſſive conduct of the clergy, i. 204.
Biron, John Erneſt, favourite of the czarina Anne, elected duke of Courland, ii. 217. Review of his conduct, 219. Is diſgraced and ſent into Siberia, 220. Is recalled, 233. His manifeſto to the ſtates of Courland, 575. His reſtoration inſiſted on by the empreſs of Ruſſia, 579. His cauſe eſpouſed by the king of Pruſſia, 581. Charles, prince of Saxony, driven from Mittau by Ruſſian troops, 583. His eldeſt ſon receives inveſtiture, 595.
Bohemia, reduced to a province under the kingdom of Poland, ii. 364. Boleſlas obliged to renounce all pretenſions to it, 365. Wenciſlas, king of, elected king of Poland, 417.
Boleſlas, duke of Poland, his prudent government, ii. 363. Receives the title of king from the emperor Otho, 364. Reduces Bohemia to a province, *ibid.* Is forced by the emperor Henry II. to renounce all pretenſions to Bohemia, 365. His war with Ruſſia, *ibid.* Defends Glogaw againſt the emperor, 366. His ſon Mieciſlaw betrayed into the emperor's hands, 367.
Boleſlas, the ſon of Caſimir king of Poland, his wars with the duke of Bohemia, ii. 378. Reduces Pruſſia, 379. His victory over the Hungarians, *ibid.* His expedition into Ruſſia, 380. Conquers the country, 381. Deſertion of his army, 382. His cruel ſeverity againſt the deſerters, 383. Kills the biſhop of Cracow for oppoſing his tyranny, *ibid.* Is excommunicated and flies, 384. His ſon enſnared and poiſoned by Uladiſlas, 386.
Boleſlas, natural ſon of Uladiſlas king of Poland, manifeſtation of his early military talents, ii. 387. Is appointed to the command of the Poliſh army, 389. Gives the Pomeranians a great defeat, *ibid.* Is declared duke of Poland on the death of his father, 390. Takes the town of Belgard, and reduces the Pomeranians to peace, *ibid.* Defeats the emperor Henry V. 393. His victory over the Bohemians, *ibid.* His death and character, 394. Divides his kingdom into four governments among his ſons, *ibid.*
Boleſlas, the ſecond ſon of Boleſlas duke of Poland, the provinces left to him by his father, ii. 395. Is received as duke of Poland on the flight of his brother Uladiſlas, 396. His repreſentation to the emperor Conrad, who eſpouſed his brother's cauſe, 397. Reduces the emperor Frederic to peace, 398. His death and character, 399.
Boleſlas, the ſon of Leſzko duke of Poland, is driven out of his dominions by the Tartars, ii. 410. Is recalled, 411. His death and character, 412.
Boris Godunow, favourite of the czar Theodore, his brutal ambition, ii. 50. Poiſons the czar, 52. Is elected czar, 53. Poiſons himſelf, 58.
Brandenbourg, the marquiſſes of, murder Przemyſlas king of Poland, ii. 416. Beſiege Dantzic, 418. Character of the princes of this houſe, 421. Treaty of Welaw, between the elector of, and John Caſimir king of Poland, 490. See *Pruſſia*.
Brandt, count, accuſation againſt, i. 354. Is apprehended, 355. Alleged cauſe of his condemnation, 360. Secret hiſtory of, 424.
Branicki, count, general of the crown of Poland, oppoſes himſelf to the party of prince Czartorinſki elected marſhal by Ruſſian influence, ii. 592.
Britain and Ruſſia, ſtate of the trade between, ii. 323.
Bruhl, count, fray between his retinue and that of the great treaſurer of Poland, on account of precedence, ii. 540. The diet at Warſaw broken up on his account, 577. Dies, 584.
Bulgarians, antient, converted to the Chriſtian faith, ii. 17.
Burates, ſome account of that people, ii. 13.
Burgo-maſters of Amſterdam, their office and power, i. 55.
Butterlin, field-marſhal, is appointed to the command of the Ruſſian army acting againſt the king of Pruſſia, ii. 230. Is removed by the czar Peter III. 234.

C.

Calmar, the union of, tranſlation of this law, i. 215. Is renewed, 222.

Calumniators, how puniſhed in Poland, ii. 436.
Canute, king of Denmark, obtains the kingdom of England, i. 189. His character and civil regulations, 190.
Canute IV. king of Denmark, renders himſelf odious by his liberality to the clergy, i. 194. His death, 195.
Carlſcroon, ſtate of the Swediſh navy there, i. 665.
Caſimir, prince, ſon of Mieciſlaw II. king of Poland, is left under the guardianſhip of his mother Richſa, ii. 370. Is ſent to Paris for education, 371. Becomes a monk in Italy, 374. Is recalled to be king of Poland, and purchaſes the pope's abſolution, *ibid.* Marries the ſiſter of Jaraſlaw great duke of Ruſſia, 375. Revolt of the palatine Maſos, *ibid.* Is aſſiſted by the emperor Henry III. againſt Prediſlas king of Bohemia, 376. His grants and conceſſions to the clergy, 377. His death and character, *ibid.*
Caſimir, the youngeſt ſon of Boleſlas duke of Poland, is left by his father to the ſupport of his four elder brothers, ii. 395. Is elected duke of Poland, 400. Relieves the farmers from the obligation of entertaining the proprietors of fiefs in their journies, 401. Gains a victory over the Ruſſians, 403. His death and character, 404.
Caſimir, ſon of Uladiſlas Loketek, king of Poland, his father's inſtructions to him on his death-bed, ii. 425. His peace with the Teutonic knights, *ibid.* Grants the Jews peculiar privileges, 427. His wars and reformation of judicial proceedings, 428. Protects the farmers againſt the oppreſſions of their lords, 429. His vices, 430. His death and character, 431.
Caſimir, duke of Lithuania, ſucceeds his brother Uladiſlas as king of Poland, ii. 447. His conteſts with the Poles for the independency of Lithuania, *ibid.* Protects the Pruſſians againſt the Teutonic knights, 449. Spirited remonſtrance to him in the diet at Petrikow, *ibid.* His death and character, 452.
Caſimir, John, elected king of Poland, ii. 488. His wars with the Coſſacks, 489. His treaty at Welaw with the elector of Brandenbourg, 490. How he acquired the title of orthodox king, 492. Reſigns his crown, 496. Retires to a monaſtery in France, 498. His character, *ibid.*
Caſſius Longinus, the Roman general, is defeated by the Germans, i. 154.
Catherine, a Livonian captive, is married by Peter the Great, czar of Ruſſia, ii. 122. Her marriage publicly declared, 146. Her character, 147. Attends the czar in his Turkiſh campaign, 149. Reſcues him and his army from the diſtreſſed ſituation the Turks had reduced him to, 153. Accompanies the czar in his ſouthern tour, 164. The right of ſucceſſion conferred on her ſon Peter, 175. Is exculpated from the charge of cauſing the death of Alexis, 178. Is crowned, 199. Succeeds to the crown on the death of Peter, 201. The firſt acts of her government, 206. Declares Peter Alexiowitz her ſucceſſor, 207. Her death, 208. Her teſtament, *ibid.* Her character, 211.
Catherine Alexiowna of Anhalt Zerbſt, married to Peter Foedorowitz, great duke of Ruſſia, ii. 224. A coolneſs obſerved between her and her huſband, *ibid.* Is delivered of a ſon named Paul Petrowitz, 225. Receives the lands of the late empreſs Elizabeth, on the acceſſion of her huſband, 233. Peter determines to divorce her, 243. Forms a party who declare her ſole empreſs of all the Ruſſias, 245. Her manifeſto, 247. Death of Peter, 251. Reflections on this Revolution, *ibid.* Is crowned at Moſcow, 254. The firſt acts of her government, 257. Undertakes the eſtabliſhment of a new code of laws, 258. Objections to her plan, 259. Her conduct toward the archbiſhop of Roſtow who had libelled her, 264. Forms a defenſive alliance with the king of Pruſſia, 267. Death of prince Iwan, 269. Her conduct on this occaſion, *ibid.* Her declarations and conduct on the conteſted election of a king of Poland, 271. Sends forces to influence the election in favour of count Poniatowſki, 273. Annexes all church lands to the crown, and aſſigns penſions to the clergy, 274. Her memorial to the Poliſh diet relating to the Diſſidents, 277. Her miniſter prince Repnin violates the freedom of the diet, 280. Her troops attacked by the Poles, 283. Her miniſter at Conſtantinople arreſted, 285. Her anſwer to the Turkiſh declaration

claration of war, 286. Her acquiſitions by the Turkiſh war, 288.
Charlemagne, erects Flanders into a county, and gives forefter the title of count, i. 4. Repulſes the Danes, 185.
Charles V. emperor of Germany, his gentle government of the Netherlands, i. 10.
Charles Canutſon elected king of Sweden, i. 227. Is expelled by Chriſtian king of Denmark, 231, 460. Is taken priſoner, 462. Is reſtored, 463.
Charles Guſtavus, his acceſſion to the crown of Sweden by the reſignation of queen Chriſtina, I. 545. His war againſt Poland, *ibid.* And Denmark, 546.
Charles XI. king of Sweden, his army in Germany defeated, i. 546. His ill ſucceſs againſt the Danes, 547. Reforms the ill adminiſtration of his government, 548. Suppreſſes the ſenate, 549. New models his adminiſtration, 550. His arbitrary means of recovering crown lands, 553. Regulates the militia, 554, 661. Is rendered abſolute by conceſſions of the ſtates, 555. Reviſes the laws, 557. Impoveriſhes his ſubjects to amaſs wealth, 558.
Charles XII. of Sweden, his acceſſion, i. 559. Combination of the neighbouring princes to ruin him, 560. His unexpected magnanimity, *ibid.* Reduces Denmark to peace, 561. Defeats the czar Peter at Narva, 562. His ſucceſſes in Poland, 564. Defeats Auguſtus, 565. Depoſes Auguſtus, 566. Defeats the czar again, 568. Is defeated by Peter at Pultawa, 570. His conduct in Turkey, 573. Returns to Sweden, 576. His new ſchemes, 578. Concludes peace with Ruſſia, 580. His expedition to Norway, 581. His death and character, 582.
Charles, prince of Saxony, is elected duke of Courland, ii. 572. His pretenſions oppoſed by the return of Biron from exile in Siberia, 575. The empreſs of Ruſſia inſiſts on Biron's reſtoration 579. Declaration of the king of Pruſſia againſt him, 581. Is driven from Mittau by Ruſſian troops, 583. Offers to reſign his pretenſions to Courland if Ruſſia would aſſiſt the elector his brother to obtain the kingdom of Poland, 585.
China, and Ruſſia, a treaty concluded between, ii. 94. Hiſtory of the trade with, 183. New treaty with, 185.
Chmielnicki, Bogdan, the Coſſack, his cruel treatment by Jatinſki the Poliſh governor of Czeſizin, ii. 486. Is made general of the Coſſacks, and ravages Poland, 487. Puts himſelf under the protection of Ruſſia, 490.
Choczim, taken from the Turks by marſhal Munich, ii. 218. Battle of, between John Sobieſki and the Turks, ii. 504.
Chriſtian of Oldenburg elected king of Denmark, i. 227. Articles of capitulation ſigned by him, 229. Is accepted by the Norwegians for their king, 231. Acquires the crown of Sweden, *ibid.* Is elected duke of Sleſwic and count of Holſtein, 232. Erects Copenhagen into a univerſity, 235. His death and character, *ibid.*
Chriſtian II. of Denmark, his education and character, i. 241. Marries the ſiſter of the emperor Charles V. 244. Eſtabliſhes a number of regular troops, 245. His tyrannical conduct, 246. His commercial regulations, 248. Sweden ſubmits to him, *ibid.* His chief miniſters, 249. Cuts off the principal Swediſh nobility, 252. His laws, 256. Prohibits eccleſiaſtics from holding lands, 257. His law againſt plundering ſhipwrecks, 258. Jutland revolts againſt him, 261. His precipitate flight, 265. His cruel impriſonment, 269. Ineffectual attempt for his reſtoration, 276. His wars with Sweden, 465.
Chriſtian III. king of Denmark, his tumultuous election, i. 279. Deſtroys the power of the biſhops, and encourages the proteſtant religion, 283. Norway annexed to the crown of Denmark, 288.
Chriſtianity, how firſt ſpread over Europe, i. 6. Churches endowed, and a ſettled maintenance for the clergy eſtabliſhed, 7.
Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, her acceſſion, i. 544. Reſigns the government, 545.
Chriſtophle II. king of Denmark, his tyrannical reign, i. 206.
Chriſtophle of Bavaria, elected king of Denmark on the excluſion of Eric, i. 224. Acquires Norway and Sweden, 225. His dying declaration, 226.
Cimbria, antient, the provinces comprehended under that name, i. 151. The Romans diſturbed by an irruption of, 152. Are unexpectedly attacked by the conſul Papirius

Papirius Carbo, 153. Their repeated ſucceſſes againſt the Romans, 154. Are defeated by the conſul Marius, 158. Traditionary account of king Wodin, 160. Motive of their deſtroying the weſtern empire, 165.

Climate, its natural influence on commerce, i. 87.

Colberg, is beſieged by the Ruſſians, but is reſcued by the Pruſſian general Werner, ii. 230. Is again beſieged and taken by general Romanzow, *ibid.*

Combat, judicial, the origin of, i. 183.

Commerce, definition and characters of, i. 85. Balance of, how produced, 86. Particular branches of, how properly to be choſen, 87. Sumptuary laws, deſtructive to, and ineffectual among a rich people, 92. Excluſive privileges to particular companies prejudicial to the general commerce of a ſtate, 93. The fewer hands any branch paſſes through, the better, 94. A preference of foreign commodities injurious to a country, 95. The proper uſes of ſpecie in, 96. The produce of mines only a branch of, 98. Agriculture and labour properly directed the ſureſt ſupports of, *ibid.* The prices of commodities regulated by the quantity and the demand, 99. Depends greatly on the conſtitution and government of a ſtate, 101. The general principles of in republics, 102. Republics eſtabliſhed by the oppreſſion and tyranny of monarchies, 103. Bills of exchange, how introduced into, 105.

Commodities, the prices of, how regulated, i. 99.

Confederacies in Poland, the nature of thoſe aſſociations explained, ii. 492, 631, 637.

Conrad, duke of Mazovia, aſſumes the regency of Poland, during the minority of Boleſlas the ſon of Leſzko, ii. 408. Calls the knights of the Teutonic order to aſſiſt him againſt the Pruſſians, *ibid.* His agreement with them, 409.

Copenhagen, the univerſity of, founded, i. 235. Learning, how diſcouraged there, 376.

Coſſacks of the Ukraine, are formed under a regular government by Stephen Battori king of Poland, ii. 471. Their war with the Tartars, 473. Pretend to a right of voting at the election of a king of Poland, 482. Are oppreſſed and take arms, 484, 486. Ravage Poland under the conduct of Bogdan Chmielnicki, 487. Put themſelves under the protection of Ruſſia, 490. Invade Poland, 494. Are defeated by John Sobieſki, 495.

Council of ſtate in the United Provinces, how formed, and its proper buſineſs, i. 62.

Courland, brief account of that duchy, ii. 348. The nobility of, impowered to elect their own duke, 538. John Erneſt Biron, elected duke of, 539. Prince Lewis of Brunſwick Lunebourg elected duke on the exile of Biron, 549. The ſtates of, deſire prince Charles of Saxony for their duke, 571. Manifeſto of Biron on his return from Siberia, 575. Biron's reſtoration inſiſted on by the empreſs of Ruſſia, 579. Charles driven out by Ruſſian troops, 583.

Cracow, ſhort account of that town, ii. 347. By whom founded, 351. Is elected into an archbiſhopric, 361. The biſhop of, aſſaſſinated at the altar, by king Boleſlas, 383.

Cracus, is elected ſovereign of Poland, ii. 350. Founds the city of Cracow, 351.

Culm, the territory of, ceded to the Teutonic knights by Conrad regent of Poland, ii. 409.

Cuſtrin, in Pruſſia, taken by the Ruſſian general Fermer, ii. 227.

Czar, how this title was gained by the grand duke of Ruſſia, ii. 23, 35.

Czartoriſki, prince Adam, choſen marſhal of the Poliſh diet by the Ruſſian party, ii. 592. Goes to Rome to notify the election of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, 579. Returns with a brief for the regulation of eccleſiaſtical affairs, 598.

D.

Dalecarlia, an inſurrection raiſed there againſt Chriſtian II. by Guſtavus Vaſa, i. 254, 491. Revolt there by the clergy, 531.

Dambrowcka, princeſs, daughter of Boleſlas duke of Bohemia, marries Mieciſlaw king of Poland on condition of his receiving the Chriſtian religion, ii. 359.

Dantzic, the caſtle of, founded by Valdemar I. king of Denmark, i. 197. Some account of that city, ii. 347. Is ſeized by the Teutonic knights, 418. Revolts againſt Stephen Battori king of Poland, but is reduced

reduced by Mark Sobieski, 470. Obtains the right of voting for the election of a king, 482. Disturbance there, 562. Account of the trade of that city, 646. Remarks on the king of Prussia's conduct to that city, 648.

Demetrius III. czar of Russia, defeats an army of Tartars who invade his dominions, ii. 27.

Demetrius, son of the czar Iwan IV. is killed by Boris Godunow, ii. 51. Is personated by Griscza Utrepiou, 56. His mother Mary acknowledges Griscza to be her son, 58. His body taken up and exhibited, 64. Another Demetrius appears, 65.

Denmark, the provinces of which this kingdom is composed, i. 146. Was first peopled by colonies of Scythians, 151. Expeditions of the Cimbri, 152. Is subdued by Wodin, whose son Sciold was the first king, 163. The ancient form of government there, as described by Tacitus, 167. Pecuniary compensations for offences, 181. The judicial combat, 183. Modes of trial by the judgment of God, *ibid.* Piracies on the coasts of England, 184. Extensive ravages committed by the Danes, 185. Their method of making war and fighting, 186. Gorman the first king who formed any civil regulations there, 187. The Christian religion received, *ibid.* But gives way to the profession of piracy, 188. Canute obtains the crown of England, 189. Forms a code of laws for Denmark, 190. Treaty between Hardy Canute and Magnus king of Norway, 193. Great donations made to the clergy by Canute IV. 194. His death, 195. Valdemar I. his wise government, 196. The feudal law admitted into, 197. Improvements of the country in the beginning of the thirteenth century, 198. Valdemar II. his prudent establishments, 199. The Jutland code of laws formed, 200. The Birkerett code of laws made to check the oppression of the people by the clergy, 204. A code formed for Livonia, 206. Means used by Christophle II. to acquire the crown, 207. His tyrannical conduct, 209. Succession of the crown to Margaret queen of Norway, 211. Who gains also the sovereignty of Sweden, 213. Translation of the law called the Union of Calmar, 215. Death of Margaret, 219. The Union of Calmar renewed under Eric, 222. Eric expelled for his tyranny, 224. Christian of Oldenburg elected king by the diet at Roschild, 227. Articles of capitulation signed by him, 229. Is accepted as king by the Norwegians, 231. University of Copenhagen founded, 235. Accession of John, the son of Christian, to the three kingdoms, 236. A treaty of commerce formed with England, 238. Rebellion in Norway, 240. Education and character of Christian II. 241. Regular troops established, 246. A rebellion in Dalecarlia, 254. New laws published by Christian, 256. Ecclesiastics prohibited to hold lands, 257. Wrecks not to be plundered, 258. The bishops remonstrate against the law for the security of wrecks, 260. Insurrection in Jutland, 261. Precipitate flight of Christian, 265. Frederic duke of Holstein proclaimed king, 266. The reformed religion favoured, 270. Confusions relating to the succession, 272. Election of Christian III. 279. The power of the bishops destroyed, and the protestant religion encouraged, 283. Norway annexed to the crown, 288. Invasion of the kingdom by Charles Gustavus king of Sweden, 293. Tyranny of the nobles, *ibid.* The crown made hereditary, 296. Translation of this act, 298. Form of government after this revolution, 317. Present code of Danish laws, 321. The several kinds of jurisdiction, *ibid.* Criminal processes, 325. Revenues of the ecclesiastics, 330. The farmers released from slavery, 335. Public care taken of the education of children, 340. Laws respecting the marine, 342. Laws concerning contracts, and successions, 347. Laws regarding crimes and punishments, 352. Narrative of the proceedings against the counts Struensee and Brandt, 354. The courts of justice reformed, 362. Manners of the Danes, 367. Their fondness for nominal distinctions, 368. Titular orders of nobility, 370. Classes of the inhabitants, 373. The chief offices of state bestowed on foreigners, 374. The clergy and lawyers, 376. Wretched slavery of the common people, 379. The country well situated for commerce, 381. Trade checked by the despotism of the government, 381. Cruel treatment of the farmers,

mers, 382. Bad ſtate of manufacturers, 384. Cauſe of this evil, 385. State of the commerce of the ſeveral provinces, 387. Trading companies, 389. The currency there, 391. The board of finances, how compoſed, 393. Whence the crown revenues ariſe, *ibid.* Taxes, 394. Capitation-tax how proportioned, 395. Taxes on exportation and importation, 396. Exciſe, *ibid.* Tax on marriages, 397. Stamps, 398. Amount of the revenues, 399. Regular forces and militia, 400. Government of the army, 403. The naval force of the kingdom, 405. The ſeamen, 406. Marine academy, 407. Admiralty board, 408. Military regulations in time of war, 410. The expences of the preſent king's late journey how raiſed, 411. Event of the ſtate lottery at Altona, 412. Cauſes of the revolutions in this kingdom traced, 413. Conſequences of the ſecond marriage of Frederic V. 420. Intrigues of the queen dowager, 421.

Derbent, is conquered from the Perſians by Peter the Great, ii. 197.

Derpt, the town of, taken by ſtratagem from the Swedes, by czar Peter, ii. 125.

De Witt, penſioner, cauſes of the inſurrection againſt him, i. 137.

Diet of Poland, the conſtitution of, explained, ii. 628.

Diſſidents, when this term firſt occurs in the Poliſh hiſtory, ii. 467. Speech of Tirley, great marſhal of the crown, at the coronation of Henry duke of Anjou, 468. The perſecution againſt them renewed, 529. Petition of, to king Staniſlas Auguſtus, 598. Memorial from Ruſſia in their favour, 599. Articles agreed to in their behalf, 601, 603. Their preſent ſituation, 644.

Dolgorowki, the family of, procure the diſgrace of prince Mentzikoff, ii. 212. They meditate the undoing of every thing effected by Peter the Great, 214. They are ſent into exile by the empreſs Anne, 216.

D'Oſterman, count, procures Anne ducheſs dowager of Courland, to be elected empreſs of Ruſſia, and becomes her prime miniſter, ii. 216.

Duels, the preſent law of Sweden, concerning, i. 628.

E.

Echevins, in the city of Amſterdam, their number and office, i. 56.

Egmont, count, ſent to Spain to repreſent the grievances of the Flemiſh provinces, i. 16. Withdraws from the councils of the confederate lords, 19. Is ſeized by Alva, 21. Is executed at Bruſſels, 22.

Elbing, the town of, with the Swediſh magazines, taken by the czar Peter, ii. 143.

Elizabeth, queen of England, gives indirect ſupport to the United Provinces, i. 38. Is offered the ſovereignty of them, 39. Sends the earl of Leiceſter to aſſiſt them, 40. Commands him to reſign his government, *ibid.* Sends an ambaſſador to Ruſſia, ii. 39.

Elizabeth Petrowna, declared empreſs of Ruſſia, ii. 221. The firſt acts of her government, *ibid.* Declares her nephew Peter Foedorowitz her ſucceſſor, 222. Peace of Abo with Sweden, 223. Engages in a war with Pruſſia, 225. Her death and character, 231.

Elſenor, the fortreſs of, built by Eric, i. 220.

Eric V. king of Denmark, publiſhes the Birkerett code of laws to check the oppreſſions of the people by the clergy, i. 204.

Eric VI. king of Denmark, his legiſlative acts, i. 206.

Eric VII. the ſon of Wratiſlas duke of Pomerania, his ſucceſſion to the crowns of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, i. 212. The union of Calmar, 215. Death of queen Margaret, 219. His embarraſſments, 220. Renewal of the union of Calmar, 222. Is expelled from Denmark for his tyranny, 224. Loſes Sweden and Norway, 225, 540.

Ethelred, king of England, purchaſes peace of the piratical Danes, i. 189.

Eudoxia Lapukin, married to Peter I. czar of Ruſſia, ii. 92. Is divorced and confined in a convent, 99. Cauſes of this treatment, 171. Fate of her ſon Alexis, 175, 176. Is ſet at liberty by her grandſon Peter II. 214.

Europe, the ancient military eſtabliſhments in, i. 127. How altered, 128.

Exchange, bills of, how introduced into commerce, i. 105.

F.

F.

Fermer, the Ruſſian general, his ſucceſſes in Pruſſia, ii. 227. Declines farther ſervice, *ibid.* Is reſtored to his command by Peter III. 234.

Feudal law, when firſt admitted into Denmark, i. 197.

Fiefs, the origin of, in Poland, ii. 354. Tyranny of the proprietors of, 400.

Finland, is reduced by the Ruſſians under prince Gallitzin, ii. 159.

Fioni, the iſland of, in Denmark, deſcribed, i. 147.

Flanders. See Netherlands.

Fleming, baron, made preſident of the Swediſh college for the reduction of the crown lands, i. 552. His arbitrary acts, 553. Is appointed preſident of the treaſury, 554.

Foreſter of Flanders, the hereditary office of, appointed, i. 3. This title altered by Charlemagne into that of count, 4.

France, intrigues of the court of, to check the Ruſſian power, i. 592. The inhabitants of, continually emigrating, 643.

Frawſtadt, articles agreed on in the ſenatus conſilium held there, ii. 552.

Frederic, duke of Holſtein, is offered the crown of Denmark by the Malcontents of Jutland, i. 261. Arrives in Jutland, where he is proclaimed king, 266. Terms of his admiſſion, *ibid.* Favours the reformation, 270.

Frederic III. king of Denmark, reduces the exorbitant power of the nobles, i. 291. The crown made hereditary in his family by a formal act, 295. Tranſlation of this act, 298. Form of government after this revolution, 317. His chamber of rarities how impoveriſhed, 377.

Frederic IV. king of Denmark, delivers the Daniſh peaſants from their ſlaviſh condition, i. 335. The full effect of this intention how fruſtrated, *ibid.* Eſtabliſhes a marine academy, 407.

Frederic V. king of Denmark, meaſures taking by him for the reformation of judicial proceedings, i. 362. His codes of laws, 364. His endeavours to improve the manufactures of the country, 384. Theſe intentions fruſtrated by his favourite miniſter, 385. Bad conſequences of his ſecond marriage, 420.

Frederic, of Heſſe Caſſel, prince, married to the princeſs Ulrica Eleonora of Sweden, i. 576. His acceſſion to the crown of that kingdom, 585. Limitations of his power, 586. Origin of the hat and cap parties, 591. His intrigues with the French court, 593. His death, 594.

Fredericſhall, in Norway, is beſieged by Charles XII. of Sweden, i. 581. Charles killed there, 582.

Frizeland, the conſtitution of that province, i. 69.

G.

Gagarin, prince of, governor of Siberia, is beheaded for extortions that oppreſſed the Ruſſian trade to China, ii. 184.

Gallitzin, prince Baſil, his great power under the regent princeſs Sophia of Ruſſia, ii. 87. Diſperſes the Strelitz guards in different provinces, 87, 91. His unſucceſsful expedition into Crim Tartary, 91. His ſecond expedition into Tartary, 92. Conſpires againſt the life of Peter, and is exiled, 93.

George I. king of Great Britain, is informed of the ſchemes of the baron de Gortz by the duke of Orleans, ii. 166.

Ghent, the treaty called the pacification of, i. 28.

Glogaw, the town of, defended by Boleſlas king of Poland, againſt the Germans, ii. 366. Siege of by the emperor Henry V. 392.

Gneſna, in Poland, the town of, founded, ii. 350. Is erected into an archbiſhopric, 361. Is taken by Prediſlas duke of Bohemia, who demands the body of St. Adalbert, 372.

Gninſki, palatine of Culm, his embaſſy from John Sobieſki, king of Poland, to the grand ſignior, ii. 507.

Gorman, the firſt king of Denmark who eſtabliſhed any civil regulation, i. 187.

Gortz, baron, miniſter to Charles XII. of Sweden, his negociations, i. 578. His treaty with the czar Peter, 580. ii. 164. Is beheaded at Stockholm, 169.

Goths, how converted to Chriſtianity, i. 6. Extended the Chriſtian religion over ſeveral parts of Europe, *ibid.* Made a ſettled maintenance for the clergy by endowments of lands to churches, 7.

Gottenburg, ſome account of that town, i. 437. Eaſt India Company there, 657.

Government, its influence upon commerce, i. 101.
Granowſki, Raphael, great general of Poland, his barbarous behaviour at an aſſembly of the ſtates to intimidate king Lewis, ii. 435.
Granvelle, cardinal, oppreſſes the Flemings by inquiſitorial authority, i. 15. Is recalled, *ibid.*
Greek church, the monaſtic ſocieties in, checked by the czar Peter, ii. 192.
Gregory VII. pope, excommunicates and depoſes Boleſlas king of Poland, ii. 384. Takes his interdict from the kingdom, 385.
Griſcza Utrepiou, pretends to be prince Demetrius ſon of the czar Iwan, ii. 56. Is patronized in Poland, 57. Is proclaimed czar by the army, 59. Combinations againſt him, 60. Ruins himſelf by pardoning Baſil Suiſki, 61. Is killed by Baſil's party, 62. Reflections on his caſe, 63.
Groningen, the conſtitution of that province, i. 70.
Guſtavus the reigning king of Sweden, ſtate of parties at his acceſſion, i. 594. Articles of capitulation ſworn to by him, 596. The act eſtabliſhing his preſent model of government, 600.
Guſtavus Adolphus, his acceſſion to the crown of Sweden, and wars, i. 543. His ſucceſſes in Germany, and death, 544.
Guſtavus Ericſon, defeats the archbiſhop of Upſal, i. 470. Is delivered as a hoſtage to Chriſtian king of Denmark, and eſcapes his treachery, 475. Endeavours in vain to excite the Swedes to arms againſt Chriſtian, 481. Takes refuge in Dalecarlia, 487. Raiſes an inſurrection there, 491. The Daniſh troops retire before him to Stockholm, 493. Gains Weſteras the capital of Weſtermania, 495. Takes Upſal, 496. Defeats the archbiſhop, 498. Lays ſiege to Stockholm, 499. Aſſembles the ſtates, *ibid.* Is choſen adminiſtrator, 500. Is aſſiſted with a fleet from Lubeck on certain ſtipulations, 501. His ſucceſſes againſt the Daniſh fleet, 502. Is choſen king by an aſſembly of the ſtates, 505. Stockholm capitulates, 506. His treatment of the Daniſh ambaſſador, 508. Sends an envoy to Denmark, 509. Reſolves to reduce the power of the clergy, 511. His interview and league with Frederic king of Denmark, 512. His motives for deferring his coronation, 513. Explains himſelf to his chancellor Anderſon, 514. Encourages the reformation, 517. Abridges the clerical power, 518. His reply to the remonſtrance of the biſhops, 520. Seizes part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues, 523. His ſpeech to the aſſembly of the ſtates at Weſteras, 526. Effectually reduces the power and wealth of the clergy, 530. His prudent conduct on the revolt in Dalecarlia, 532. Profeſſes the Lutheran religion, 534. Marries, 536. His defenſive league with France, 537. Procures an act to ſettle the crown in his family, 538. His teſtamentary diſpoſition of his dominions, 539. His death and character, 540.

H.

Haarlem, is reduced by the duke d'Alva, and his barbarous uſe of his victory, i. 27.
Hardy Canute king of Denmark, his treaty with Magnus king of Norway, i. 193.
Harold II. king of Denmark, his peace with the emperor Otho I. and converſion to Chriſtianity, i. 188.
Hedwige, ſecond daughter of Lewis king of Hungary and Poland, is called into Poland to oppoſe the pretenſions of Sigiſmund marquis of Brandenburgh, ii. 435. Marries Jagellon duke of Lithuania, 436. Her death, 437.
Henry duke of Anjou, elected king of Poland, ii. 466. Agrees to the Pacta Conventa, 467. Leaves Poland abruptly, on ſucceeding to the crown of France, 469.
Henry II. emperor of Germany, his wars with Boleſlas king of Poland, ii. 365.
Henry III. emperor, aſſiſts Caſimir king of Poland againſt Prediſlas king of Bohemia, ii. 376.
Henry III. of France, ſends his brother the duke d'Alençon to the aſſiſtance of the United Provinces, i. 36.
Henry IV. of France, enters into a league with the United Provinces, i. 41. Forms an alliance with the States, 49.
Henry V. emperor, his ineffectual ſiege of Glogaw, ii. 392.

Henry VII. of England, forms a treaty of commerce with John king of Denmark, i. 238.
Holberg, baron de, his account of the manners of the Danes, i. 367.
Holland, its firſt ſettlement, i. 4. Account of appointed, *ibid.* Is ſeized by the prince of Orange, 25. Conſtitution of that province, 53. State of the trade with Ruſſia, ii. 325. See United Provinces.
Holſtein, the duchy of, in Denmark, deſcribed, i. 147. Is acquired by Chriſtian king of Denmark, 232. State of agriculture and trade there, 390.
Hungarians, antient, ravage Ruſſia, and impoſe a tribute on the inhabitants, ii. 17. Ravage Poland, 351. Are driven out by Przemyſlas, 352.
Hungary, is erected into a kingdom by the pope, ii. 362. Andrew the uſurper killed, and Bela elected king, 379. Lewis king of, ſucceeds to the crown of Poland, 432.

J.

Jagellon, duke of Lithuania, marries the princeſs Hedwige created queen of Poland, and receives the Chriſtian religion, ii. 436. Is acknowledged king on the death of his wife, and marries the daughter of the late king Caſimir, 437. Refuſes the crown of Bohemia, *ibid.* His ſignal victory over the Teutonic knights, 440. Converts his Lithuanian ſubjects to Chriſtianity, 441. Is ill-treated by the diet, *ibid.* His death and character, 442.
Jaroſlaw, the ſurviving ſon of Wladimir, reduces Lithuania under the Ruſſian government, ii. 21. Publiſhes the firſt code of eccleſiaſtical laws, 22.
Jatinſki, the Poliſh governor of Czeſizin, his brutal treatment of the Coſſack Chmielnicki, ii. 486.
Iceland, deſcription of the country and inhabitants, i. 150. Is ſettled by a colony of Norwegians, 175. Form of government eſtabliſhed there, 176.
Jeremiah, patriarch of Conſtantinople, conſecrates the primate of Ruſſia an independent patriarch, ii. 49.
Jermak, a Coſſack, made prince of Siberia by the czar Theodore, ii. 49.
Jews, acquire peculiar privileges in Poland, ii. 427. Capitation-tax on, 492. Are expelled from Kaminiec, 561. From Warſaw and Lithuania, 562.
Igor, the ſon of Ruric, prince of Ruſſia, acquires the province of Kiovia, ii. 16. His method of chuſing a wife, 17. Beſieges Conſtantinople, and impoſes a tribute on the emperor of the Eaſt, 18. His expedition into Aſia Minor, *ibid.* Is killed, 19.
Inquiſition, the authority of, introduced into the Netherlands, i. 12. The enforcement of, ordered by Philip II. of Spain, 17.
Inquiſition ſecret, in Ruſſia, account of the proceedings of that tribunal, ii. 294. Was aboliſhed by Peter III. 295.
Job, primate of Ruſſia, inveſted with the dignity of an independent patriarch, ii. 49. Elects Boris Godunow czar, 53.
John, the ſon of Chriſtian I. acknowledged king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, by the diet at Helmſtadt, i. 236. Makes a treaty of commerce with Henry VII. king of England, 238. Suppreſſes a rebellion in Norway, 240.
John III. king of Sweden, his wars and death, i. 541.
John Albert king of Poland, his character, ii. 452.
Iron, the ſtaple commodity of Sweden, i. 651.
Judgment of God, original of the modes of trial by, i. 183.
Judicial combat, the origin of, i. 183.
Juliers, the town of, ſeized by the States of the United Provinces, i. 50.
Jutland, code of laws compoſed and eſtabliſhed for, i. 200. Revolt of, againſt Chriſtian II. of Denmark, 261. The conſpirators ſend him a formal act of depoſition, 263.
Iwan Baſiliewitz, czar of Ruſſia, marries the grand-daughter of Emanuel II. emperor of Conſtantinople, ii. 27. Takes Moſcow, and drives the Tartars out of his dominions, 28. Reduces Novogorod, and the kingdom of Kaſan, *ibid.*
Iwan Danielowitz is made grand duke of Ruſſia by the Mogul Tartars, ii. 26.
Iwan, the ſon of Baſil, is the firſt prince of Ruſſia, who was proclaimed czar of all the Ruſſias, and who wore a crown, ii. 35. His revenge on the heads of a revolt in his army, 36. Anecdote of his rewarding

hoſpitality and puniſhing the violators of it, 37. Recovers Kaſan and Aſtracan from the Tartars, 38. His reception of the ambaſſador from queen Elizabeth, 39. Is affronted by the Poles, 40. His treatment of Livonia, 41, 42. Account of the unhappy death of his ſon, 43. His death and character, 45. His code of laws, *ibid.*

Iwan, brother of the czar Peter, why ſet aſide from ſucceeding to the crown of Ruſſia, ii. 84. Is aſſociated with Peter and Sophia, 86. Is married to the daughter of Soltikoff, 87. Dies, 99.

Iwan, infant ſon to the princeſs of Brunſwic, is declared ſucceſſor to the Ruſſian empire by the empreſs Anne, ii. 219. The whole power of government enjoyed by his guardian Biron, *ibid.* He and his parents arreſted and impriſoned by Elizabeth Petrowna, who mounts the throne, 221. Endures a long impriſonment in the caſtle of Schluſſelbourg, 268. His death, 269. Reflections on this event, *ibid.*

K.

Kamſkatka, ſome deſcription of that country, ii. 13, 276.

Kaſan, the kingdom of, reduced to the Ruſſian dominion by Iwan Baſiliewitz, ii. 28. The Ruſſian governor of, outwits the Kan of the Tartars, 34.

Kettler, Godhard, grand maſter of the Teutonic order, his treaty with the king of Poland, ii. 464. Receives inveſtiture of the duchy of Courland, 470. His death, 473.

King, the mutual obligations between him and his ſubjects, ii. 438.

Kio, the metropolis of the Ukraine, great antiquity of, ii. 7.

Kolo, the nature of that military council in Poland explained, ii. 563.

Koningſburg in Pruſſia, taken by the Ruſſian general Fermer, ii. 227.

Kovanſki, a Ruſſian noble, inſtigates a revolt of the Strelitz guards againſt the princeſs Sophia and her favourite Gallitzin, ii. 89. Is put to death by Sophia, 90.

Kouli Kan, meditates hoſtilities againſt Ruſſia, but conſents to a peace, ii. 223.

L.

Ladoga, the canal and town of, founded, ii. 182.

Laland, and Falſter, the iſlands of, in Denmark, deſcribed, i. 147.

Lapland, Daniſh, deſcription of the country and inhabitants, i. 149. Ruſſian, ſome account of, ii. 5.

Leck, the Sclavonian chief, founds the town of Gneſna in Poland, ii. 350.

Lefort, a Swiſs officer in the Ruſſian ſervice, acquires the confidence of the young czar Peter, ii. 88. Forms a company of cadets for the eſtabliſhment of military diſcipline, 95. Commands the fleet at the ſiege of Aſoph, 100. Attends the czar in his travels, 104. Dies, 110.

Leiceſter, earl of, ſent over from England, and made governor of the United Provinces, i. 40. Is ordered by Elizabeth to reſign his government, *ibid.*

Leſzek, his fraudulent ſcheme to gain the kingdom of Poland, ii. 353. Is killed for his artifice, *ibid.*

Leſzko II. how he attained the kingdom of Poland, ii. 353. His character, 354.

Leſzko III. king of Poland, the principal actions of his reign, ii. 354. Introduces fiefs into that country, *ibid.*

Leſzko, the ſon of Caſimir, elected duke of Poland, ii. 404. The poſſeſſion diſputed with him by Mieciſlaw, the depoſed duke, 405. His memorable victory over the Ruſſians, 407. Is aſſaſſinated, 408. His character, *ibid.*

Leſzko, grandſon of Conrad duke of Mazovia, is named by Boleſlas his ſucceſſor in the dukedom of Poland, ii. 412. His wars with the Ruſſians, Tartars, and Lithuanians, 414. His death, and character of his government, 415.

Lewis king of Hungary, is nominated to ſucceed to the crown of Poland, ii. 426. Diſguſts the Poles and returns to Hungary, 432. Cedes the province of Sileſia to Sigiſmund marquis of Brandenbourg, *ibid.* His compromiſe with the Poles, the origin of the ſubſequent ariſtocratical government, 433. His diſadvantageous peace with the Lithuanians, 434. He diſmembers ſome provinces bordering on Hungary, *ibid.* His treatment for this act, by Granowſki great general of the crown, 435.

Acknowleges Sigiſmund as his ſucceſſor in Poland, and ſends him to govern that nation in his name, *ibid.* Dies, *ibid.*
Leyden, ſiege of, by Requiſenes, i. 27.
Liſſa, the town of, in Poland, deſtroyed by the Ruſſians, ii. 526.
Lithuania, ſome account of that province, ii. 348. Is erected into a kingdom by the pope, 412. Peace concluded with, by Lewis king of Hungary and Poland, 434. Jagellon, duke of, marries the princeſs Hedwige, and is converted to the Chriſtian religion, 436. The natives converted, 441. Caſimir, duke of, elected king of Poland, 447. Revolt of, 449. Alexander, duke of, elected king of Poland, 454. Union of, with Poland, *ibid.* Final ſettlement of this union, 465. Polock reduced by Stephen Battori, 472. Confederacy of, under prince Radzivil, 611.
Livonia, a code of laws formed for, by Eric VI. king of Denmark, i. 206. Account of that province, ii. 2. Is reduced to the Ruſſian empire by the grand duke Jaroſlaw, 21. Is granted to Magnus duke of Holſtein, 41. The inhabitants burn the town of Venda for fear of the czar Iwan, 42. Is ravaged by the czar Peter's forces, 119. Deſtruction of the town of Mariembourg, 121. Riga taken by prince Mentzikoff, 144. Is wholly reduced by the czar Peter, 145. Is ceded to Ruſſia, 194. Is reduced under the dominion of the crown of Poland, 464. Is diſtreſſed by the wars between the Swedes and the Poles, 476.
Low Countries. See Netherlands.
Lubeck, ſtipulations made by the republic of, for ſending a fleet to the aſſiſtance of Guſtavus Ericſon, i. 501.
Lubomirſki, great general of the crown of Poland, attempts to exalt himſelf by cauſing a revolution of the government, ii. 494.
Luther, Martin, his doctrines received in the Netherlands, i. 12.

M.

Maaſe, the difficulty of navigating that channel, i. 118.
Magnus king of Norway, his treaty with Hardy Canute king of Denmark, i. 193.
Magnus, John, elected archbiſhop of Upſal, i. 512. Remonſtrates to Guſtavus Ericſon, in the name of the biſhops, on his conduct towards the clergy, 520. Adviſes the making a tranſlation of the ſcriptures, 521. His temporalities ſeized by the king, 524.
Magnus Smeck, king of Sweden, attempts to render himſelf abſolute, and is expelled, i. 448.
Mahomet IV. ſultan, abuſive letters between him and the czar Alexis of Ruſſia, ii. 81.
Malachowſki, count, his repreſentation of the ſtate of Poland at the opening of the diet, ii. 576. Checks the outrageous conduct of the members, 577. Breaks up the diet met for the election of a king, as being awed by Ruſſian troops. 591.
Margaret queen of Norway, admitted to ſucceed to the crown of Denmark, i. 211. Acquires the ſovereignty of Sweden, 213. Procures the union of the three crowns for Eric, 214. Her character, 219. Her politic conduct to ſecure her authority in Sweden, 454. Attaches the clergy to her by liberality to them, 455.
Mariembourg in Livonia, the town of, taken by the czar Peter, and deſtroyed, ii. 122.
Marius, Caius, the Roman conſul, his prudent conduct in oppoſing the Cimbri, i. 155. His great victory over the Teutones, 157. Defeats the Cimbri, 158.
Marke, count de la, takes the Briel, and declares againſt the tyranny of the Spaniſh government in the Netherlands, i. 25.
Maſos, palatine of Maſovia, his revolt againſt Caſimir king of Poland, ii. 375. Is put to death by his Pruſſian allies, 376.
Matei, ſchah, his treaty with John Albert king of Poland, ii. 453. Is deſerted by the army he brought to the aſſiſtance of Poland, 454. Is arreſted, *ibid.* His remonſtrance to the king of Poland, 455. The clergy oppoſe the ſetting him at liberty, 456.
Matthias, archduke, invited to be governor general of the Netherlands, i. 33. His authority not eſtabliſhed, 34.
Matilda, queen of Denmark, confined in the caſtle of Cronenburg, i. 355. Accuſation laid againſt her, 356. The manner in which Struenſee was forced into a confeſſion to her prejudice, 357, 359. The arts

arts practiſed againſt her by the queen dowager, 422.
Maurice, prince, ſucceeds his father in his authority in the United Provinces of the Low Countries, i. 37. Is choſen governor, 41. Defeats the archduke Albert, 44. Takes Sluyce and Grave, 45. Barnevelt's cabals, 136.
Maximilian, emperor of Germany, his treaty of alliance with the czar Baſil, ii. 31.
Mazeppa, hetman of the Coſſacks, his offer to Charles XII. of Sweden, ii. 133. His men refuſe to fulfil his engagements, 135. His magazines taken, and himſelf depoſed by the czar Peter, *ibid.*
Mentzikoff, an itinerant tart-ſeller, becomes the favourite of the czar Peter, ii. 99. Perſuades Peter to part with his czarina Eudocia, *ibid.* Is made governor of Narva, 126. Defeats Maderfeld the Swediſh general in Poland, 129. His engagements with Lewenhaupt, 134. Battle of Pultawa, 137. Takes Riga, 144. Secures the ſovereignty to Catherine on the death of Peter, 201. Protects her againſt a conſpiracy, 207. Is plundered and ſent captive into Siberia on the death of Catherine, 212. His character, 213.
Mercenary troops, whether proper to be depended on for the defence of a country, i. 129.
Michael Romanow, is elected czar of Ruſſia, ii. 73. Signs a capitulation, *ibid.* Concludes a peace with Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, 74. His father's exhortation to him, 75. His death, 77.
Mieciſlaw, ſucceeds his father Ziemomiſlas as duke of Poland, ii. 359. Marries the princeſs Dambrowcka, and is converted to Chriſtianity, *ibid.* Eſtabliſhes the Chriſtian religion in his kingdom, 361. His wars with the Saxons and Bohemians, 362.
Mieciſlaw II. king of Poland, his indolent diſpoſition, ii. 369. Aſſembles all his military vaſſals, *ibid.* His wars in Moravia and Pomerania, 370. His death, *ibid.*
Mieciſlaw, the third ſon of Boleſlas duke of Poland, the provinces left to him by his Father, ii. 395. Is elected duke of Poland on the death of his elder brother, 400. Is depoſed for his tyranny, *ibid.* His conteſts with Leſzko for the government, 405. His death and character, 406.
Miedzyrzecz, the caſtle of, taken by prince Boleſlas, ii. 387.
Mines, the produce of, only articles of commerce, i. 98.
Mithridates, oppoſes Pompey with an army of Scythians, i. 160.
Mittau, the citadel of, taken by the czar Peter, ii. 128. Prince Charles of Saxony driven out of, by the Ruſſians, 583.
Mogol Tartars, conquer the Ruſſian empire under Bathow Kan, ii. 23. Their mode of governing the country, 24. Are driven out of the Ruſſian dominions by Iwan Baſiliewitz, 28.
Moltki, count, public accuſations againſt, i. 421. Is protected by the queen dowager of Denmark, 422. Aſſiſts in the diſgrace of the young queen, and ruin of Brandt and Struenſee, 424.
Monarchies, the oppreſſion and tyranny of, the production of republics, i. 103.
Money, its proper uſe in commerce, i. 96.
Monopolies prejudicial to the general commerce of a ſtate, i. 93.
Moravia, reduced to a province under the kingdom of Poland, ii. 364. Is ravaged by the Bohemians, 369. Is laid waſte by Uladiſlas king of Poland, 387.
Moroſow, prince Boris Iwanowitz, governor of the young czar Alexis, becomes his miniſter, ii. 77. His tyranny, 78. Tumult againſt him appeaſed by the czar, 79.
Morſki, Caſimir, copy of his proteſt againſt the proceedings of the Poliſh diet, ii. 564. Remarks on it, 566.
Moſcow, deſcription of that city, ii. 5. The territory of, becomes an independent principality, 23. The city of, regarded as the capital of all the Ruſſias, *ibid.* The Kremelin or citadel of, built, 25. Is taken from the Tartars from Iwan Baſiliewitz, 27. Is ſeized by Sigiſmond king of Poland, 68. Is burnt, and numbers of the inhabitants maſſacred by the Poles, 71. Peter rebuilds the houſes with ſtone, 120. A printing office eſtabliſhed there, 122. Peter's triumphal entry there after the victory at Pultawa, 142.
Munich, marſhal, his ſucceſſes againſt the Turks, ii. 218. Arreſts Biron duke of Cour-

Courland, 220. Is exiled into Siberia, 221. Is recalled, 233.

N.

Namur, the caſtle of, ſeized by Don John of Auſtria, i. 29.

Narva, battle of, between Charles XII. of Sweden, and the czar Peter, i. 562. Secret cauſe of the defeat of the czar, ii. 117.

Netherlands, waſted by inundation of Scythians paſſing through to the ſouthern parts of Europe, i. 3. Formed into a civil government by the Franks, under an officer called the Foreſter of Flanders, *ibid.* The title of foreſter altered by Charlemagne to that of count, 4. The nature of the government under the counts, 5. The three orders conſtituting the States, 6. The cauſes for which they were aſſembled, 8. This aſſembly the baſis of their liberty, *ibid.* Revenues of their princes, *ibid.* Their military forces, 9. Union of the ſeventeen provinces under Philip of Burgundy, *ibid.* Are kindly treated by the emperor Charles V. 10. All confidence deſtroyed between them and Philip II. of Spain, 11. Receive the doctrines of the reformation, 12. Commotions there, which induce Philip to recal his troops to pacify them, 13. New biſhoprics eſtabliſhed, 14. French Calviniſts take refuge there, *ibid.* Cardinal Granvelle recalled for his oppreſſive conduct, 15. Conference at Bayonne, 16. Orders iſſued by Philip, for the capital puniſhment of hereticks, 17. Confederacy of the lords againſt the authority of the inquiſition, 17. The date of the general revolt of, 18. The prince of Orange retires to Germany, 19. Arrival of the duke d'Alva, 20. The ducheſs of Parma reſigns her authority, and is ſucceeded by Alva, 21. Who exerts his authority with rigor, *ibid.* The prince of Orange repulſed by Alva, who extorts freſh taxes, 23. Friezeland, Holland, and Zealand, ſeized by the prince of Orange, 25. Naerden and Haarlem taken and inhumanly treated by Alva, 26. Alva recalled and ſucceeded by Requiſenes, 27. Don John of Auſtria appointed governor, *ibid.* Pacification of Ghent, 28. The caſtle of Namur ſeized by Don John of Auſtria, 29. The prince of Orange appointed protector of Brabant, *ibid.* Death of Don John of Auſtria, and appointment of the duke of Parma as his ſucceſſor, 30. Union of Utrecht, *ibid.* The archduke Matthias invited to be governor-general of, 33. The duke d'Alençon invited to be governor, 36. The prince of Orange aſſaſſinated, *ibid.* Prince Maurice ſucceeds to his father's authority, 37. The archduke Albert ſent as governor from Spain with a large army, 42. Albert defeated by prince Maurice, 44. A twelve years truce concluded between Albert and the United Provinces, 49. A peace concluded with them, 51. See United Provinces.

Neuſtadt, peace of, between Ruſſia and Sweden, ii. 194.

Newport, battle of, between Maurice prince of Orange, and the archduke Albert, i. 44.

Nogoy, Andrew, pretends himſelf to be the czar Demetrius, ii. 65. Raiſes an army, 66. Is acknowledged by Griſcza's widow, *ibid.*

Nonces, ſent from the Palatinates of Poland to the diet, ii. 452.

Normandy, a colony of Danes ſettled there, i. 187.

Normans, the origin of, pointed out, i. 440.

Northern nations, their policy far from that barbarity attributed to them by the Romans, i. 6.

Norway, the kingdom of, deſcribed, i. 148. Is conquered by Woden, whoſe ſon Soemungue is made king, 164. A colony of refugees from, ſettled in Iceland, 175. Treaty between Magnus king of, und Hardy Canute king of Denmark, 193. Margaret queen of, ſucceeds to the crown of Denmark, 211. Union of Calmar, 215, 222. Eric expelled, 224. Chriſtian king of Denmark choſen king, 231. A rebellion againſt John, reduced by prince Chriſtian, 240. Its independency deſtroyed, 288. Tenure of land there, 339. Character of the natives, 378. The exports of that country, 387. State of commerce there, 390. Eſtabliſhed militia of, 402. Great part of the revenues of mortgaged to baron de Schimmelman, 411. Is attacked by Charles XII. 581.

Novogorod, in Ruſſia, deſcription of that province, ii. 7. Is reduced, after a ſeven years ſiege, by Iwan Baſiliewitz, 28.

O.

Obreſkoff, the Ruſſian miniſter at Conſtantinople, declaration of the grand vizier to him on the affairs of Poland, ii. 284. Is arreſted, 285.

Oginſki, palatine of Troki, diſturbances in the Poliſh diet on his appointment to be great chancellor of Lithuania, ii. 510.

Oldenburg, count of, undertakes the reſtoration of Chriſtian II. king of Denmark, i. 276. Is taken priſoner, 281.

Oleſnicki, Sbignee, a young Pole, ſaves the life of king Jagellon in battle, ii. 441. Is made biſhop of Cracow, *ibid.* His addreſs to ſecure the election of prince Uladiſlas to the crown, 443. Is elected a cardinal, 448.

Olgha, a young woman of Pleſkow, how ſhe became the wife of Igor prince of Ruſſia, ii. 17. Revenges her huſband's death on the Drewlians, 19. Is converted to Chriſtianity, and introduces this religion into Ruſſia, *ibid.*

Orange, William prince of, governor of Holland and Zealand, endeavours to ſuppreſs tumults in the Netherlands, i. 19. Retires to Germany, *ibid.* Is proclaimed a traitor, and levies forces, 22. Is repulſed by Alva, and forced to diſband them, 23. Takes the Briel, 24. Seizes Friezeland, Holland, and Zealand, 25. Pacification of Ghent, 28. Is appointed protector of Brabant, 29. Signs the Union of Utrecht, 33. His character, 34. Is aſſaſſinated, 36.

Ordeal by fire and water, the origin of, i. 183.

Orembourg, province of, in Ruſſia, ſome account of, ii. 10.

Orleans, duke of, diſcovers the intrigues of baron de Gortz to the king of Great Britain, ii. 166.

Oſman, ſultan, his war with Sigiſmond king of Poland, and treaty between them, ii. 480.

Oſtend, taken after three years ſiege by the archduke Albert, i. 45.

Oſtiaks, ſome account of that people, ii. 12.

Otho I. emperor, grants peace to Harold II. king of Denmark on condition of his receiving the Chriſtian religion, i. 188.

Otho, emperor, confers the title of king on Boleſlas duke of Bohemia, ii. 364.

Otho Crumpin defeats Steno adminiſtrator of Sweden, i. 476. Procures Chriſtian to be acknowledged king, 479.

Otto, biſhop of Bamberg, converts the inhabitants of Pomerania to Chriſtianity, ii. 394.

P.

Pacta Conventa of the crown of Poland, firſt formed, ii. 467. Its obligation, 627.

Palatines of Poland, their military obligations, ii. 369. Force queen Richſa with her ſon Caſimir to fly the country, 371. Recal Caſimir, 374. Revolt of Maſos palatine of Maſovia, 375. Their ſituation under Boleſlas, 395. Their independent ſpirit the cauſe of all the troubles in the kingdom, 401. The Pacta Conventa, 467.

Papirius Carbo, conſul, is ſent from Rome to oppoſe the irruption of the Cimbri, i. 153.

Paris, maſſacre of the proteſtants there, i. 17.

Parma, ducheſs of, appointed governeſs of the Netherlands, i. 12. Is petitioned to aboliſh the authority of the inquiſition, 18. Date of the general revolt of the Netherlands, *ibid.* Remonſtrates againſt the ſending the duke d'Alva thither, 20. Reſigns her authority, 21.

Parma, duke of, ſucceeds Don John of Auſtria as governor of the Netherlands, i. 30. His prudent conduct, 39. His progreſs interrupted by expeditions into France, 41. Dies, 42.

Patkul, count, his unhappy fate, ii. 130.

Penſioner of Amſterdam, his office, i. 56.

Peter I. is declared by his brother the czar Theodore to be his ſucceſſor, ii. 84. His ſiſter Sophia excites the Strelitz guards to revolt againſt him, 85. His brother Iwan and ſiſter Sophia aſſociated with him in the government, 86. Marries Eudocia againſt his ſiſter's conſent, 92. Diſcovers a conſpiracy againſt his life, 93. Forms the ſcheme of civilizing his Ruſſian ſubjects, 95. Invites foreign artizans to ſettle in his dominions, *ibid.* Engages with the emperor Leopold in a war againſt the Turks,

Turks, 96. Parts with his wife Eudocia, 99. Takes Aſoph, 100. Raiſes a fleet, 101. Enters Moſcow in triumph, 102. Settles his government, and travels in the train of an ambaſſy, 104. Works as a ſhip-builder at Amſterdam, 105. Sends home a great number of mechanics, 106. Goes over to England, *ibid.* Works at all trades, 107. Introduces tobacco into Ruſſia, *ibid.* Viſits the emperor Leopold at Vienna, 108. Returns to Moſcow and breaks the Strelitz guards who had revolted, 109. Reforms his army, 110. Reforms all the departments of his government, *ibid.* Aboliſhes the office of patriarch, 111. Aſſumes the regulation of eccleſiaſtical affairs, *ibid.* Reſtrains the monaſteries, 112. Reforms the manners of his people, *ibid.* Has an interview with Auguſtus king of Poland relative to opening a communication with the Baltic, 115. Enters into an alliance with Frederick IV. of Denmark againſt Charles XII. of Sweden, *ibid.* Beſieges Narva, 116. Cauſe of the defeat of his army there, 117. His plan of conduct againſt Charles, 118. Leagues with the king of Poland againſt Charles, *ibid.* Builds a fleet on the lakes Peypus and Ladoga, 119. Fortifies Archangel, 120. Gains advantages over the Swedes, 121. Takes Mariembourg, 122. Marries Catherine, one of the captives, *ibid.* Eſtabliſhes a printing office at Moſcow, *ibid.* Undertakes to build the town of Peterſburg, 123. His ſtratagem to get poſſeſſion of Derpt, 125. Takes the citadel of Mittau, 128. Advantages gained over him by Charles, 131, 132. Puniſhes the treachery of the Coſſack Mazeppa, 135. Battle of Pultawa, 137. Renews his alliance with Auguſtus on his relinquiſhing Livonia, 141. Returns in triumph to Moſcow, 142. Reduces Elbing, and takes the Swediſh magazines, 143. Takes Riga, 144. Reduces all Livonia, 145. Engages in a war with the Turks, 146. Is ſurrounded by the Turkiſh army, 151. His diſtreſs, 152. The empreſs Catherine negotiates a peace for his deliverance, 153. Goes to the aſſiſtance of the king of Denmark, 158. Augments his marine, 159. Deſtroys the Swediſh fleet at the mouth of the Bothnic Gulph, 160. His remarks on the improved ſtate of his country, *ibid.* His law relating to inheritance, 161. Review of his ſituation, 162. Eſtabliſhes a marine academy at Peterſburg, and founds the palace of Peterſhoff, *ibid.* Diſguſt between him and the king of Denmark, 164. Engages in the ſchemes of baron de Gortz the Swediſh miniſter, 165. Viſits France, 167. Negociates with de Gortz, *ibid.* His ſchemes fruſtrated by the death of Charles XII. 169. His endeavours to reform the character of his ſon Alexis, 172. His letter to Alexis, *ibid.* A ſecond letter to him, 173. A third letter to him, 174. Obliges him to make a formal renunciation of his right of ſucceſſion, 175. Condemns his ſon to die, 176. Reflections on his conduct towards Alexis, 179. His civil regulations, 180. His zeal to introduce manufactures, 181. His inland navigations, and other public works, 182. His commercial treaty with the emperor of China, 185. Opens the commerce of the Baltic, *ibid.* His endeavours to reform the Ruſſian laws, 186. His new code, 188. Remark on his plans of reformation, 189. His alterations in eccleſiaſtical government, 190. His advantageous peace with Sweden, 194. Conquers Derbent in Armenia, 197. Is declared to be Antichriſt by ſome of his clergy, 198. Crowns his empreſs Catherine, 199. His death, 201. His character, 202.

Peter Alexiowitz, declared ſucceſſor to the crown of Ruſſia, ii. 207. His acceſſion, 212. Diſgrace of prince Mentzikoff, *ibid.* Death of Peter, 215.

Peter Foedorowitz, takes the title of great duke of Ruſſia, and is declared heir to the crown, ii. 222. Marries Catherine Alexiowna of Anhalt Zerbſt, 224. Is declared reigning duke of Holſtein Gottorp, *ibid.* His ſon Paul Petrowitz born, 225. Secretly obſtructs the operations of the war againſt Pruſſia, 227. Succeeds to the crown by the death of the empreſs Elizabeth, 232. The firſt acts of his reign, 233. His declaration to his allies, 234. His plan for a general peace, 235. His ſcheme for altering the conſtitution of Poland, 237. His commercial arrangements, 239. His tribunal of police, 240. Attempts to ſecularize eccleſiaſtical property, 241. Diſguſts his army, 242. Meditates a divorce from his empreſs, 243.

243. Catherine declared ſole empreſs, 245. Is arreſted, 246. His formal renunciation of the government, *ibid.* 250. His ſuſpicious death, 251. His character, 252, 256, 342.
Peterſbourg, the town of, founded, ii. 123. Is attempted to be deſtroyed by the Swedes, 124, 125, 126. Marine academy eſtabliſhed there, 162. Houſes there to be built only of brick or ſtone, 180. Great reſort of ſhipping to, 185. The academy of ſciences founded there, 199. State of exports and imports there, 323.
Peterſhoff, the palace of, founded, ii. 162.
Petrikaw, tumult of the Poliſh nobles there, ii. 558. Their outrages ſuſpended by the death of count Potocki, 560.
Philip of Burgundy, unites the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, i. 9.
Philip II. of Spain, how he loſt the confidence of his Flemiſh ſubjects, i. 11. Appoints the ducheſs of Parma governeſs of the Netherlands, 12. Recals his troops to pacify the Flemings, 13. Eſtabliſhes new biſhoprics there, 14. Recals cardinal Granvelle, 15. Conference of Bayonne, 16. Date of the general revolt of the Netherlands, 18. Sends the duke d'Alva thither, 20. Recals Alva for his brutal ſeverity, 27. Beſtows the government of the Netherlands on Don John of Auſtria, *ibid.* Procures the aſſaſſination of the prince of Orange, 36. Acquires poſſeſſion of Portugal, 38. His various ſchemes, *ibid.* Cauſes that weakened his power in the Low Countries, 41. Sends the archduke Albert as governor with a large army, 42. His ſcheme in this appointment, 43. Dies, 45.
Piaſt, an inhabitant of Kruſwick, how he obtained the crown of Poland, ii. 356. His excellent character, 357.
Poland, the antient extent of, ii. 345. The four grand diſtricts of, 346. The principal cities of, 347. Account of the antient inhabitants of, from Tacitus, 349. Leck, the antient Sclavonian king, 350. Cracus elected king, *ibid.* His daughter Vanda elected, 351. Is ravaged by the Hungarians, *ibid.* Delivered from them by Przemyſlas, 352. He is elected duke, *ibid.* The people propoſe the kingdom as a prize to the beſt racer, 353. Leſzko II. choſen duke, *ibid.* Leſzko III. 354. Popiel, *ibid.* Origin of fiefs there, *ibid.* Popiel II. poiſons his uncles, 355. Piaſt choſen duke, 357. His excellent character, *ibid.* Is ſucceeded by his ſon Ziemovit, who teaches his ſubjects laws and military diſcipline, 358. Character of Ziemomiſlas, *ibid.* And of his ſon Mieciſlaw, 359. He marries the princeſs Dambroweka, and is converted to Chriſtianity, *ibid.* Account of the antient religion of the country, 360. The nature of the Chriſtianity then eſtabliſhed there, 361. Boleſlas, his wiſe government, 363. Uſurpations of the Romiſh clergy, *ibid.* The title of king conferred on Boleſlas by the emperor Otho, 364. Bohemia reduced to a province, *ibid.* Wars between the emperor Henry II. and Boleſlas, 365. His war with Ruſſia, *ibid.* Death of Boleſlas, 368. Character of his ſon Mieciſlaw, *ibid.* Mieciſlaw aſſembles all his military vaſſals, 369. His wars in Moravia and Pomerania, 370. Queen Richſa left regent, and guardian of her ſon prince Caſimir, *ibid.* Richſa forced to fly the kingdom, 371. The kingdom deſolated by the Palatines, *ibid.* Caſimir recalled, 373. The firſt acts of his reign, 375. Revolt of Maſos, *ibid.* His conceſſions to the clergy, 377. Acceſſion of Boleſlas, and his Bohemian wars, 378. Pruſſia reduced, 379. Boleſlas's expedition to Ruſſia, 381. Conduct of the Poliſh women during the abſence of their huſbands, *ibid.* Brutal behaviour of Boleſlas on his return, 383. He is excommunicated and flies, 384. Uladiſlas elected king, *ibid.* His wars in Pruſſia, Pomerania, and Moravia, 386. Rebellion of the princes Sbignee and Boleſlas, 388. Boleſlas declared duke, on the death of Uladiſlas, 390. His wars againſt the emperor Henry V. and the Bohemians, 392. Death and character of Boleſlas, 394. Divides the kingdom into four governments among his ſons, *ibid.* Uladiſlas wanting to diſpoſſeſs his brothers, is expelled, 396. Boleſlas his brother received as duke of Poland, *ibid.* Sileſia ceded to Uladiſlas, 398. Mieciſlaw elected, and depoſed for his tyranny, 400. Caſimir elected, *ibid.* He relieves the farmers from the obligation of entertaining the proprietors of fiefs on their journeys, 401. Leſzko elected duke, *ibid.*

Scan-

Scandalous lives of the clergy, 405. Mieciſlaw, the depoſed duke, conteſts the poſſeſſion with Leſzko, *ibid.* Leſzko aſſaſſinated, 408. Conrad, duke of Mazovia, aſſumes the regency, *ibid.* His treaty with the Teutonic knights for aſſiſtance againſt the Pruſſians, 409. Boleſlas, the ſon of Leſzko, driven out of his dominions by the Tartars, 410. The confuſion and diſtreſs of the nation, 411. Wars of Leſzko with the Ruſſians, Tartars, and Lithuanians, 414. King Przemyſlas aſſaſſinated, 416. Uladiſlas Loketek choſen king, but depoſed for debauchery and cruelty, 417. He is reſtored and reformed, 418. Pomerania ceded to the Teutonic knights by Caſimir, 426. Peculiar privileges granted to the Jews, 427. Caſimir reforms the judicial proceedings of his courts, 428. Protects the farmers from oppreſſion, 429. His death and character, 431. Acceſſion of Lewis king of Hungary to the throne of, *ibid.* Origin of the preſent ariſtocracy in this kingdom, 433. Lewis diſmembers ſome provinces bordering on Hungary, 434. Sigiſmund, marquis of Brandenbourg, acknowledged ſucceſſor to the throne, 435. Hedwige, Lewis's daughter, called in to oppoſe the pretenſions of Sigiſmund, *ibid.* Hedwige married to Jagellon duke of Lithuania, 436. Jagellon acknowledged king on his wife's death, 437. His great victory over the Teutonic knights, 440. Death and character of Jagellon, 442. His ſon Uladiſlas elected by the addreſs of the biſhop of Cracow, 443. He is killed in battle by the Turks, 446. Acceſſion of Caſimir duke of Lithuania, 447. His conteſts with the Poles for the independency of Lithuania, *ibid.* Spirited remonſtrance to Caſimir in the diet at Petrikow, 449. Treaty of peace with the Teutonic knights, 450. The expences of the war maintained againſt them, 451. New regulation of the diet, 452. Death and character of Caſimir, *ibid.* John Albert, his principal actions and character, 453. Motives for chuſing Alexander, duke of Lithuania, king, 454. Lithuania united to the kingdom of, *ibid.* Great victory gained by general Glinſki over the Tartars, 456. Death and character of Alexander, 457. Treaty between Sigiſmund and Albert of Brandenbourg, grand maſter of the Teutonic order, 458. The diet debate againſt the ſecret marriage of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, 462. Treaties with the grand maſter of the Teutonic order, 464. Albert Tredenti receives inveſtiture of the duchy of Pruſſia from Sigiſmond, 465. Henry duke of Anjou elected king, 466. The *Pacta conventa* firſt formed, 467. Speech of Tirley, great marſhal of the crown, at the coronation of Henry duke of Anjou, 468. Henry abandons the kingdom on ſucceeding to the crown of France, 469. Stephen Battori elected king, 470. The city of Dantzic refuſing to acknowledge him, is reduced by Mark Sobieſki, *ibid.* Stephen's internal government, 471. Sigiſmond, prince of Sweden, elected, *ibid.* The right of inheritance decided by *primogeniture*, 472. War between the Coſſacks and the Tartars, *ibid.* Revenues ſettled to ſupport the dignity of the crown, 473. War and treaty with ſultan Oſman, 480. Death and character of Sigiſmond, 481. His ſon Uladiſlas elected king, 482. War with the Coſſacks, 484. Conference at Thorn for the accommodation of religious differences, *ibid.* Treaty with the Venetians, 485. Death and character of Uladiſlas, *ibid.* The country ravaged by the Coſſacks, 487. John Caſimir elected king 488. Treaty of Welaw with the elector of Brandenbourg, 490. Treaty of Olivia with Ruſſia, 492. The nature of a confederacy of the army explained, 493. Power of the four great officers of the crown, *ibid.* Ambitious attempts of Lubomirſki, 494. Firſt riſe of John Sobieſki, *ibid.* His great victory over the Tartars and Coſſacks, 495. John Caſimir reſigns the crown, 496. Divided ſtate of the kingdom, 498. Michael Wiecknowiecki elected king, 499. John Sobieſki's great ſucceſſes againſt the Coſſacks, *ibid.* Confederacies of the king, and of John Sobieſki, 501. Michael's inglorious treaty with the Turks, 502. This treaty annulled by the diet, at the perſuaſion of John Sobieſki, 503. Death of Michael, and victory of John Sobieſki over the Turks, 504. Number of competitors for the crown, *ibid.* John Sobieſki elected king, 505. He defeats the Turks again, 506. Peace concluded with them, 507. Ambaſſador

baſſador ſent to Conſtantinople, *ibid.* Proceedings of the diet at Grodno, 508, 510. Outrages committed at Warſaw by the ſervants of the Poliſh and Lithuanian members of the diet, 515. Death and character of John Sobieſki, 517. Auguſtus elector of Saxony, choſen king, 518. His alliance with Ruſſia and Denmark againſt Sweden, 519. Auguſtus is defeated by Charles XII. of Sweden, 521. Auguſtus depoſed, 522. Staniſlas Leczinſki elected king by Charles, 523. Coronation of Staniſlas, 524. The kingdom ravaged by the Ruſſians, 526. Auguſtus reſtored by the battle of Pultawa, 527. The army new modelled by the diet, 528. The perſecution of the Diſſidents revived, 529. Feud between prince Czartoriſki and prince Wieſnowiſki, 531. Diſturbances excited by the Jeſuits at Thorn, againſt the Lutheran college, 532. Death and character of Auguſtus, 536. His ſon elected, *ibid.* Fray between the retinue of the grand treaſurer, and that of count Bruhl, 540. A confederacy formed and propoſitions ſent to Conſtantinople, 541. Speech of the great chancellor to the diet, 543. A ſenatus conſilium at Frawſtadt, 552. Diet at Grodno, 554. The Pruſſian court corrupts members of the diet to diſturb their proceedings and procure its diſſolution, *ibid.* Declaration of the empreſs of Ruſſia to the king and the republic, 555. The diet at Warſaw obſtructed and diſſolved by Pruſſian machinations, 556. Tumult of the nobles at Petrikaw, 558. Their outrages ſuſpended by the death of count Potocki, 560. Count Rzewſki elected great marſhal of the crown, *ibid.* Another diet fruſtrated by the Pruſſian party, *ibid.* The Jews expelled in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, 561. Diſturbances at Dantzic, 562. Copy of the proteſt of Caſimir Morſki, againſt the proceedings of the diet, 564. Zamoſcki, count, his violent proceedings to recover a private right, 566. Difference between the king and the pope, 567. Outrages committed in the diet, 570. Another abortive diet, 573. Prince Sulhowſki carried off by Ruſſian troops, *ibid.* Proceedings of the diet ſtopped on account of count Bruhl, 577. Conteſt relating to the duchy of Courland, 579. Death of king Auguſtus, 584. Debates of the ſenate relative to a new election, 587. The empreſs of Ruſſia and king of Pruſſia formally diſclaim all pretenſions to the provinces of, 588. Aſſurances of friendſhip from other powers, 589. Letter from the grand vizier to the prince primate, *ibid.* The diet awed by Ruſſian troops, 591. The diet broke up by marſhal Malachowſki, 592. Prince Czartorinſki choſen marſhal by the Ruſſian party, *ibid.* State of parties, *ibid.* Count Poniatowſki elected king, 594. He eſtabliſhes an uniformity of weights and meaſures, 596. Regulations propoſed by the clergy, 597. Petition of the Diſſidents to the king, 598. Memorial from Ruſſia in behalf of the Diſſidents, 599. Articles agreed to in their favour, 601. Confederacies formed, 605. Manifeſto of the confederacy at Thorn, 606. Some members of the diet ſeized by the Ruſſian miniſter, Repnin, 612. Articles agreed to, in favour of the Diſſidents, 613. They are ratified by the diet, 616. Other regulations formed for the peace of the kingdom, *ibid.* New confederacies ſtart up, 618. Poliſh Pruſſia ſeized by the Pruſſians, and Cracow with part of Great Poland by the Auſtrians, 619. Attempts made to carry off and murder the king by the confederates of Bar, 621. Diſmemberment of the kingdom by the empreſs queen of Hungary, the king of Pruſſia, and the empreſs of Ruſſia, 622. The diet forced to cede the provinces raviſhed from the kingdom, 623. The preſent ſtate and form of the government of, 624. The power of the king, 627. The nobles, *ibid.* The legiſlative authority, 628. The diets, *ibid.* The nature of thoſe aſſociations termed confederacies, 631. Civil laws, *ibid.* Slavery of the common people, 633. Church government, 635. Criminal laws, 636. Manners and cuſtoms of the Poles, 637. Claſſes of the inhabitants, 639. The farmers, *ibid.* The clergy, 640. Citizens and merchants, 641. The poor, 642. The women, 643. Commerce and manufactures, 645. Number of inhabitants, 646. Agriculture, 649. Revenues for the ſupport of government, 651. The military eſtabliſhment, 652. Military diſcipline, 653. Principal cauſes of the turbulence of the government, 655.

Pomerania, the Chriſtian religion preached there by Otho biſhop of Bamberg, ii. 394. Is ſeized by the Teutonic knights, 420. Is ceded to them by Caſimir king of Poland, 426.

Poniatowſki Staniſlas Auguſtus, count, proteſts againſt the proceedings of the Poliſh diet, on account of the preſence of count Bruhl, ii. 577. Ruſſian troops introduced to influence his election to the crown, 591. Is elected king, 594. His firſt acts of government, 595. Reduces weights and meaſures to a uniform ſtandard, 596. Convokes a diet for the ſettlement of the nation, 611. Articles agreed on in relation to the Diſſidents, 614. Other points determined for the peace of the kingdom, 616. New confederacies formed, 618. Diſtraction of affairs, 619. Different parts of his kingdom ſeized by the Pruſſians and Auſtrians, *ibid.* Attempts made to carry him off, and murder him, by the confederacy of Bar, 621. Diſmemberment of his kingdom, 622.

Popiel I. king of Poland, his natural brothers hold fiefs from him, ii. 354. His character, 355.

Popiel II. king of Poland, is left under the guardianſhip of his uncles, whom he poiſons, ii. 355. His character, 356.

Precop, the capital of Crim Tartary, taken by the Ruſſians, ii. 103.

Prediſlas, ſon of the king of Bohemia, takes Moravia from the Poles, ii. 369. Takes Gneſna, demands the body of St. Adalbert, and is cheated by the townſmen, 372. Is obliged to reſtore all his Poliſh conqueſts, 376.

Prices of commodities, how regulated, i. 99.

Proteſtants, maſſacre of, at Paris, i. 17.

Pruſſia, the inhabitants of, put themſelves under the protection of Caſimir king of Poland, againſt the tyranny of the Teutonic knights, ii. 449. State of their ſuffering by the war with theſe knights, 451. Is ſecured by treaty with Sigiſmond king of Poland, to Albert of Brandenbourg, 458. Albert Tredenti receives inveſtiture of the duchy from Sigiſmond Auguſtus king of Poland, 465. Treaty of Welaw, between the elector of Brandenbourg and John Caſimir king of Poland, 490. Alliance between the king of, and the king of Poland, 528. The miniſters of, endeavour to corrupt members of the Poliſh diet, 554. The diet at Warſaw obſtructed and diſſolved by the like means, 556. The king of, ſeizes the electorate of Saxony, 570. Sends troops into Poland, who carry off prince Sulhowſki, 573. Inſiſt on Biron's reſtoration to the duchy of Courland, 581. The king of, freely diſclaims all pretenſions to Poliſh Pruſſia, 588. Embroils the affairs of Poland, 603. Foments the diſcontents of the Diſſidents, 604. Enters into a negociation for the Partition of Poland, 610. His duplicity of conduct to throw the Poles into confuſion, 617. Seizes Poliſh Pruſſia, 619. His ſhare in the diſmemberment of Poland, 622. Remarks on his conduct reſpecting the city of Dantzic, 648.

Przemyſlas drives the Hungarians out of Poland, ii. 351. Is proclaimed duke of Poland, 352.

Przemyſlas king of Poland, aſſaſſinated by the marquiſſes of Brandenbourg, ii. 416. His character, *ibid.*

Pultawa, battle of, between the czar Peter and Charles XII. of Sweden, i. 570. The battle deſcribed, ii. 137.

R.

Radziouſki, cardinal biſhop of Warmia, diſputes in the Poliſh diet, on his claim of precedence, ii. 513. His treachery to Auguſtus, 522.

adz i vil, prince Charles, palatine of Wilna joins the party of count Branicki againſt prince Czartorinſki and his Ruſſian allies, ii. 592. Is confined and his goods confiſcated, 610. Becomes marſhal-general of the Lithuanian confederacy, 611.

Ragotſki, George, prince of Tranſylvania, his inſolent pretenſion to the crown of Poland, ii. 487.

Rebels, if pardoned, ought not to be reſtored to liberty, ii. 63.

Reformation, the doctrines of, received in the Netherlands, i. 12. See Netherlands.

Repnin, prince, the Ruſſian miniſter in Poland, preſents a memorial to Staniſlas in favour of the Diſſidents, ii. 599. Seizes the biſhops of Cracow and Kiovia, the palatine of Cracow, and ſtaroſt of Delinſki, and ſends them to Ruſſia, 280, 612. His juſtifi-

juſtification of this violence, *ibid.* Articles procured for the Diſſidents by his influence, 614.
Republics, the general principles of commerce in, i. 102.
Revel and Eſtonia, account of that Ruſſian government, ii. 3.
Richſa, the widow of Mieciſlaw II. king of Poland, is left regent of the kingdom and guardian of her ſon prince Caſimir, ii. 370. Favours Germans and is forced to fly, 371.
Riga, the capital of Livonia, taken by prince Mentzikoff, ii. 144. State of exports and imports there, 323.
Romanzow, general, takes the town of Colberg, ii. 230.
Rotterdam, the Jews driven from Antwerp by the duke d'Alva, ſettle there and at Amſterdam, i. 104. The natural ſecurity of the city, 117.
Ruſſian empire, amazing extent of, ii. 1. Account of the province of Livonia, 2. Revel and Eſtonia, 3. Archangel, 4. Lapland, 5. The city of Moſcow, *ibid.* The duchy of Smolenſko, 6 Duchy of Novogorod, 7. The Ukraine, *ibid.* Woronez, 8. Aſtracan, *ibid* Orembourg, 10. Deſcription of Siberia, 11. The Oſtiaks, 12. The Burates, 13. Kamſkatka, *ibid.* The original inhabitants, 14. General ſtate of the country, *ibid.* Earlieſt account of the Ruſſian government, 15 A tribute impoſed on by the Hungarians, 17. Method of the antient princes in chuſing a wife, *ibid.* Wars of prince Igor, 18. The Chriſtian religion introduced by the princeſs Olgha, 19. The Greek church perſuaſion eſtabliſhed by Wladimir, 21. The firſt code of eccleſiaſtical laws publiſhed by Jaroſlaw, 22. The prince of, takes the title of grand-duke, *ibid.* This title altered to that of czar, 23. The territory of Moſcow erected into an independent principality, and the city made the capital of all the Ruſſias, *ibid.* The empire ravaged by the Tartars, *ibid.* Alexander Newſki made grand duke by the Tartars, 24. Iwan Danielowitz made grand duke, 26. Confuſion of the Ruſſian annals, 27. Demetrius III. made grand duke, *ibid.* Iwan Baſiliewitz marries the grand-daughter of Emanuel II. emperor of Conſtantinople, *ibid.* He takes Moſcow, and drives the Tartars out of Ruſſia, 28. Novogorod and Kaſan reduced, *ibid.* The Crim Tartars reduced to ſubmit to peace by the czar Baſil, 29. A commercial treaty entered into with England, *ibid.* State of the Ruſſian people at this time, 30. Alliance between Baſil and Maximilian emperor of Germany, 31. Iwan his ſon, the firſt who was proclaimed czar of all the Ruſſias, and who wore a crown, 35. Is a ſevere preſerver of juſtice, 36. Kaſan and Aſtracan conquered from the Tartars, 38. An ambaſſador ſent from queen Elizabeth of England, 39. Iwan's treatment of Livonia, 41. Death and character of Iwan, 43. His code of Ruſſian laws, 45. The primate of, made an independent patriarch, 49. Brutal actions of the favourite miniſter Boris Godunow, 50. Boris poiſons the czar Theodore, 52. Boris choſen czar, 53. Story of the pretender Griſcza Utrepiou, 56. Boris poiſons himſelf, 58. Griſcza proclaimed czar by the troops, 59. Is killed, 62. Baſil Suiſki made czar in his room, 64. Is the firſt who entered into a contract with his ſubjects, *ibid* Andrew Nogoy's rebellion, 65. Baſil depoſed, 67. Moſcow ſeized by Sigiſmond king of Poland, 68. The city burnt and many of the inhabitants maſſacred by the Poles, 71. The Poles deſtroyed, 72. Michael Romanow elected czar, 73. Peace concluded with Sweden and Poland, 74. Death of Michael, and acceſſion of his ſon Alexis, 77. Popular tumult againſt prince Moroſow the miniſter appeaſed, 79. Edict againſt the oppreſſions of the nobles, 80. War with Poland, 81. Death and character of Alexis, 82. Acceſſion of Theodore Alexiowitz, 83. He deſtroys the titles of the antient nobility, 84. Dies, *ibid.* Commotions of the Strelitz guards, 85. John and Peter proclaimed joint czars with the princeſs Sophia co-regent, 86. Her intrigues with prince Gallitzin, 87, 91, 93. A treaty concluded with China, 94. Death of the czar Iwan, 99. Aſoph taken, 100. The czar Peter travels in the train of an embaſſy, 104. He works as a ſhip-builder at Amſterdam, 105. A revolt in favour of old cuſtoms, 108. Peter returns and breaks the Strelitzes, 109. Reforms his army

army and all the departments of his government, 110. The office of patriarch aboliſhed, 111. Monaſtic vows reſtrained, 112. Secret cauſe of the defeat of the Ruſſian army at Narva, 117. Archangel fortified, 120. Mariembourg taken, 122. Peter marries Catherine a Livonian captive, *ibid.* A printing-office eſtabliſhed at Moſcow, *ibid.* The town of Peterſbourg founded, 123. Battle of Pultawa, 137. War declared againſt Turkey, 147. Law relating to inheritance, 161. Hiſtory of the czar's ſon prince Alexis, 170. Civil regulations, 180. Peter's zealous encouragement of manufactures, 181. His public works, 182. Hiſtory of the trade with China, 184. Peter's commercial treaty with the emperor of China, 185. Judicial proceedings reformed, 187. Eccleſiaſtical reformations, 190. Advantageous peace with Sweden, 194. Derbent conquered, 197. The empreſs Catherine crowned, 199. Death of Peter, 201. Is ſucceeded by his empreſs Catherine, 202. The firſt acts of her government, 206. Death of Catherine, 208. Her teſtament, *ibid.* Acceſſion of Peter Alexiowitz, 212. Diſgrace and exile of Mentzikoff, *ibid.* Anne ducheſs dowager of Courland, ſucceeds to the crown, 216. Her death, and character of her government, 218. The duke and ducheſs of Brunſwic with their ſon Iwan, arreſted and confined, 221. Elizabeth Petrowna declared empreſs, *ibid.* Peace of Abo, 223. Peace with Kouli Kan, *ibid.* Defenſive alliance with Sweden, 224. An offenſive and defenſive alliance entered into with the courts of Vienna and Dreſden, againſt the king of Pruſſia, 225. Operations of the war with Pruſſia, 226. This war not agreeable to the great duke, who ſecretly obſtructs it, 227. Death and character of the empreſs Elizabeth, 231. Acceſſion of Peter III. 232. The firſt acts of his reign, 233. His declaration to his allies, 234. His plan for a general peace, 235. His internal arrangements, 240. His attempts on eccleſiaſtical property, 241. Catherine declared ſole empreſs, 244. Peter arreſted, 246. His formal reſignation, 246, 250. Remarks on this revolution, 251. The firſt acts of Catherine's government, 257. She undertakes to form a new code of laws, 258. Remarks on her plan, 259. A defenſive alliance concluded with Pruſſia, 267. Death of the unfortunate prince Iwan, 268. Church lands annexed to the crown, and penſions aſſigned to the clergy, 274. Moravians tolerated, *ibid.* War with Turkey, 284. Final event of this war, 288. A review of the preſent form of government, 289. The ſovereign abſolute without ſecurity, *ibid.* Laws and adminiſtration of juſtice, 290. Criminal proceſſes, 293. Proceedings of the ſecret inquiſition, 294. Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, 296. Great extent of parental authority, *ibid.* Authority of huſbands over their wives, 297. Power of the proprietors of fiefs over their ſlaves, 297. Sales and alienations of eſtates regiſtered, 298. Public executions, 299. Manners of the common people, 301. Their religious notions, 302. Claſſes of the people, 303. Orders of nobility, *ibid.* The clergy, 306. The lawyers, 307. Citizens and merchants, *ibid.* The ſeamen, 310. Marriage ceremonies, *ibid.* Their method of bathing, 311. The women great painters of themſelves, 312. The Tartars, 313. Extraordinary changes made in the ſtate of, by Peter I. 315. The natives now freely at liberty to travel, 317. Dignities and employments very precarious, *ibid.* The country extremely well ſituated for commerce, 320. Number of inhabitants, *ibid.* Agriculture depreſſed, 323. Exports and imports, *ibid.* State of arts and manufactures, 328. State of the revenues at the acceſſion of Peter I. 329. Augmentation of, at his death, 330. Preſent amount of the revenues, *ibid.* Maritime force of, 331. Land forces of, 334. Great want of diſcipline among the troops, *ibid.* Fortifications, 336. Cauſes of the various revolutions that have happened in the ſtate, 338.

Rurick, and his brothers, the firſt ſovereigns of Ruſſia, ii. 15.

Rzewſki, palatine of Podolia, elected great marſhal of the crown of Poland, ii. 560.

S.

Salza, Herman, grand maſter of the Teutonic order, his treaty with Conrad, regent of Poland, ii. 409.

Samoiedes, ſome account of that people, ii. 11.

Samo-

Samohely, palatine of Great Poland, unites with the Teutonic knights againſt Uladiſlas Loketek king of Poland, ii. 423. Betrays his allies to Uladiſlas, 425.
Sapieha, general of Lithuania, excommunicated by the biſhop of Wilna, ii. 514.
Saxons, inquiry after their origin, i. 439.
Sbignee, natural ſon of Uladiſlas king of Poland, revolts againſt his father, ii. 388. Revolts againſt his brother Boleſlas, 390. Is baniſhed for his turbulence, 391.
Scaurus, the Roman general, is defeated and taken priſoner by the Cimbri, i. 154.
Schaffiroff, vice-chancellor of Ruſſia, ſentenced to death for extortion, is pardoned by the czar Peter, ii. 198.
Schimmelman, baron de, chief part of the revenues of Norway mortgaged to him, i. 411. Is appointed treaſurer of Denmark, 412.
Sciold, the ſon of Wodin, the firſt king of Denmark, i. 163. His ſucceſſors, 184.
Scout-maſter of Amſterdam, his office, i. 56.
Siberia, deſcription of that country, ii. 11. The dominion of gained by the czar Theodore, 49. Cauſes relating to the mines of, how determined, 298. Character of the natives, 314.
Sigebret, a mean Dutch woman, her influence over Chriſtian II. king of Denmark, i. 246. Her couſin a barber, one of his chief miniſters, 249. They adviſe him to cut off the principal families of Sweden, 250. The barber made a biſhop, 253.
Sigiſmund, king of Poland, ſucceeds to the crown of Sweden, i. 541.
Sigiſmund, marquis of Brandenbourg, obtains a grant of the province of Sileſia from Lewis king of Hungary and Poland, ii. 432. Is acknowledged by Lewis, his ſucceſſor in Poland, and is ſent to govern that nation, 435. The princeſs Hedwige choſen queen to exclude him, *ibid.*
Sigiſmond, prince of Sweden, elected king of Poland, obliges his competitor the archduke Maximilian to renounce his pretenſions, ii. 471. Succeeds to the crown of Sweden, 474. Is defeated by Charles duke of Sudermania, 475. Loſes the crown of Sweden, 476. Contentions between him and his Poliſh nobility, *ibid.* His war and treaty with ſultan Oſman, 480. His diſputes with the diet, *ibid.* His death and character, 481.
Sigiſmond, duke of Lithuania, elected king of Poland, ii. 457. His treaty with Albert of Brandenbourg, grand maſter of the Teutonic order, *ibid.* His character, 459. His prudent government, 460.
Sigiſmond Auguſtus, is elected king of Poland, ii. 461. His ſecret marriage, *ibid.* Endeavours of the diet to make him diſſolve his marriage, 462. His treaties with the grand maſter of the Teutonic order, 464. Confers the inveſtiture of the duchy of Pruſſia on Albert Tredenti of Brandenbourg, 465. His death and character, 466.
Silanus, the Roman conſul, is defeated by the Cimbri, i. 154.
Sileſia, is ceded to Uladiſlas the fugitive duke of Poland, ii. 398. Is divided among his three ſons, *ibid.* Is ceded to Sigiſmund marquis of Brandenbourg, 432.
Slavery inconſiſtent with civilization, ii. 205.
Sleſwic, the duchy of, acquired by Chriſtian king of Denmark, i. 232.
Smolenſko, duchy of, in Ruſſia, ſome account of, ii. 6.
Sobieſki, John, is made great general of the crown of Poland, ii. 494. Raiſes an army to oppoſe the invaſion of the Tartars and Coſſacks, 495. His great victory over them, 496. Reduces the Coſſacks again, 499. Heads a confederacy of the army againſt king Michael Wiecknowiecki, 501. Defeats an army of Tartar and Coſſack invaders, 502. Perſuades the Poliſh diet to annul the treaty made by the king with the Turks, *ibid.* Defeats the Turks at Chockzin, 504. Is elected king of Poland, 505. Defeats the Turks again, *ibid.* Concludes a peace with the Turks, 507. His embaſſy to Conſtantinople, *ibid.* Proceedings in the diet at Grodno, 508. Aſſiſts the emperor of Germany againſt the Turks, and raiſes the ſiege of Vienna, 510. His diſputes with the Poliſh diet, *ibid.* Outrages committed at Warſaw by the ſervants of the Poliſh and Lithuanian members of the diet, 515. His reaſons for not leaving any written teſtament behind him, 516. His death and character, 517.
Sobieſki, Mark, reduces the revolted city of Dantzic for king Stephen Battori, ii. 470.

Soltikoff, general of the Ruſſian army, his ſucceſſes in Pruſſia, ii. 228. Reſtrains his operations to oblige the great duke, 229. Is ſuperſeded by field-marſhal Butterlin, 230.
Sophia, princeſs, animates the Strelitz guards to revolt againſt her brother the czar Peter, ii. 85. Is aſſociated with John and Peter in the adminiſtration of government, 86. Juſtifies the violence of the Strelitzes, *ibid.* Puts Kovanſki to death treacherouſly, 90. Conſpires againſt the life of her brother Peter, 93. Is ſhut up in a convent, *ibid.* Her ſecond conſpiracy, 103.
Sound, the paſſage of, deſcribed, i. 146.
Specie, its proper uſe in commerce, i. 96.
Spice trade of the United Provinces, the regulations impoſed on it, i. 121.
Stadtholder of the United Provinces, his office and authority, i. 65. Is made hereditary in the prince of Orange's family, 139.
Staniſlaus Leczinſki, is elected king of Poland by Charles XII. of Sweden in the room of Auguſtus, ii. 523. Is crowned, 524. His anſwer to Auguſtus's letter, 526. Auguſtus reſtored by the battle of Pultawa, 527. Loſes the duchy of Deux Ponts, which Charles had ceded to him, 530. Is elected again by one party, on the death of Auguſtus, 536. Is forced to retire with the title of king, and the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, 537. His letter to his Poliſh friends, *ibid.*
Staniſlaus Auguſtus, king of Poland. See Poniatowſki.
States, the three orders conſtituting the aſſembly of, and the antiquity of, i. 6. The occaſions on which they met, 8. Of Holland, the times of meeting, and for what purpoſes, 58.
States General of the United Provinces, how formed, and their power, i. 60. How repreſented at preſent, 61. Mode of doing buſineſs, 62.
Steinbock, the Swediſh general, his remarkable victory over the Danes, i. 572.
Steno Sture, the nephew of Charles Canutſon, made adminiſtrator of Sweden, i. 463. Is informed of the intrigues of the archbiſhop of Upſal, 468. Defeats and depoſes him, 470. Is defeated and killed by Otho Crumpin, 477.
Stephen Battori elected king of Poland, ii. 470. Reforms the internal government of his kingdom, 471. Plants colonies in the Ukraine, *ibid.* His war with Ruſſia, 472. His death and character, 473.
Stockholm, deſcription of that city, i. 436. Is beſieged and taken by Chriſtian, 483. Is inveſted by Guſtavus Ericſon, 499. The city capitulates, 506. Mode of buſineſs in the aſſembly of the States there, 590.
Stralſund, the town of built, i. 199.
Strelitz guards in Ruſſia, a body of troops reſembling the Janiſſaries in Turkey, ii. 85. Revolt of, on the acceſſion of the czar Peter, *ibid.* Proclaim John and Peter jointly with the princeſs Sophia regents, 86. Raiſe a commotion in favour of two fanatical preachers, 88. Are headed by Kovanſki, 89. Riſe to revenge his death, 90. Submit, and are diſperſed by prince Gallitzin, 91. Revolt again and march to Moſcow to depoſe the czar, 108. Are reduced, 109. Are ſeverely puniſhed and broke by Peter, *ibid.*
Struenſee, count, the party formed againſt him, i. 354. Is apprehended, 355. How a confeſſion was extorted from him, 357. The ſentence paſſed againſt him, 358. His unjuſt treatment by his proſecutors, 359. Secret hiſtory of his diſgrace, 424.
Sulhowſki, prince, ſeized and carried from his houſe by Pruſſian troops, ii. 573.
Sweden receives Woden, and accepts his ſon Yugue for king, i. 163. The antient form of government as deſcribed by Tacitus, 173. The ſovereignty of, acquired by Margaret queen of Denmark and Norway, 213. The union of Calmar, 215. Eric expelled, 225. Charles Canutſon elected king, 227. Who is expelled by Chriſtian king of Denmark, 231. The acceſſion of John acknowledged in the diet of Helmſtadt, 236. Ill treatment of, by Chriſtian II. 249. The principal nobility of, cut off by Chriſtian, 252. Limits of the kingdom, 430. The ſoil in general very barren, *ibid.* Cattle and wild animals, 431. Lakes and woods, 432. The mines, 433. The ſeaſons, 434. Its diviſion into provinces, 435. Principal cities, *ibid.* Deſcription of Stockholm, 436. Account of Gottenburg, 437. Inquiry after its original inhabitants, 438. Earlieſt account to be depended on of its government, 440. Antient power and revenues of the crown, 441. The ſenate, 442.

442. The clergy, 443. Exorbitant power acquired by the biſhops, 444. The antient nobility, 445. The common people, *ibid.* Its turbulent conſtitution, 447. Magnus Smeck attempts to render himſelf abſolute, 448. Albert of Mecklenburg elected king, *ibid.* Purſues the like ends as Magnus, 449. He is defeated and taken priſoner by Margaret of Norway, 452. Her politic conduct to eſtabliſh her authority, 454. Imprudent adminiſtration of Eric, 455. He is expelled, 456. Charles Canutſon elected king, 458. Who irritates the clergy againſt him, 459. The archbiſhop of Upſal takes up arms againſt him, *ibid.* Quits the kingdom to Chriſtian II. of Denmark, 460. Confuſions of the contending parties, 462. Steno Sture made adminiſtrator, 463. Violences committed by Chriſtian armed with the pope's bull, 473. The adminiſtrator defeated by Otho Crumpin, 476. Stockholm taken by Chriſtian, 484. Maſſacre of the ſenators, 485. Revolt in Dalecarlia under Guſtavus Ericſon, 491. Guſtavus elected king, 505. The city of Stockholm capitulates, 506. Guſtavus enters into a league with Denmark, 512. His motives for deferring his coronation, 513. Explains himſelf to the chancellor, 514. Steps taken by Guſtavus to favour the reformation, and abridge the power of the clergy, 517. His anſwer to the remonſtrances of the biſhops, 520. Religious conference at Upſal, 521. Guſtavus ſeizes part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues, 523. The power and riches of the clergy reduced by the aſſembly of the ſtates, 529. A revolt excited by the clergy in Dalecarlia, 531. The Lutheran religion eſtabliſhed, 534. The crown ſettled in the family of Guſtavus, 538. His death and character, 540. Acceſſion and depoſition of Eric, *ibid.* War with Moſcovy, 541. Troubles between the Catholics and Lutherans, 542. Charles IX. elected king, *ibid.* Acceſſion of Guſtavus Adolphus, 543. Wars in Moſcovy, Poland, and Pruſſia, *ibid.* Victories in Germany, 544. Acceſſion of Chriſtina, *ibid.* Her reſignation and acceſſion of Charles Guſtavus, 545. War with Poland, *ibid.* German and Daniſh wars, 546. Puniſhes his evil miniſters, 548. The ſenate ſuppreſſed, 549. The king recovers the crown lands, 553. Regulates the militia, 554. He is rendered abſolute by conceſſions of the ſtates, 555. The laws reviſed, 557. The king impoveriſhes his ſubjects to amaſs wealth, 558. Acceſſion of Charles XII. 559. The neighbouring powers combine to ruin him, 560. Denmark reduced, 561. Battle of Narva, 562. Charles's ſucceſſes in Poland, 564. He defeats Auguſtus, 565. Battle of Pultawa, 570. Diſtreſſed ſituation of the kingdom, 575. New taxes and oppreſſions, 577. Peace concluded with Ruſſia, 580. Expedition of Charles to Norway, 581. His death and character, 582. Situation of the kingdom at this time, 584. Frederic of Heſſe Caſſel elected king, 585. Limitations of the regal authority, 586. The ſtates of the kingdom how compoſed, 588. Order of the clergy, 589. Repreſentatives of the burghers, *ibid.* Mode of buſineſs in the aſſembly of the ſtates, 590. Account of the hat and cap parties, 591. Intrigues of the court of France, 592. State of parties at the acceſſion of Guſtavus the reigning king, 594. Articles of capitulation ſworn to by him, 596. Review of the preſent form of government, 599. Courts of juſtice, 624. Conſiſtories for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, 625. Courts relating to the mines, 627. Regiſter of eſtates, 628. Criminal cauſes, *ibid.* State of the church, 629. Claſſes of inhabitants, 631. Nobility, *ibid.* Clergy and lawyers, 632. Common people, 633. Roads, 634. Learning, *ibid.* Regulation of marriages, 636. Number of inhabitants, 638. State of trade and manufactures, 639. Agriculture, 640. Exports of the country, *ibid.* Militia, 643. Agriculture here injured by manufactures, 645. The proceedings in the law courts oppreſſive, 649. Iron the ſtaple commodity, 651. Trade to England diſcouraged, and to France encouraged, 652. Hemp and flax trade, *ibid.* Smuggling greatly practiſed there, 653. Current ſpecie, 654. Precarious ſtate of exchange, 655. Trade to Spain and Portugal, 656. Trade to France the moſt diſadvantageous of any, *ibid.* Eaſt India Company, 657. No encouragement given to foreign merchants there, 658. Revenues of the crown, 659. Subſidy from

from France, *ibid.* National debt, 660. Military ſtrength of the kingdom, *ibid.* Regulations of the militia by Charles XI. 661. Number of land forces, 664. State of the marine, 665. Military regulations in time of war, 667. Cauſes of the various revolutions that have happened in this country. 668,

T.

Tacitus, his account of the form of government among the northern nations, i. 167. His account of the antient inhabitants of Poland, ii. 349.

Tartars, characters of the ſeveral claſſes of, ii. 313.

Teutones, a great army of, defeated by the conſul Marius, i. 157.

Teutonic knights, are taken into the ſervice of Conrad regent of Poland, ii. 409. Their avarice and ambition, *ibid.* Seize the city of Dantzic which they were called in to defend againſt the marquiſſes of Brandenbourg, 418. Their cruel uſurpations, 420. Become maſters of all Pomerania, *ibid.* They are excommunicated, 422. Are defeated by Uladiſlas Loketek king of Poland, 424. Pomerania ceded to them by Caſimir, 426. Great victory gained over by Jagellon king of Poland, 440. The Pruſſians protected againſt them by Caſimir king of Poland, 449. Treaty of peace between them and Poland, 450. Albert of Brandenbourg choſen grand maſter, 458. His treaty with Sigiſmond king of Poland, *ibid.* The grand maſter acknowledges himſelf by treaty a vaſſal of the crown of Poland, 464.

Texel, the difficulty of navigating that channel, i. 117.

Theodore, the ſon of Iwan, ſucceeds his father as czar of Ruſſia, ii. 48. Acquires the ſovereignty of Siberia, 49. Brutal conduct of his favourite Boris Godunow, 50. Is poiſoned by him, 52. His character, *ibid.*

Theodore Alexiowitz, czar of Ruſſia, the firſt acts of his adminiſtration, ii. 83. Deſtroys the titles of the antient nobility, 84. Nominates his younger brother Peter for his ſucceſſor, and dies, *ibid.*

Theodore Romanow, archbiſhop of Roſtow, his ſon Michael elected czar of Ruſſia, ii. 73. He is made patriarch of Ruſſia, *ibid.* His addreſs to his ſon on this occaſion, 75.

Thorn, ineffectual conference there, for the accommodation of religious differences in Poland, ii. 484. Outrages excited there by the Jeſuits againſt the Lutheran college, 532. A Poliſh confederacy formed there under Pruſſian influence, 606. Their manifeſto, *ibid.*

Tirley, great marſhal of the crown of Poland, his ſpeech in favour of toleration at the coronation of Henry duke of Anjou, ii. 468.

Tobolſkoy, the capital of Siberia, ſome account of, ii. 12.

Turks, how induced to declare war againſt Ruſſia, i. 592. ii. 284.

V.

Valdemar I. king of Denmark, reſtores order, and reforms the laws, i. 196. Founds the caſtle of Dantzic, 197.

Valdemar II. king of Denmark, his prudent eſtabliſhments, i. 199. Forms and enforces the Jutland code of laws, 200.

Vanda, the daughter of Cracus, elected queen of Poland, ii. 351.

Venda, in Livonia, the unhappy fate of that town, ii. 41, 42.

Uglitz, the town of, in Ruſſia, brutally deſtroyed by Boris Godunow, ii. 51.

Vienna, is beſieged by the Turks, and relieved by John Sobieſki king of Poland, ii. 510.

Ukraine, deſcription of that country, ii. 7. Is repeopled by Stephen Battori king of Poland, 471. See Coſſacks.

Uladiſlas, ſon of Sigiſmond king of Poland, is offered the crown of Ruſſia on conditions, ii. 68. Invades Ruſſia, but conſents to a peace, 74.

Uladiſlas, king of Poland, his deference to the papal authority, ii. 384. Poiſons Mieciſlaw the ſon of his predeceſſor Boleſlas, 386. His wars in Pruſſia and Pomerania, *ibid.* Rebellion of his two natural ſons Sbignee and Boleſlas, 388. His death, 390.

Uladiſlas, eldeſt ſon of Boleſlas, duke of Poland, his ſhare of his father's dominions, ii. 394. Attempts to diſpoſſeſs his brothers, but is forced to take refuge in Germany, 396. Sileſia ceded to him, 398.

Uladiſlas, the eldeſt ſon of Mieciſlaw, elected duke of Poland, ii. 406. Reſigns the government to his couſin Leſzko, 407.
Uladiſlas Loketek, is elected king of Poland, but is depoſed for debauchery and cruelty, ii. 417. Is reſtored and reformed, 418. Defeats the Teutonic knights, 424. His death and character, 425.
Uladiſlas, the ſon of Jagellon, is elected king of Poland by the addreſs of the biſhop of Cracow, ii. 443. Is invited to the throne of Hungary and crowned, 444. Is killed in battle by the Turks, 446.
Uladiſlas, the ſon of Sigiſmond, elected king of Poland, ii. 482. His victories over the Ruſſians and Turks, 483. His ineffectual attempt to unite the different ſects in his dominions, 484. Is tyrannized over by his nobles, 485. His death and character, *ibid.*
Union of Calmar, tranſlation of that law, i. 215. Is renewed, 222.
United Provinces of the Low Countries, the firſt confederacy of, formed, i. 31. Impreſſion on the firſt money they coined, 33. The reformed religion eſtabliſhed in, 37. Prince Maurice ſucceeds to his father's employments, *ibid.* Receive indirect ſupport from England, 38. Offer their ſovereignty to queen Elizabeth, 39. The earl of Leiceſter choſen governor of, 40. Prince Maurice choſen governor, 41. Proſecute a trade to the Eaſt Indies, 46. Offers of peace made to them, *ibid.* A truce for twelve years concluded, 49. Seize the town of Juliers, 50. Weſel ſeized by Albert in retaliation, *ibid.* A peace concluded, 51. Their preſent form of government, 52. Political character of the people, 71. Claſſes of the inhabitants, 73. Their manners, 74. Their antient frugality corrupted, 78. Their conſtitutional characters, 79. The country unhealthy, 81. How drained, *ibid.* Religion, 82. A general toleration allowed, 83. Were peopled by proteſtant refugees, 104. Their commercial regulations, 106. The natural ſtrength of the country, 108. Account of the bank of Amſterdam, 110. The bankrupt laws there, oppreſſive, 112. Circumſtances that encourage and fix trade there, 116. The country not eminent in manufactures, 118. Number of inhabitants, 119. Dearneſs of proviſions, *ibid.* The Herring and Greenland fiſheries, 120. Regulations of their ſpice trade, 121. Their American and Levant trade, 123. Balance of trade between them and England, ſtated at different periods, *ibid.* Uſed formerly to conſume only the coarſeſt of their importations, 125. Commercial genius of the inhabitants eſtimated, 126. Their ancient military force, 127. Their preſent ſtrength, 129. Revenue, 130. Their public debts, 131. Their taxes, 132. Their ſtanding forces, 133. Cauſes of the various revolutions that have happened among them, traced, 134. Barnevelt's cabals, 136. Inſurrection againſt the penſioner De Witt, 137. The office of ſtadtholder made hereditary in the prince of Orange's family, 139. Reflections on their preſent ſituation, 140.
Voltaire, a miſtake of his in the Swediſh hiſtory corrected, i. 579.
Upſal, the archbiſhop of, takes up arms againſt Charles Canutſon king of Sweden, i. 248, 459. Proclaims Chriſtian II. of Denmark king, 460. Is confined by Chriſtian, 461. Is releaſed and taken into favour, 462. His intrigues, 465. They are diſcovered by Arcemboldi the pope's legate, 468. Is obliged to reſign his dignity, 471. Returns on the defeat and death of the adminiſtrator, and procures Chriſtian to be acknowledged, 478. His tyranny, 486. Is defeated by Guſtavus Ericſon, 498. Retires to Denmark, 499. Crowns Frederic I. of Denmark king of Sweden, 507. Is ſuperſeded by another prelate, 512.
Utrecht, the union of, the foundation of the government afterward eſtabliſhed in the United Provinces, i. 30. Principal articles of, 31. The conſtitution of that province, 68.

W.

Warſaw, ſhort account of that city, ii. 347.
Welaw, treaty of, between John Caſimir king of Poland, and the elector of Brandenbourg, ii. 490.
Wenciſlas king of Bohemia, is elected king of Poland, ii. 417. Dies, 418.
Weſel, ſeized by the archduke Albert, in retaliation for the Dutch ſeizing Juliers, i. 50.

Wibourg in Finland, is taken from the Swedes by the czar Peter, ii. 144.
Wiecknowiecki, Michael, elected king of Poland, ii. 499. Diſguſts his ſubjects, 500. Raiſes a confederacy againſt that of John Sobieſki, 501. His inglorious treaty with the Turks, 502. His death and character, 504.
Wilczewſki, nonce of Wiſna, informs the Poliſh diet at Grodno of the indirect practices of the Pruſſian miniſters to corrupt the members, ii. 554.
Wilna, biſhop of, copy of his excommunication of Caſimir Sapieha, general of Lithuania, ii. 514.
Wiſmar, the town of, beſieged and taken by a Hanoverian army, allies of Ruſſia, ii. 162.
Wladimir I. the natural ſon of Igor, gains poſſeſſion of all the Ruſſias, ii. 20. Becomes a Chriſtian according to the Greek church, 21. His twelve ſons deſtroy each other until Jaroſlaw acquires all their dominions, *ibid.*
Wladimir II. ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, his wars and glorious reign, ii. 23.
Woden, the antient king of Scandinavia, traditionary accounts of, i. 160. Is driven northward by Pompey, 161. His ſettlement and exploits, 162. Eſtabliſhes his ſon Sciold in Denmark, 163. Gains poſſeſſion of Sweden where his ſon Yugue is choſen king, *ibid.* His civil and religious regulations there, 164. Conquers Norway and eſtabliſhes his ſon Soemungue there, 164. His death, *ibid.* The motives by which he was actuated, 165. The great reverence preſerved for his memory, 166. The form of government eſtabliſhed by him, 167.
Wrangel, field-marſhal, the Swediſh general, defeated in Germany, i. 546.

Y.

Yugue, the ſon of Woden, elected king of Sweden, i. 164.

Z.

Zamoſcki, count, his hoſtile meaſures to recover a private right, ii. 566.
Zealand, the conſtitution of that province, i. 68.
Zealand in Denmark, ſituation of that province, i. 146. A code of laws publiſhed for, by Eric VI. 206.
Ziemomiſlas, king of Poland, his character, ii. 358.
Ziemovit, ſucceeds his father Piaſt, as king of Poland, ii. 357. Teaches his ſubjects laws and military diſcipline, 358.
Zolkiewſki, the Poliſh general, his bravery and unhappy fate, ii. 477.

THE END.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

BOOKS printed for A. [illegible] ECKET.

Dedicated, by permiſſion, to the Right Hon. Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; when ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons; recommended by him from the chair; encouraged by the late ſpeaker, and many of the members of the late and preſent parliament,

I. DEBATES in the HOUSE of COMMONS, from 1667 to 1694, never before printed; comprehending fifty times more of the ſecret deliberations of the houſe, than all the accounts of debates for the ſame time that have yet appeared; collected by the Hon. Anchitell Grey, Eſq; who was thirty years member for Derby, and chairman of ſeveral committees.

To the Public. The importance of theſe debates may be eaſily conjectured by the dates from 1667 to 1694; a period of time remarkable for the multitude of ſchemes which were formed, the variety of events produced, the diverſity of intereſts which prevailed, the ſtruggles between prerogative and privilege, the outcries of abhorrence and perſecution, efforts againſt popery and arbitrary power, the number of plots and conſpiracies, either real or imaginary; impeachments of miniſters, attempts to ſet aſide the heir of the crown, the expulſion of a king, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution.

An authentic repreſentation, therefore, of the part which the Houſe of Commons bore in thoſe momentous affairs, muſt naturally fix the attention, and raiſe the expectation, of every man of fortune in the kingdom, who deſires to view the gradations of theſe memorable events, to trace revolutions to their cauſes, and to know to what names the nation is indebted for its honour and its liberty: informations that cannot be eaſily obtained, but from this collection; in which the names of the ſpeakers are at length, and the reader is led forward from day to day, and from queſtion to queſtion, and enjoys the views of all the variations of all that uncertain time; obſerves the birth, the progreſs, the maturity of deſigns; ſees the colours of party change before him, and patriotiſm ſink in one year, and riſe in another.

Several notes alſo are added, to illuſtrate the above collection, from the hiſtory of the times, giving ſome account of the principal ſpeakers. In ten volumes, octavo. Price 2l. 12s. 6d. ſtitched, or 3l. 3s. bound and lettered.

II. FABLES de la FONTAINE, printed at Paris, in four volumes folio. This very magnificent work is propoſed to the public at only eight guineas in ſheets, being but half the original price.

This edition, which coſt the artiſts near twenty years labour, and the proprietors upwards of fourteen thouſand pounds ſterling, is undoubtedly one of the moſt ſuperb monuments ever erected to the memory of an author.

It is printed with a new letter, on a fine paper, manufactured expreſsly for the work; every fable being ornamented by a head and tail-piece, deſigned in a new taſte, by M. Bachelier, and executed by M. T. Papillon and Le Sueur.

To the beauty this work derives from the printing-preſs, is alſo added the captial embelliſhment of no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy-ſix copper-plates; the deſigns applicable to the ſubjects, drawn after nature, by Oudry, one of the moſt celebrated painters France ever produced for delineating the animal creation. The engravings by the moſt expert artiſts in their ſeveral departments, under the direction of the celebrated M. Cochin; who reviſed and ſuperintended the whole.

La Fontaine's Life is prefixed, containing many anecdotes of that exquiſite fabuliſt, not to be met with elſewhere.

III. A JOURNAL of the SWEDISH AMBASSY, in the year 1653 and 1654, from the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Written by the ambaſſador the

the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelocke; with an Appendix of original papers. In two volumes, quarto, 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

This very curious and valuable work is printed from the author's own manuſcript (which is depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum for public inſpection) and at the requeſt of his grandſon Carleton Whitelocke of Prior's Wood, near Dublin, Eſq; of Lord Chancellor Bowes, late of the kingdom of Ireland; of archbiſhop Secker, late primate of all England; and of Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; late ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons.

IV. The WORKS of ALGERNON SYDNEY. A new edition, beautifully printed in one large volume, quarto, royal paper, 1l. 7s. bound.

The letter taken from Thurloe's ſtate papers, the protector's advice, the general view of government in Europe, and the notes to the diſcourſes and the general view, are the new materials with which the editor has enlarged this edition.

V. A NEW LAW DICTIONARY; containing the interpretation and definition of words and terms uſed in the law; as alſo the law and practice under the proper heads and titles: together with ſuch learning as explains the hiſtory and antiquity of the law, our manners, cuſtoms, and original government. Collected and abſtracted from all dictionaries, abridgments, inſtitutes, commentaries, reports, year-books, charters, regiſters, chronicles, and hiſtories publiſhed to this time. Adapted to the uſe of barriſters, ſtudents, and practiſers of the law, members of parliament, juſtices of peace, clergymen, and other gentlemen. Originally compiled by Giles Jacob. Now corrected and greatly enlarged by Owen Ruffhead and J. Morgan, Eſqrs. In one large volume, folio, a new edition, being the ninth, with great additions and improvements from the lateſt reports and ſtatutes to this time; alſo many new titles not in any other work of the kind. Price 2l. 2s. bound.

VI. The HISTORY of HINDOSTAN, from the death of Akbar to the complete ſettlement of the empire under Aurengzebe. To which are prefixed, I. A diſſertation on the origin and nature of deſpotiſm in Hindoſtan. II. An enquiry into the ſtate of Bengal; with a plan for reſtoring that kingdom to its former proſperity and ſplendor. By Alexander Dow, Eſq; lieutenant-colonel in the Company's ſervice. In one large volume, quarto. Price 1l. 1s. in boards.

VII. The HISTORY of HINDOSTAN, from the remoteſt times to the death of Akbar. Tranſlated from the Perſian by the ſame author. The ſecond edition reviſed, altered, corrected, and greatly enlarged. 2 volumes, quarto. Illuſtrated with cuts. Price 1l. 11s. 6d. in boards.

VIII. The WORKS of the Hon. ROBERT BOYLE, 6 volumes, royal quarto, 7l. 7s.

IX. The WORKS of JOHN LOCKE, four volumes, royal quarto, 5l.

X. LUDLOW's MEMOIRS, one volume, royal quarto, 1l. 1s.

XI. HARRINGTON's WORKS, one volume, royal quarto, 1l. 1s.

XII. The Complete WORKS of Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT, five volumes, octavo, 1l. 10s.

XIII. FIELDING's WORKS, 8 volumes, octavo, 2l. 12s. 6d.

XIV. PLUTARCH's LIVES, 8 volumes, twelves, with heads. By Mr. Dryden and others, 1l. 4s.

XV. WOOD's Complete Body of CONVEYANCING, 3 volumes, folio, 5l. 5s.

XVI. CAMDEN's BRITANNIA, 2 volumes, folio, 4l. 4s.

XVII. The HISTORY of the BRITISH DOMINIONS in NORTH AMERICA; from the firſt diſcovery of that vaſt continent by Sebaſtian Cabot, in 1497, to its glorious eſtabliſhment, as confirmed by the late treaty of peace in 1763. In 14 books. In one volume, quarto, illuſtrated with a new and accurate map, coloured. 1l. 1s.

XVIII.

XVIII. A new edition of the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal. Translated from the Galic language, by James Macpherson, Esq; In two volumes, octavo. Price 12s. bound.

XIX. A new edition of Memoirs of Russia, from 1727 to 1744. Written by general Manstein. In one volume, quarto, illustrated with maps and plans, revised and corrected throughout (with an advertisement by David Hume, Esq;) Price 1l. 1s.

XX. A new edition, being the third, of an Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. By James Macpherson, Esq; In one volume, quarto. Price 18s.

XXI. An Essay on the diseases incidental to Europeans in hot climates. With the method of preventing their fatal consequences. By James Lind, physician to his majesty's royal hospital at Haslar, near Portsmouth, and fellow of the royal college of physicians in Edinburgh. To which is added, an Appendix, concerning intermittent fevers, and a simple and easy way to render sea water fresh, and to prevent a scarcity of provisions in long voyages at sea. In one volume, octavo. Price 6s. bound. The third edition, greatly enlarged and improved.

XXII. The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam, Esqrs. of the Adelphi: containing designs of some public buildings in England and Scotland, invented and executed by them; with explanations of the plates in English and French. Number IV. Price 1l. 1s.

Also may be had the former numbers; containing designs of the duke of Northumberland's seat at Sion House; lord Mansfield's at Caenwood; and the earl of Bute's at Luton.

Likewise views of some of the most beautiful antiquities in Italy, drawn on the spot by Clerisseau, and engraved by Cunego.

*** View of the Adelphi Buildings from the river, finely engraved.

XXIII. The Life of Petrarch. Collected from Memoires pour la Vie de Petrarch, by Mrs. Susannah Dobson, and addressed to Soame Jenyns, Esq; A new edition corrected, with a complete Index. In two large volumes, octavo, printed on a fine paper. With an elegant engraved Frontispiece, representing the first interview of Petrarch and Laura. Price 12s. in boards.

XXIV. Interesting Letters written by the late pope, Cardinal Ganganelli, to some of the most distinguished political and literary characters of the present age. To which are prefixed, Anecdotes of his Life. A new edition. In two volumes, twelves. Price 5s. sewed; the first volume adorned with a head of Ganganelli; the second volume with an emblematical vignette, both finely engraved.

XXV. Metallurgic Chemistry; being a systematical treatise of fossils, and all kinds of minerals, theoretical and practical. One volume, octavo. Illustrated with copper-plates. Translated from the original German of C. E. Gellert. Price 6s. in boards.

XXVI. Memoirs of the Life of Miss Sophy Sternheim. Translated from the German of the celebrated Mr. Weiland, by Edward Harwood, D. D. Two volumes, twelves. Price 5s. sewed.

XXVII. The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq; complete, nine volumes, large octavo. New edition. Price 2l. 14s. bound.

XXVIII. The same. A new and cheap edition, beautifully printed and adorned with cuts, in six volumes, duodecimo. Price only 15s. bound.

XXIX. Lectures on Select Subjects. The fifth edition. With cuts. By James Ferguson, F. R. S. Price 7s. 6d. bound.

XXX. Experimental Essays on Medical and Philosophical Subjects. The third edition. By David Macbride. With cuts. Price 5s. bound.

XXXI. An Introduction to Botany. The third edition, enlarged. With cuts. By James Lee. Price 7s. 6d. bound.